

CHAPTER XIV.

CHIKKADĒVARĀJA WODEYAR, 1673-1704—(contd.)

Literary activity : General tendencies and features—Authors and their contributions: (a) *Sri-Vaishnava literature*—Chikkupadhyaya: The *Sangatyas*, c. 1673-1676—The *Kamandaka-Niti* and the *Suka-Saptati*, c. 1676-1677—The *Divya-Suri-Charite*, 1678—The *Mahatmyas*, c. 1678-1680—The *Bhagavad-Gita-Tiku* and the *Rukmangada-Charitre*, c. 1678-1681—*Other works*, c. 1680-1691—Tikka-Kavi: The *Mahatmyas*, 1677-1680—The *Chikkadevendra-Vamsavali*, c. 1680—Mallikarjuna: The *Sriranga-Mahatmya*, 1678—Mallarsa: The *Dasavatara-Charitre*, c. 1680—Tirumalarya: The *Copper-plates*, 1663, 1675—The *Stavahs*, c. 1673-1678—The *Chikkadevaraya-Vamsavali*, c. 1678-1680—The *Chikkadevaraja-Vijayam*, c. 1682-1686—The *Apratima-Vira-Charitam*, c. 1695-1700—*Other works*—Singararya: *Gloss on the Yadugiri-Narayana-Stavah*, c. 1678-1680; the *Srisaïlarya-Dinacharya*, c. 1700—The *Mitravinda-Govindam*, c. 1700-1704—*Other works*—Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar: The *Bharata-Vachana*; the *Bhagavata (Chikkadevaraja-Sukti-Vilasa)*, c. 1682-1686—The *Sachchudrachara-Nirnaya*, c. 1687-1690—The *Chikkadevaraya-Saptapadi* and *Tripadigala-Tatparya*, c. 1690-1695—The *Chikkadevaraja-Binmapam* and the *Gita-Gopalam*, c. 1700-1704—Ramayanam—Tirumalarya: The *Devanagara Plate*, c. 1686-1690—*Other works*—Honnamma and Sringamma: The *Hadibadeya-Dharmam*, c. 1678-1680—The *Padmini-Kalyana*, c. 1685—(b) *Vira-Saiva literature*—Shadaksharadeva and his works—(c) *Jaina literature*—Chidananda: The *Munivamsabhayudaya*, c. 1700—Chikkanna-Pandita: The *Vaidya-Nighantu-Sara*, 1703—(d) *Miscellaneous works*—The nature of the Vaishnavite Revival.

THE reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar witnessed a literary activity which, perhaps, stands unrivalled in the history of Mysore. Learning and literature flourished under his active encouragement and patronage. Indeed, a mere entrance to the assembly of

Literary activity :
General tendencies
and features.

scholars in his court, says a contemporary,¹ was enough to remove one's mental apathy and make him really learned and excel in all arts. While adequate attention was paid to the preservation and propagation of sacred lore on the one side, great care was, on the other, bestowed on the fostering of Kannada language and literature. While the Jains and Vira-Śaivas, under the tolerant policy of Chikkadēvarāja, continued to make their contributions to the latter, literary output was to a considerable extent augmented by the Brāhmins (particularly the Śrī-Vaishnavas) and those working under their influence, including Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar himself. The growth of Śrī-Vaishnavism in the country and its adoption by Chikkadēvarāja as his personal creed were, beyond doubt, the main factors underlying this remarkable achievement. Most of the literary productions of the period are undated, but, broadly speaking, from the internal evidence afforded by the works themselves and from references available from other sources, they are assignable to the intervals of peace and quiet during one or the other of the three principal epochs of the reign, namely, 1673-1680, 1680-1696, 1696-1704. The works are usually found written in *Haḷagannaḍa*, poetry or prose, though there are indications that *Hosagannaḍa* was in use side by side, as can be seen from some of the productions, especially in poems of the *sāṅgatyā* metre and in prose renderings among others. Among the subjects dealt with are the Purāṇas, religion and philosophy, politics and maxims traditional history, poetics and drama. Some of these productions are original writings of exceptional literary merit, while others are intelligible translations from

1. See Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya in *E. C., Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 77-79:

Śamayati jaḍimānam saumanasyam prasūte
Sakala sarasa-vidyā kauśalāni vyanakti |
Sakrādapi Chikadēvakshmābhṛdāsthāna-simā
Parigata budha-gōṣṭhī-prānta-pankti pravēśaḥ ||

Sanskrit or Tamil works, containing also original compositions of a varied character. The Śrī-Vaiṣṇava literature of the reign, in particular, is in a great measure creative, expressive and educative—creative in the sense that it resorts to newer and popular modes of expression (such, for instance, as the increasing use of *sāṅgatya*, *tripādi*, *chaupādi*, *saptapādi*, *kanda* and *ragale* among the poetical metres, and the adoption of a dignified yet flowing and homely prose style) without, however, deviating from classical models (as, for instance, the *champu*), and that it aims at variety in place of uniformity; expressive in the sense that it fully embodies, and reflects, the spirit of the age; and educative in the sense that most of the productions, apart from their value to the cultured classes, were generally intended for the edification of the masses. The towering personality of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar appears prominently throughout this literary movement as its guiding spirit, nay, as its very inspirer, if not creator (*nūtana sāhitya-brahmaṅganupama Chikkadēva-bhūpati*),² as indeed he was looked upon by his own contemporaries.

The leading workers in the field were undoubtedly Chikkupādhyāya and Tirumalārya (Tirumalaiyangār), the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava ministers of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. To the school of the former belong his protegès, namely, Timma-Kavi, Mallikārjuna and Mallarasa; to that of the latter Singarārya, Chikkadēvarāja, Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya, Honnamma and Śringāramma, all of whose productions are permeated by the essentially Śrī-Vaiṣṇava spirit of the age. Though Chikkupādhyāya and his school appear to claim by far the greatest share of the literary output during the reign, the influence of the two leaders and

2. See *Hastī. Māhāt.* (of Chikkupādhyāya), I, 102.

their schools on the development of Śrī-Vishṇavism in its theoretical and practical aspects was, it is interesting to find, mutual and complementary.

Chikkupādhyāya, whose real name was Lakshmīpati and whose ancestry and attainments we have elsewhere adverted to,³ was a prominent scholar at the court of Seringapatam during a greater part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign. He is referred⁴ to as one skilled in the art of poetical composition, a neo-Bṛhaspati in respect of literary accomplishments and an expert in the Kannaḍa language. He was the author of numerous works which have come down to us, assignable to the period c. 1673-1691.

Probably the earliest of these (c. 1673-1676) are⁵ the *Aksharamālikā-Sāngatya*, *Paschimaranga-Sāngatya*, *Rangadhāma-Stuti-Sāngatya*, *Śringāra-Śataka-Sāngatya*, *Rangadhāma-Purusha-Viraha-Sāngatya*, *Rangadhāma-Nīti-Śataka-Sāngatya* and *Chitra-Śataka-Sāngatya*. All these are poems composed in the popular *sāngatya* metre—as their names indicate—in honour of God Ranganātha of Seringapatam, of whom Chikkadēvarāja was an ardent devotee. Indeed they occupy an important place in the devotional literature of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in Kannaḍa. Perhaps they also seem to indicate an attempt on the part of the poet to commemorate his own elevation from the position of a teacher to that of a minister, since they invariably voice his intimacy with his patron (Chikkadēvarāja).⁶

3. Vide under *Council of Ministers*, in Ch. XII.

4. *Hastī. Māhāt.*, I, 103; *Śrī. Māhāt.*, col.: *Kavitā-vidhāna-nipūṇam; Sāhityado! nūtaṇa gīshpati; Karnāṭaka-bhāṣā-chaḍura.*

5. Ms. No. 18-6. 11 (*P. L.*; *Mad. Or. Lib.*), containing the collection; also Ms. No. B. 250 (*P.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*), containing only the *Paschimaranga-Sāngatya* and *Purusha-Viraha-Sāngatya*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 467, 485-489.

6. Vide references cited, and textual expressions quoted, in Ch. XII, f.n. 25.

Next in order are the *Kāmandaka-Nīti*⁷ and the *Śuka-Saptati*⁸ (c. 1676-1677). Both these works are prose renderings, done at the desire of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. They begin with invocations to Vishṇu, Lakshmi, Rāmānuja and the Ālvārs. The former work deals, within the compass of 8 chapters (*āśvāsa*), with the ancient science of politics (*danḍanīti*) as expounded by Kāmandaki. The introductory chapter contains verses in the *vṛitta* metre and prose passages (*vachana*) dealing, among others, with the pedigree (*vamśāvali*) and exploits of Chikkadēvarāja, the latest event referred to being the siege and capitulation of Jadakana-durga (1675-1676).⁹ The latter work treats of maxims (*yuktigaḷu*) in the form of seventy didactic stories said to have been narrated ages ago by the sage Śukāchārya to a king by name Vahni-rāja. There is, however, no reference to any political event in this work, which would enable us to fix its date. At any rate, since both the *Kāmandaka-Nīti* and the *Śuka-Saptati* deal with cognate subjects, there is reason to believe that their rendering took place in close succession to one another. Apart from the value of these works as good specimens of seventeenth century Kannāḍa in Mysore (*satkarnāṭakā-rītiyim*; *Karnāṭa-sadbhāsheyoḷ*),¹⁰ they embody data which are, as a whole, of considerable importance to us from the points of view of the political history of the earlier years of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, the development of his political and administrative knowledge and the early adoption of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as

7. Ms. No. 19-1-12—P.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 467, 484.

8. Ms. No. 19-4-38—P.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; cf. Ms. Nos. A. 101 and 153—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; also the printed work in the *Mys. Or. Lib.* (Pub. K. T. Śrīnivāsāchārya, Karnāṭaka Mudrākshara Sālā, Bangalore, 1874); see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, l.c.

9. *Vide* Ch. XI, f.n. 35, for details.

10. *Kāmand. Nī.*, II, 3; *Śu. Sap.*, I, ff. 2 (A. 153).

his personal religion.¹¹ So clear indeed is the prose style of these writings that they seem to reveal an attempt at a direct exposition of their subject-matter by Chikkupādhyāya to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar himself.

On February 18, 1678, Chikkupādhyāya completed the *Divya-Sūri-Charite*.¹² It is a *champu* work in *Halaganṇa*, in 14 chapters, rendered from the original work in Tamil at the desire of Chikkadēvarāja. It deals with the history of the twelve Śrī-Vaiṣṇava saints (*Ālvārs*, *Sūri*). The author styles it an epic (*mahā-prabandha*). The introductory chapter begins as usual with invocations to Rāmānuja, God Ranganātha of Seringapatam and the Ālvārs; and contains a brief account of the pedigree of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and references to his religious avocations and his court. The succeeding chapters are centred round the subject-matter proper. The diction is sweet and melodious, in keeping with the established principles of the Kannaḍa language (*Kannaḍa bhāshā-kramadi nosedu*),¹³ the prevailing sentiment being *bhakti*. It is an important contribution to the traditional history and philosophy of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in Kannaḍa, intended for popular use (*rūḍhiyāgiralēvēḷkendu*).¹⁴

The next series of Chikkupādhyāya's works belongs to the period c. 1678-1680, and deals mainly with the Purāṇic accounts of the merits of holy places (*Māhātmya*) of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava importance. These accounts are renderings from the originals in Sanskrit, done at the

11. *Vide* Chs. XI—XIII, for details.

12. Pub. in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series*, No. 33 (G. T. A. Press, Mysore, 1911)—see XIV, 124: *Pingala samvatsara Phalguṇāmaḷa mahāpakshāṣṭamī*; also item No. 74 (*P. L. Ms.*) of the *Cat. Kan. Mss.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 486, 478-480) which places the work in or before 1672 on the ground that a copy of it was made in *Virōdhikrit* (1672). Possibly *Virōdhikrit* is a scribal error for *Virōdhi* (1709).

13. XIV, 120.

14. XIV, 119.

instance of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. Thus, the *Kamalāchala-Māhātmya*,¹⁵ in 16 chapters, contains an account of Kanjagiri (or the Gōpālasvāmi hill) as given in the *Bhavishyōttara-Purāṇa*; the *Hastigiri-Māhātmya*,¹⁶ in 18 chapters; the *Venkaṭagiri-Māhātmya*¹⁷ and the *Śrīranga-Māhātmya*,¹⁸ in 10 chapters each; and the *Paśchimāranga-Māhātmya*,¹⁹ in 6 chapters—these enshrine, respectively, accounts of Kānchi, Tirupati, Śrīrangam and Seringapatam, as narrated in the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*; and lastly, the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya*,²⁰ in 12 chapters, deals with the account of Mēlkōṭe (*Yadugiri*) as related in the *Nāradya-Purāṇa*. These compilations are generally written in a mixture of *Haḷagannaḍa* prose and poetry. The methodology adopted in them by Chikkupādhyāya is of particular interest to us. In the introductory chapter of each *Māhātmya*, Rāmānuja, the Āḷvārs, the demi-gods of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava hierarchy (like Garuḍa and Vishvaksēna) and the presiding deity of the place dealt with, are usually invoked. Then follows a geographical description of the Karnāṭaka country (*bhūbhāga-varṇane*) including the city of Mysore. This is succeeded in turn by an account of the pedigree (*vamśa-vistāra-varṇane*) of the Ruling Dynasty of Mysore and by a narrative of the exploits of Chikkadēvarāja himself (the hero and the poet's patron), the latest political event referred to being the siege and acquisition of Andūr, Maddagiri and

15 Ms. Nos. B. 98 and 42—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 467, 471-473.

16 Ms. No. B. 61—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 467, 473-475.

17 Ms. No. 18-4-18—P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 467, 483.

18 Ms. No. B. 270—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 1.c.

19 Ms. No. 18-6-11—P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 467, 485.

20 Ms. No. 18-21-16—P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 467, 482.

the adjacent forts (1678).²¹ References to the personality, character and rule of Chikkadēva, his religious avocations and his Durbār and the ancestry and attainments of the poet, among other particulars, not infrequently follow, both by way of completing the descriptive account of the rise and fortunes of the hero (*nāyakābhyudaya-varṇane*) and by way of indicating that the *Māhātmya* was a product of Chikkadēvarāja's court. The succeeding chapters deal with the subject-matter proper of the work. In exceptionally longer works like the *Kamalāchala-Māhātmya*, the subject-matter commences in the third chapter, the second being devoted to what purports to be an ideal description of the night adventures of the hero (*rātri-vihāra-varṇane*). All these productions are, again, marked by variety in point of style. The *Kamalāchala-Māhātmya* is a *champu* work. It is, further, a new form of composition, characterized by grandeur of sentiment, splendour of diction, excellence of meanings, nicety of verbal embellishment and beauty of euphonic junctions and compounds.²² The *Hastigiri-Māhātmya*, another *champu*, is also written in the same style of literary expression while adhering to the *Kāvya* model, the objective aimed at being, of course, popular appreciation.²³ The *Venkaṭagiri-Māhātmya* is a prose commentary.²⁴ The *Śrīranga-Māhātmya* is also written

21. Vide Ch. XI, f.n. 57 and 63, for details. The *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 468) speaks of the *Hastī. Māhāt.* and the *Kamalā. Māhāt.* as having been written in 1679 (*Kālayukti*) and 1680 (*Raudri*), respectively, without citing the relevant texts. The manuscripts of these works examined by us seem to contain no reference to these dates. From internal evidence, as set forth above, they have to be assigned, along with the other *Māhātmyas*, to the period c. 1678-1680.

22. III, 78:

*Rasabhāvam pīridāge bandhadesakam saitāge sabdārthado-
l̥ posakṛdvaibhavamāge nunnūḍigaloppambettu chelvāge san- |
dhi-samāsam posatāge Kannāḍadolā Kanjādri-Māhātmyamam
rasikar mechchi pogaḷvinam virachikum sanmantri-Lakshmiṅvaram ||*

23. I, 101, 105, 108: *Posatādolnūḍiyinde; suprabandha-mārgam merevan-
tonāi; ellar prēmāde tīḷḍāṭipante.*

24. Vide colophon: *Vyākhyāna vistāramam . . . Karnāṭaka tīpṇāḍol.*

in prose, being intended solely for popular enlightenment.²⁵ The *Paśchimaranga-Māhātmya* and the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* are poems in the *sāngatya* metre, the latter being written in prose also as *Yadugiri-Māhātmya*.²⁶ The *Māhātmyas* of Chikkupādhyāya, on the whole, constitute a new type of literature in themselves, in that they delineate Śrī-Vaiṣṇava tradition against a background of epic poetry, *bhakti* being the prevailing sentiment throughout. They are thus an important addition to the literature on Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in Kannaḍa.

To almost the same period (c. 1678-1681) belong the *Bhagavad-Gītā-Tīku*²⁷ and the *Rukmāṅgada-Charitre*,²⁸ both written, as usual, at the instance of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. The former, a work in 18 chapters, is an intelligible Kannaḍa prose rendering (*tīku*) of the original Sanskrit text.²⁹ It embodies a clear and popular exposition of the philosophy of the Lord's message to Arjuna.³⁰ The latter work is a *champu* in 12 chapters, dealing with the story of Rukmāṅgada as narrated in the *Nāradya-Purāna*. It is intended to inculcate the merits of the *Ēkādaśī-Vratam*, devoutly observed by Chikkadēvarāja himself.³¹ The

25. *Ibid.*: *Kathāsangatiyam sarvajanarge sulabhamāgi tīlivate*.

26. See colophon to the work quoted in *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 483: *Karṇāṭakavachana-rachanābhīḥānamāda Yadugiri-Māhātmyādoḷ*.

27. Ms. No. K. 466—*P. L.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*

28. Ms. No. 18-5-18—*P. L.*; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; also B. 41—*P.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 467-468, 475-477) which speaks of this work as having been written in 1681 (*s. 1604, Durmati*) without, however, citing the relevant text. From the Ms. copy of the work (from the *Mad. Or. Lib.*) examined by us, we only note that Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar observed the *Dvādaśī-Vratam* in October 1679 (*Siddhārthi, Āśvija śu. 12*), at the time the work was written (I, 87). 1679-1681 appears thus to be the probable date of composition of the *Rukmāṅgada-Charitre*.

29. I, 67-68: *Tīliva terādi Karnāṭakāḍim; Kannaḍadoḷ gōcharamappante*.

30. I, 69: *Ambujāmbakam vāncheyim naranōḷ pēḷḍa rahasyatātva-makhilargam spaṣṭanamappantu*.

31. I, 86-89, 98; see also under *Religion* in Ch. XIII of this work.

methodology adopted in both these works which are contributions to Śrī-Vaiṣṇava literature in Kannaḍa, is similar to that followed in the *Māhātmyas*.

During c. 1680-1691 Chikkupādhyāya appears to have written the *Śēśa-Dharma*,³² the *Other works*, *Sātvika-Brahma-Vidyā-Vilāsa*³³ and c. 1680-1691. the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*³⁴ (c. 1691). All these writings begin with invocations to the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava pantheon in the same manner as the earlier ones. The *Śēśa-Dharma* is a prose work (*ṭiku*) in 25 chapters, translated from the *Āśvamēdhika-Parva* of the *Hari-Vamśa*. Chikkupādhyāya, as he tells us,³⁵ wrote it at the desire of Chikkadēvarāja for popular enlightenment, following the principles of Kannaḍa composition laid down in the *Bhāshābhūṣaṇam* (12th cent.). The *Sātvika-Brahma-Vidyā-Vilāsa* is a *champu* rendered, under the orders of Chikkadēvarāja (*ājñaptanāgi*), from the original Sanskrit work of that name. It deals, in 9 chapters, with the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophy of *Vīṣṭādvaitism* which continued to engage the attention

32. Ms. No. 18-3-23—P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; also No. A. 133—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 467, 483.

33. Ms. No. B. 44—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 467, 480.

34. Pub. in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series*, Nos. 45, 36 and 30, Mysore, 1914, 1911 and 1910, Parts 1, 4 and 5; also Mss. Nos. A. 99 and 100—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 467. The Mss., referred to, contain no specific reference to Chikkupādhyāya, the author. They appear to have been copied by a scribe who went by the name of Venkaṭanarasiya, a contemporary of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (see ff. 338-339). The colophons in the Mss. differ from those of the published work, which clearly mention Chikkupādhyāya's name; but the subject-matter of the text is similar. The *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (l.c.) refers to the prose version of the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* and has no particulars about it. It, again, speaks of the work as having been written in 1691 (II. 468) without citing the relevant textual reference. The Mss. and the published work do not refer to the date. However, we are inclined to take 1691 as the probable date of the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, assigning it to the latest period of Chikkupādhyāya's literary activity (c. 1680-1691).

35. See v. 2 of each ch.:

Śēśa-Dharmakke ṭikanaśēśa janam tilīva terade Chikupādhyāyam |
Tōshise Chikadēvendram Bhāshābhūṣaṇada Kannaḍade virachisi-
dam ||

of Chikkadēvarāja in an increasing measure during the period 1680-1696. The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* is a prose treatise in Kannaḍa, translated from the original work in the form of a dialogue between the sages Maitrēya and Parāśara.³⁶ It is written in 5 parts (*amśa*), each containing a varying number of chapters, and the whole dealing mainly with the philosophy of the principal incarnations of Vishṇu. Lucid, flowing and thoroughly enjoyable, this work typifies the new model *Hosagannaḍa* prose style that was evolved in Mysore towards the close of the seventeenth century. The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* of Chikkupādhyāya has come down in 6 parts in the *champu* form also,³⁷ the prose version, however, being by far the more popular. Among other contributions of Chikkupādhyāya to the literature on Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism, perhaps assignable to the same period, are the *Tiruvāimoli-Tīku*,³⁸ a prose commentary in Kannaḍa on the original Tamil treatise of the great Nammālvār, and the *Padma-Purāṇa-Tīku*,³⁹ a prose version in Kannaḍa of the original Sanskrit work of that name. He is also credited⁴⁰ with having written the *Amaruka-Śataka*, *Vaidyāmṛta-Tīku*, *Arthā-Panchaka* and *Tatva-Traya*.

Timma-Kavi was, as he refers to himself,⁴¹ a Brāhman of Jāmadagni-gōtra, being an ardent devotee of God Vēṇugōpāla. He was probably a disciple of a religious preceptor by name Gōpāla.⁴² He occupied an important place

Timma-Kavi.

36. See colophon to each part of the published work: *Maitrēya-Parāśara-samvāda rūpamāda Śrī-Vishṇu-Purāṇavemba prabandha*.

37. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 477-478.

38. *Ibid.*, 467, 489-490.

39. See *M. A. R.*, 1933, pp. 107-108.

40. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 467.

41. *Yād. Māhāt.*, I, 21; *Paśc. Māhāt.*, I, 11: *Jāmadagnyanvayōdbhava*; *Śrī-Vēṇugōpāla pādavanē jāta . . . bhṛingam*; *Vara-Vēṇugōpātaka bhaktam*.

42. See *Yād. Māhāt.*, I, 26; *Chikkadēvēndra-Vam.*, v. 10:

*Hṛdayāmbhōruhadalliyām nenedu Gōpālāṅghri-pankējamam |
Mudavettātanamujneyāntusirveni-vidvaddayāsārādīm ||*

in the court of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar as the protégé of Chikkupādhyāya,⁴³ at whose instance he wrote in Kannāḍa the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya*,⁴⁴ the *Venkaṭagiri-Māhātmya*⁴⁵ and the *Paśchimaraṅga-Māhātmya*⁴⁶ dealing, respectively, with the merits of the holy places, Mēlkōṭe, Tirupati and Śeringapatam. All these are *champu* works. They belong to the same category as the *Māhātmyas* of Chikkupādhyāya (c. 1678-1680) alike in respect of methodology and subject-matter. The latest political event referred to in these productions is the siege and capitulation of Jaḍakana-durga (1675-1676) and Maddagiri (1678).⁴⁷ These works are, again, written in a sweet and flowing diction. Although *bhakti* is, as usual, the prevailing sentiment, the poet is at his best in his attention to minute details in describing Nature, and in his delineation of the erotic sentiment (*śringāra*), particularly in the introductory chapters.

Perhaps Timma-Kavi was the earliest contributor to the *Māhātmyas* as a type of literature during Chikkadēvarāja's reign, for, we learn, he completed the *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya* on February 2, 1677.⁴⁸ This work is in 16 chapters. The poet gives it the character of an epic treatise (*prabandha*) composed in the poetic prose style (*Karnāṭaka vachana rachaneya*).⁴⁹ An interesting feature of the work is that the subject-matter proper is dealt with from the fifth chapter onwards, the first four being devoted, respectively, to a delineation of the geographical features of the Karnāṭaka country (*bhūbhāga-varṇane*),

43. *Paśch. Māhāt.*, l.c. : *Chikkupādhyāya-prasāda-niratam*.

44. Mss. Nos. B. 55—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*, and K. 431—P.L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 492-495.

45. Ms. No. B. 54—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 492-493, 496-498.

46. Ms. No. B. 37—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 492, 496.

47. *Vide* Ch. XI, f.n. 35 and 63, for details.

48. See ff. 103 of Ms. K. 431 : *Naḷa samvatsarada Māgha sūddha daśami . . . yōl . . . pūrṇam*; cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 493.

49. I, 23; also colophon.

pedigree, rise and fortunes of the hero, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (*vamśa-vistāra-varṇane*; *nāyakābhyudaya-varṇane*), and his night adventures (*rātrivihāra-varṇane*) and amusements (*chaturanga vinōda-yuddha . . . mṛgayā vasanta jalakrīḍā-varṇanam*), including his visit to the temple of Nārāyaṇa at Mēlkōṭe (*Nārāyaṇa sandarśanādi*). The *Venkaṭagiri-Māhātmya*, said to have been completed in 1679,⁵⁰ is in 10 chapters, written in the narrative style (*vastukada mārgadoḷ*).⁵¹ The *Paścimaranga-Māhātmya*, written c. 1679-1680, is in 5 chapters, also composed in the narrative style (*vastukarachaneyim*).⁵² Timma-Kavi was probably the author also of the *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali* (c. 1680),⁵³ a *champu* work of outstanding literary merit, containing several verses and prose passages—in a modified and highly polished style—from the first two chapters of his *Yādavagiri-Māhātmya*.

The *Chikkadēvēndra-Vamśāvali*, c. 1680.

Mallikārjuna, another Brāhman poet of the period, wrote a Kannaḍa version of the *Śrīranga-Māhātmya*⁵⁴ at the instance of Chikkupādhyāya (*Chikkupādhyāya-prērita Mallikārjuna praṇīta*), the work being completed on February 26, 1678.⁵⁵ This is also a *champu* in 12 chapters, and belongs to the same type of literature as the *Māhātmyas* of Chikkupādhyāya and Timma-Kavi. The subject-matter, however, actually begins in the third chapter, the first two being introduc-

Mallikārjuna.

The *Śrīranga-Māhātmya*, 1678.

50. See *Kar. Ka. Cha. l.c.*: s. 1601, *Kālayukti*. The Ms. examined by us, however, was found to contain no date.

51. I, 63.

52. I, 55.

53. Pub. in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series*, No. 6, Mysore, 1901.

For a detailed discussion of the evidence in support of Timma-Kavi's authorship of this work as against the position of the *Kar. Ka. Cha.* assigning the same to Vēṅugōpāla-Varaprasāda, vide Appendix VI—(3).

54. Ms. No. B. 52—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 498-500.

55. XII, 61: *Piṅgaḷadoḷ Phālguna sūddha Paurnomiyō!* . . . *paripūrnamāytu*; cf. *Ibid*, 498.

tory chapters which, besides the usual features, contain a descriptive account in an ornate style of both the cities of Mysore and Seringapatam under Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. Mallikārjuna refers⁵⁶ to his work as a pleasing poem (*manjūla kāvya*). He is, perhaps, the most expressive and prolific writer of the school of Chikkupādhyāya. His diction is sweet and majestic. He is, however, at his best in depicting Nature and in delineating the erotic sentiment.⁵⁷

Mallarasa (Mallarasānka-Paṇḍita) was another poet of the period. He was a Brāhman of Śrīvatsa-gōtra and Kamme-vamśa, son of Timmarasa-mantri by Tippāmbikā, disciple of Sadānanda-guru and resident of Nāravangala.⁵⁸ At the instance of Chikkupādhyāya, he wrote the

*Daśāvatāra-Charitre*⁵⁹ (c. 1680), another *champu*, in 11 chapters, dealing with the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The poet speaks of the work as an epic (*mahā-prabandha*).⁶⁰ It is written in a melodious diction.

Tirumalārya (Tirumalaiyangār, the minister), whose ancestry and official position we have elsewhere detailed,⁶¹ occupied the foremost place among the scholars and poets of the court of Seringapatam during the greater part of the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.⁶² He was celebrated for his wide learning,⁶³ and was known to have written numerous delightful works in Sanskrit and

56. XII, 1.c.

57. See, for instance chs. I—II.

58. *Daśāvatāra-Charitre*, I, 25-26; also colophon.59. Ms. No. B. 98—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 510-513.

60. See colophon to the work.

61. *Vide* under *Council of Ministers*, in Ch. XII.62. *Mitra. Gō.*, I, p. 4 (*vachana*): *Paṇḍita-kavi-maṇḍalā-khaṇḍalar*.63. *Ibid.*, pp. 2 and 4: *Aśeshakalānidhiyumenisi negaḷda*; *aśeshatantra-svatantrateyim*. See also *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 474, where Dēvachandra speaks of Tirumalārya as having been an erudite scholar of his age (*Tirumalārya vidyā-viśārada-nenisidam*).

Kannāḍa on the *śāstras*, *smṛti* and *stōtra*, narrative and epic poetry, drama and poetics.⁶⁴ Indeed, so profoundly did he and his younger brother Singarārya impress their contemporaries that, towards the close of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, as Singarārya himself testifies to,⁶⁵ both of them had established themselves as the literary dictators of their day—learned in all the *śāstras*, skilled in the art of poetical composition and ever engaged in imparting instruction in various branches of the sacred tradition and in the abstruse doctrines of the two systems of *Vēdānta* (*Ubhaya-Vēdānta*). Tirumalārya's works themselves, in particular, we learn,⁶⁶ had attained considerable popularity for the melody of his diction and eloquence, and for the grandeur of sentiment delineated by him. They were often quoted too by his own contemporaries.⁶⁷

Perhaps the earliest among the dated writings of Tirumalārya extant are the *Tirumalārya kūḍlu-Narasipur Plates* (1663)⁶⁸ and the *Chāmarājanagar Plates* (1675),⁶⁹ composed in the Sanskrit *kāvya* style.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 4 (vachana) : *Piridāgi śāstra-smṛti-stōtra-granthagaḷam, ivalla-dinnum Sakkadadoḷam Kannāḍadoḷam bēre vēre kiviginidam sūsuva palavageya kāvya-nāṭakālankāram modalāda vastuka varṇaka-prabandhangalām gaḍiyillade nīravīsīrpar.*

65. *Ibid.*, I, 13 (p. 5) :

*Ivarīrvar sarasar samāna-charitar sārājna-ratjunnatar
Vividhāmnāya-tadagraiyugma-sarahasyārthangaḷam bōdhipar |
Suvinītar-kavitā-praviṇa-rabhīrūpar-sarva-śāstrajnarin
Tivarindaise jagakke Saumya-Narasinhāryōttamar putriḡal||*

66. *Ibid.*, I, 11-12 (p. 4) :

*Praṇṭise bhāvukar Tirumalārya sarasvati sārchi chittamam
Tanūyade Ranganāthanole nartisugum śruti-maūḷi-rangadoḷ|| |
Pīridum prauḍhatvamam perkalīke kuvivar kabbadoḷ-śāstradoḷ-men
Karani sāvhitādoḷ bittarīpode rasamam Tīrimalāryarge salgum ||*

67. See, for instance, *Ibid.*, I, 10 (p. 3), quoting from the *C. Vi.* (V, 106) and the *A. V. C.* (III, 46); also works of Chikkadēvarāja and inscriptions composed by Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya, noticed below.

68. *E. C.*, III (1) TN. 23; see also Ch. X, f.n. 169.

69. *Ibid.*, IV (2) Ch. 92—see ll. 106-107 :

*Kausikānvaya sindhu-vidhōralagasingarāryasya |
Tanayastirumalayāryō vyatānītāmbra-śāsana ślōkān ||*

The earliest of the undated works of Tirumalārya are, however, a series of hymns (*stavaḥ*), also in Sanskrit, composed by him under the Sanskritised form of his name, Śrīśailārya or Śrīśaila-sūri.⁷⁰ The following among these have come down to us: *Śrī-Yadugiri-Nārāyaṇa-Stavaḥ*⁷¹ and *Śrī-Yadugiri-Nāyakī-Stavaḥ*,⁷² in 79 and 24 stanzas respectively, in praise of the principal God and His Consort presiding over Mēlkōṭe; *Śrī-Lakshmī-Nṛsimha-Stavaḥ*,⁷³ in 23 stanzas in honour of God Lakshmī-Nṛsimha of Seringapatam; *Śrī-Manjūla-Kēśava-Stavaḥ*,⁷⁴ in 25 stanzas, devoted to God Saumya-Kēśava of Nāgamangala; *Śrī-Apratima-Rājagōpāla-Stavaḥ*,⁷⁵ in 18 stanzas, in eulogy of God Apratima-Rājagōpāla of Haradanahaḷḷi, the patron deity of Chikkadēvarāja; ⁷⁶ *Śrī-Paravāsudēva-Stavaḥ*,⁷⁷ in 70 stanzas, dedicated to God Paravāsudēva of Dēvanagara—on the banks of the Kauṇḍinī—of whom Chikkadēva was an earnest adorer; ⁷⁸ and *Śrī-Gōpāla-Stavaḥ*,⁷⁹ in 32 stanzas,

70. See the end of each *Stavaḥ* in *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc.: *Śrīśaila-sūri kṛtishu*.

71. Pp. 1-80 in *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., edited with *Introduction* (pp. i-vi) by Mr. Jaggū Venkaṭāchārya of Mēlkōṭe—Pub. V. B. Subbaiya & Sons, Bangalore, 1934 (in *Telugu* characters); see also Ms. No. A. 612—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.* Some of the hymns from the *Y. N. Stavaḥ* (i.e., vv. 3, 6-9, 68), we are told, are recited to this day by devotees of the God at Mēlkōṭe during the *Mantrapushyam* and on such occasions as *Sankrānti*, *Yugādī*, etc (see *Editorial Introduction*, pp. iii-iv), an indication of the popularity of the *Stavaḥ*.

72. Pp. 81-85 in *Ibid.*

73. Pp. 86-90 in *Ibid.*

74. Pp. 91-95 in *Ibid.*

75. Pp. 96-99 in *Ibid.*

76. P. 96, v. 2:

*Bhūmā sahitōdhyāstē bhūmā Chikadēvarāja-bhūpasya |
Kshēmāya Haradanapurim Śrīmānapratima-Rājagōpālah ||*

See also under *Religion* in Ch. XIII.

77. Pp. 100-112 in *Ibid.*

78. P. 100, v. 3:

*Parandhāma kshirōdadhi varuṇa bimbam Kurigiriḥ
Vrshādri Śśrīraṅgam Yadugirītātē Dēvanagaram |
Hṛdambhōjam bhaktyā surabhī Chikadēvēndra-nṛpatēḥ
Tava kṛiḍāsthānānyahaḥ kalayē māmakamapi ||*

See also under *Religion* in Ch. XIII.

79. Pp. 113-118 in *Ibid.*

devoted to God Gōpāla, the tutelary deity of Tirumalārya's family, settled in the abode of his father Nṛsimhārya or Aḷasingarārya.⁸⁰ All these hymns reflect to a considerable extent the early predilections of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar for Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism under the influence and example of his companion and councillor Tirumalārya. Hence they are to be taken as having been written between c. 1673-1678, a period which synchronises with the earlier productions of Chikkupādhyāya and Timma-Kavi also. These hymns, again, like the *Sāngatyas* of Chikkupādhyāya, occupy an important place in the devotional literature available to-day on Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism. Elegant, dignified, and full of religious and moral fervour, they are an index of Tirumalārya's high attainments, and are good specimens of his poetical style in classical Sanskrit.

Next we have the Kannada works of Tirumalārya, also undated. The earliest of these is the *Chikkadēva-arya-Vamśāvāli*, the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvāli*,⁸¹ a prose work in *Haḷagannaḍa* dealing with the traditional history of the rise and fortunes of the Mysore Royal House, down to Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. This work, as it has come down to us, is incomplete, since it stops abruptly with the invasion of Seringapatam by Śivappa Nāyaka I (in 1659) in the very first year of the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar. It is conspicuous also by the absence of any reference in the text to its authorship. That Tirumalārya was the undoubted author of the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvāli* and that it was his first literary production in Kannada are, however, obvious from the occurrence of passages from

80. P. 113, v. 3; p. 115, v. 14: *Viharati Nṛsimhārya bhavanē; Śrīman-Nṛsimha-guruvarya grhēthavāsyāt.*

81. Pub. with *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 1-5), in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Manjari Series*, No. 13, Mysore, 1895; also *P. L. Mss.* of this work—No. 1035 of the *Cat. Kan. Mss.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*, and No. 112 (in *Grantha* characters) of the *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 461, 464-465.

it in his *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*,⁸² and from the order of precedence followed by Tirumalārya himself in his *Apratīma-Vīra-Charitam*⁸³ while alluding to his other works. There are, again, indications in the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvalī* that it was written at a time when Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was becoming famous as *Karnāṭaka-Chakravartī* after curbing the local powers, and when he, at the height of his power, was asserting his claims to the sovereignty over the south as well (*Dakṣiṇādik-Chakravartī*).⁸⁴ The political achievements of Chikkadēvarāja during the early years of his reign, namely 1673-1678, were so important from the contemporary point of view that, as we have seen, they found adequate expression in the works of Chikkupādhyāya and other contemporaries of Tirumalārya. Indeed, while these writers attempted in their writings to invest Chikkadēva with all halo of an epic hero by recounting his pedigree and exploits, Tirumalārya seems to have found it convenient to go even a step further and strike an altogether new line by idealising and exalting his hero (Chikkadēvarāja) to the rank of a divinity—as an incarnation of Vishṇu. That, at any rate, is how he has been depicted⁸⁵ by setting his birth and early life against the background of Vaiṣṇava tradition centring round the early history of the Ruling Dynasty of Mysore. The *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvalī* appears, accordingly, to have been written not earlier than 1678 and not later than 1680. After invocation to Vishṇu, the work begins with an elaborate account of the rule and exploits of Rāja Wodeyar (*Rāja-Nripa-Charitam*) with special reference to his conquest and capture of Seringapatam (1610) from Tirumala, the Viceroy-nephew of Venkaṭa I; and touches incidentally on the Vaiṣṇava tradition relating to the origin and founding of the

82. Compare, for instance, *C. Vi.*, III, 11, 142-144, with *C. Vam.*, 38, 160-161.

83. I, p. 6 (prose passage below v. 23).

84. See pp. 166-168; also Ch. XI, f.n. 69.

85. Pp. 146-151, 156-159, etc.

Ruling House of Mysore. This is followed by short notices of the reigns of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar (*Chāmarāja-Charitam*), Immaḍi-Rāja Woḍeyar (*Immaḍi-Rājarasa-Charitam*) and Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar (*Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja-Charitam*). Then we have a lengthy account of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar (*Doḍḍadēvarāja-Charitam*), father of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar (and ruler of the city of Mysore under Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasa), by way of giving prominence to the birth and early education and training of Chikkadēvarāja as the heir to the throne of Mysore. At the end of this account is a brief but incomplete reference to the rule of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja Woḍeyar and uncle of Chikkadēvarāja) in Seringapatam in succession to Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasarāja Woḍeyar, with an indication of Chikkadēva's position as *Yuvarāja* under Dēvarāja.

Though a prose work, the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamsāvali* is conceived throughout in the poetic vein. It is a piece of poetic prose, reading more like epic poetry superbly executed than as a plain prose narrative. Characterized by grandeur of diction, richness of imagery and beauty of the heroic and devotional sentiments delineated, it is a model of polished *Halagannaḍa* prose style in Mysore in the seventeenth century. From the literary point of view, therefore, it is invaluable as a classic. In estimating the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamsāvali* from the historical point of view, however, it is to be remembered that Tirumalārya writes not as a strict chronicler but as a poet working on the traditional material available to him at the time. His accounts of historical persons and events, as we have noticed in the earlier chapters, are therefore not unoften marked by poetic license and lack of chronological sequence, and are occasionally coloured by his personal predilections as well.⁸⁶ Due allowance must perforce be made for these limitations in utilising

86. See, for instance, in Appendix II—(2) and V—(2) to this work.

the work for historical purposes. The *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali* is the earliest available work so far, embodying, in particular, a genuine traditional account of the course of affairs relating to the rise and progress of the kingdom of Mysore under Rāja Wodeyar (down to 1610) and his immediate successors (down to 1659). Used with caution and discrimination, it is of considerable value as a corrective to all accretions on the subject. From the contemporary standpoint, the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamsāvali* is of unique importance as throwing a flood of light on the development of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in Mysore in the seventeenth century;⁸⁷ it indeed has to be regarded primarily as a contribution to the literature on that religion in Kannaḍa, and as an index of Tirumalārya's profound knowledge of its philosophy.

The *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*,⁸⁸ the next literary production of Tirumalārya, is a *Haḷa-gannaḍa champu* in 6 cantos (*āśvāsa*) dealing with the pedigree of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and his early life as Crown-prince under his uncle Dēvarāja Wodeyar. The poet styles it an epic, clearly mentions his name in the colophon at the end of each canto, and directly tells us that the work was written by him as a protegè of Chikkadēvarāja (*Śrī-Chikadēva-Mahārāja kṛpā-paripālita Śrī-Tirumaleyārya virachitamappa Chikadēvarāja-Vijaya mahā-prabandhadol*). In the colophon at the end of the sixth canto, he speaks also of the completion of the poem (*Chikadēvarāja-Vijayam mahā-prabandham sampūrṇam*), but the canto itself, as it has come down, is incomplete since it stops abruptly towards its close. The *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* is decidedly earlier than

87. See, for instance, sections on *Religion* and *Social life* in Ch. IX, for details.

88. Pub. with *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 1-5), in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Manjarī Series*, No. 17, Mysore, 1896; also *P. L. Ms.* of this work—No. 137 of the *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 461-464.

the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam* which not only mentions⁸⁹ it next in the order of precedence to the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali* but is also found to contain verses⁹⁰ from the former. It is, again, later than the *Paravāsudēva-Stavaḥ* and *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali* because it borrows⁹¹ freely from both these works. Also certain portions from the latter work are found versified⁹² in the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*. Further, the colophon to each canto of the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* invariably refers to the titles of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, some of them being indicative of his achievements over his contemporaries, namely, the Nāyak of Madura, the Muhammadans and the Mahrattas.⁹³ The latest political event within the direct knowledge of the poet at the time he wrote this work seems, obviously, to be the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam and its repulse by Chikkadēvarāja about April 1682.⁹⁴ In the light of these data, the composition of the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* has to be fixed subsequently to 1682 but not later than 1686. The first canto in the work begins with the usual invocations to Vishṇu, Lakshmi and the Ālvārs among others; and contains the traditional account of the creation of the world and of the origin and rise of the Yādava dynasty up to the advent of the Yadu princes to Mēlkōṭe and their settlement in Mysore as progenitors

89. Vide f.n. 83 *supra*.

90. Compare, for instance, *A. V. C.*, I, 26, 29, 32, 34, 36, 39-41, 43, and II, 3, 6, III, 17-18, 26, 43, with *C. Vi.*, V, 72, 101, 105, IV, 116, 96, V, 103, IV, 114, III, 17, IV, 120; and IV, 134, 127, 129, V, 107, IV, 138, V, 80.

91. Compare *Paravāsudēva-Stavaḥ*, vv. 10-12, 14-15, 18, 22, 47, 56, 61-62, 65 with those quoted in the *C. Vi.*, pp. 123-124 (vv. 1-12); see also references in f.n. 82 *supra*.

92. Compare, for instance, *C. Vam.*, 166-188, with *C. Vi.*, IV, 50-180.

93. *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalādhipa-vētaṇḍa-vilunṭhana-Kaṅṭhīrava* (lion to the elephant, the lord of the Pāṇḍya country); *Bhūri-turushka-śushka-vana-dāvānala* (a wild fire to the forest, the mighty Turushkas); *Marāṭa-jhāṭa-mēgha . . . janjhānila* (powerful gale to the forest of clouds, the Mahrattas). For details about the political events echoed in these titles, vide Ch. XI of this work.

94. See Ch. XI of this work, for details.

of the Mysore Royal Family. The next three cantos are closely modelled on the subject-matter of the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamsāvalī*. They deal, respectively, with the fortunes of the early rulers of the Wodeyar dynasty of Mysore, from [Hiriya] Beṭṭada-Chāmarāja Wodeyar III down to Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar; the idealisation of Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar, father of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (and ruler of the city of Mysore under Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasa); and the birth, early life, education and training of Chikkadēvarāja, the hero of the work, conceived of and depicted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu (*Yadugiri-Nārāyaṇa*). The fifth canto mainly centres round the political events of the reign of Dēvarāja Wodeyar (younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja Wodeyar and successor of Kaṅṭhīrava-Narasarāja Wodeyar), and deals with the daily routine, etc., of his nephew Chikkadēvarāja as Crown-prince (*Yuvarāja*) under him. The last canto delineates a picture of the night adventures of the hero (*i.e.*, Chikkadēva).

As a poetical work written on the classical model (*champu*), the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* is of considerable literary merit. It is a grand poem clothed in the most elegant language. Indeed, as Singarārya testifies,⁹⁵ it is characterized by beauty of diction, straightforwardness and propriety of meanings and sweetness of sentiments and eloquence. The terseness of Tirumalārya's poetical style, however, is occasionally counter-balanced by the variety of metres (like the *tripadi* and the *sāṅgatyā*) to which he freely resorts. He is undoubtedly at his best in his delineation of the erotic sentiment and exhibits a thorough acquaintance with the text of Vātsyāyana (*Kāma-sāstra*; *Kāma-tantrada vaiśika-prakarana*),

95. See *Mitra. Gō.*, I, p. 4, referring to an appreciation of the *C. Vi.* while quoting from it (p. 3, v. 10): *Andamāgi melpuvaḍeda sabudangaḷa sēruveyim saralamum, karameseva puruḷa pavanigeiyim sarasamumeviṣi tanisodeya sōneyante inidam kiviḷalge karegumī Tirumalāryana bāyḍereya sarasatiya saipuvaḍeda sāhitya saundaryam.*

particularly in the last canto. That is an episode in itself, a sort of burlesque as it were, set against an ideal background of contemporary society, with a note of realism pervading throughout. The *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*, as indicated above, treats of the traditional history of the rise of the kingdom of Mysore under Rāja Woḍeyar (down to 1610) and his immediate successors (down to 1659), on the same footing and under the same background as the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vamśāvali*. At the same time, used with caution, it certainly is of greater importance than the latter as perhaps the only available contemporary source of information for the political history of the reign of Dēvarāja Woḍeyar (1659-1673), particularly on the relations of Mysore with Ikkēri (1659-1664) and the siege of Ērōḍe (1667). No less significant is the work as a contribution to the literature on Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in Kannāḍa and as affording valuable evidence of the adoption of that faith by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar.⁹⁶

Perhaps the latest work of Tirumalārya extant is the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam*,⁹⁷ a *Halagannaḍa* treatise in 4 parts (*prakaraṇa*) on poetics (*alankāra-grantha*), written at the instance of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar.⁹⁸ It is so styled because it treats of the exploits of Chikkadēva in so far as these serve to illustrate the aphorisms (*sūtra*) of the science of poetics, *Apratima-Vīra* being only a title of Chikkadēvarāja which he is said to have acquired after curbing the pride of Śivāji (1677).⁹⁹ From internal

96. Vide Ch. XIII, for a detailed notice of the socio-religious data.

97. Pub. with *Editorial Introduction* (pp. i-vi), in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Manjari Series*, Mysore, 1931 (Second edition); also *P. L. Mss.* of this work—No. 109 of the *Mys. Or. Lib.* and No. 33 (*Apratima-Vīra-Yasōbhūshaṇam*) of the *Cat. Kan. Mss.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 461, 465-467. Wilson refers to this work as *Chikkadēvarāja-Yasōbhūshaṇa* (*Des. Cat. Mack. Mss.*, p. 341).

98. I, 12: *Niravisu nīm kabbada nuḍi* |

Vurulgaḷōḍōḍavinirava-nendapratimam ||

99. Vide Ch. XI, f.n. 53, for details.

evidence, the *Apratīma-Vīra-Charitam* was, it would seem, a product of the latter part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign. It appears to have been written just at a time when Chikkadēvarāja was securely established on the throne of Seringapatam and when he was enjoying the sovereignty of the Karnāṭaka country after subjugating the contemporary powers in all the directions. Further, the latest political event of Chikkadēva's reign within the living memory of Tirumalārya at the time of his writing this work was, we note,¹⁰⁰ the war with Ikkēri and the final acquisition of Arkalgūḍ from its chief Krishṇappa Nāyaka (1694-1695). Chronologically, therefore, the *Apratīma-Vīra-Charitam* has to be assigned to the period c. 1695-1700.¹⁰¹ The work begins with the usual invocation to Viṣṇu and with a brief reference to the pedigree and rule of Chikkadēvarāja personified as a divinity. The subject-matter proper is dealt with thus: On each item of the science of poetics, the relevant original *sūtra* in Sanskrit (from standard works of the classical school, like the *Kāvya-Prakāśa* of Mammaṭa, *Pratāpa-Rudrīya* of Vidyānātha and *Kāvya-lankāra-Sūtra* of Vāmana) is first stated. This is followed by its gloss (*vṛitti*) in Kannāḍa, together with

100. *Ibid.*, f.n. 155-160.

101. Compare the *Editorial Introduction* (p. v) to the *A. V. C.*, which refers to the possibility of its having been written at a time when Tirumalārya was only a court poet (*i.e.*, before 1686), on the following grounds: firstly, that the exploits or achievements of Chikkadēvarāja, echoed in the illustrative examples of the *A. V. C.*, took place when Chikkadēva was *Yuvarāja* or Crown-prince (under his uncle Dēvarāja, 1659-1673); secondly, if it be assumed that Tirumalārya wrote the work during his period of office as Chikkadēvarāja's Prime Minister (*i.e.*, 1686-1704), it would be open to question whether he could have found time and leisure for literary pursuits amidst his onerous duties. This position is thoroughly untenable. For it does not consider in detail nor evaluate the internal evidence of the work bearing on the events of Chikkadēva's reign (1673-1704), but confines its attention only to certain verses in the text, borrowed from the *C. Vi.*, referring to the early life and career of Chikkadēvarāja (*i.e.*, during 1659-1673). Again, it was certainly not quite impossible for a person of Tirumalārya's capacity and attainments to attempt literary production during c. 1695-1704, which was the period of consolidation and peaceful government in the long reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

an illustrative example in the form of a verse or verses. Some of these verses are found freely borrowed from the earlier work of Tirumalārya, namely, the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam*, while most of the illustrative examples are explained in intelligible prose also. The first part deals with the types of poetical composition and their general characteristics (*kabbada lakkaṇa*); the second treats of style, diction, sentiment and verbal figures (*rīti, śayye, pāka, vritti, śabdāṅkāra*); the third deals with one hundred types of figures of speech bearing on meanings of rhetorical expressions (*arthāṅkāra*); and the last with figures relating to sentiment (*rasāṅkāra*), and proof or testimony (*pramāṅkāra*) as expounded by the neo-scholiasts (*poṣa-bijjevaḷar pēlvudam*).

Apart from the value of the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam* as a text-book of poetics in Kannaḍa, the incidental references in the illustrative portion of it throw useful light on the relations of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar with his contemporaries, namely, the Nāyak of Madura, the Mahrattas, the Muhammadans and the local powers including Ikkēri.¹⁰² Indeed, on this topic, Tirumalārya writes from direct knowledge, giving prominence to the delineation of the heroic sentiment. Looked at from this point of view, the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam* constitutes an important contemporary source of information for the political history of Chikkadēvarāja's reign, while it also bears evidence of the culmination of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as his personal religion during the latter part of his reign.

Tirumalārya is also credited¹⁰³ with having written the *Paśchimarangarāja-Stavaḥ* and the *Ēkādaśi-Nirṇaya* in Sanskrit, and the *Chikkadēvarāja-Śatakam* and the *Kīrtanegaḷu* in Kannaḍa. These have not come down

102. Vide Ch. XI, for details.

103. See *Editorial Introduction* to the *C. Vam.* (p. 3), *C. Vi.* (p. 3) and *A. V. C.* (p. iv); also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 461.

to us so far. The *Chikkadēvarāja-Śatakam* is, however, found mentioned by Tirumalārya himself in the *Apratima-Vira-Charitam*¹⁰⁴ as a poetical work next in the order of precedence to the *Chikkadēvarāya-Vamśāvali*.

Singarārya (Singaraiyangār II), second son of Aḷasingarārya and younger brother of Singarārya. Tirumalārya,¹⁰⁵ was, as already indicated, another prominent scholar at the court of Chikkadēvarāja WoḌeyar. He was, we note,¹⁰⁶ well known for his accomplishments in various subjects which he had mastered by the favour of Tirumalārya. Evidently he was a disciple of Tirumalārya, and had attained celebrity as an authority on matters literary.¹⁰⁷

Among his works in Sanskrit are a *Gloss*¹⁰⁸ (*vyākhyāna*) on the *Yadugiri-Nārāyaṇa-Stavaḥ* of Tirumalārya, and a poetical piece named *Śrīśailārya-Dinacharyā*¹⁰⁹ (daily routine of Śrīśailārya). Both these works are conspicuous by the absence of the name of the author. But internal evidence goes to establish that Singarārya wrote them as a disciple of Tirumalārya. In particular, the commentator refers¹¹⁰ in the *Gloss* to Nṛsimhārya as his father, the latter being identical with the father of Singarārya and Tirumalārya, namely, Aḷasingarārya. The first stanza at the commencement of the *Gloss* occurs in the beginning of the *Śrīśailārya-Dinacharyā* also.¹¹¹ Further, there is a close similarity in respect of style of both these works as also an intimate acquaintance on the part of the author with the personality, character and works of

104. I, p. 6 (prose passage below v. 23).

105. *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 3 (p. 2); see also Table in Appendix II—(4).

106. *Ibid.*, p. 2 (prose passage below v. 6): *Tirumalāryara kṛpeyindenike-galavaḍada palavum bijjegaḷim nerevaṅige goṇḍu*.

107. *Ibid.*: *Pada-vākya-pramāṇa-pārāvāra-pārīṇareṇḍu jagadol negaḷḍirpār*.

108. See pp. 1-80 in the *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., noticed in f.n. 71 *supra*.

109. See pp. 119-128 in *Ibid.*

110. See p. 37 (gloss on v. 33): *Asmat-pitr-charaṇai-Nṛsimhāryaiḥ*.

111. See pp. 1, 119.

Tirumalārya, whom he regards as his preceptor (*guru*).¹¹² The *Gloss* appears to have been written about 1678-1680 since the *Stavaḥs* of Tirumalārya are themselves assignable to the period 1673-1678, and since the latest event referred to in the *Gloss*,¹¹³ namely, the celebration of car festival, etc., at Mēlkōṭe on the occasion of the birthday of Śrī-Rāmānuja in the month of *Chaitra*, is corroborated by a lithic record dated in 1678.¹¹⁴ The *Śrīśailārya-Dinacharyā*, on the other hand, is to be dated in or about 1700, since the latest event echoed therein¹¹⁵ is the visit of Tirumalārya (Śrīśailārya) to Madura and his political advice to the Pāṇḍyan prince there (c. 1698).

Both the *Gloss* and the *Śrīśailārya-Dinacharyā* are indices of Singarārya's attainments in classical Sanskrit. The *Gloss* contains a word-for-word explanation of each stanza of the *Yadugiri-Nārāyaṇa-Stavaḥ*. Clear and authoritative, it evidences in a remarkable measure his thorough acquaintance with Sanskrit grammar, lexicon and poetics. The *Śrīśailārya-Dinacharyā* is composed in an elegant and dignified style and is full of religious and moral fervour of the poet as an earnest disciple of Śrīśailārya.

Only one Kannada work of Singarārya is extant, namely, the *Mitravindā-Gōvindam*,¹¹⁶ The *Mitravindā-Gōvindam*, c. 1700-1704. a play (*rūpaka*) in 4 acts. It is perhaps the only available contribution to dramatic literature in *Halagannaḍa* (*Kārnāṭakam nāṭakam*), being an adaptation of the *Ratnāvalī*, the well-known Sanskrit work of Śrī-Harsha. Singarārya

112. See pp. 119-128, vv. 1, 4-6, 22, 44, 54-55, etc.; see also and compare the *Editorial Introduction* (pp. ii-iii) to the *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., assigning the authorship of the *Gloss* to Singarārya on grounds similar to the above.

113. Vide f.n. 110 *supra*.

114. *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 94; see also Ch. XIII, f.n. 126.

115. See *Y. N. Stavaḥ*, etc., p. 126, v. 41: *Śrīśaila-sūviratha Pāṇḍya-urpāya*. . . . *rājñe sunītimupadiśya*.

116. Pub. in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Manjari Series*, Mysore, 1920 (Second edition); see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 503-504.

clearly refers¹¹⁷ to himself as the author of the play. The *Mitravindā-Gōvindam* is later than the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* (c. 1682-1686) of Tirumalārya, the *Dēvanagara Copper-plate grant* (c. 1686-1690) composed by Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya and the *Sachchūdrā-chāra-Nirṇaya* (c. 1687-1690) of Chikkadēvarāja, for it quotes passages from these sources.¹¹⁸ It is, again, almost contemporaneous with the *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam* (c. 1695-1700) because it refers¹¹⁹ to Tirumalārya as having completed all his works, including the treatise on *alankāra* (i.e., *Apratima-Vīra-Charitam*), at the time Singarārya wrote this dramatic piece; and points¹²⁰ also to the last phase in the life of Tirumalārya when he had attained prominence as a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophical teacher. The *Mitravindā-Gōvindam* has therefore to be fixed in the period c. 1700-1704, when Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was ruling the kingdom of Mysore in peace and quiet, at the end of a long series of conquests by which he had consolidated his position as a ruler. The work begins with the usual invocation to Viṣṇu (Gōvinda). The plot of the play is similar to that of the *Ratnāvalī*, its prototype. It differs, however, from the latter in so far as the dramatist invents his own names for the characters, Vāsudēva (or Kṛiṣṇa) being made the hero, with Rukmiṇi as his senior queen and Mitravindā (the counterpart of Ratnāvalī) as the heroine (afterwards junior queen of Vāsudēva). Again, considerable space is devoted in the work to the delineation of the comic sentiment, the play being intended to

117. I, 3-5 (p. 2): *Singarārya-nusirdam*; *Singarārya-roreda* . . . *nāṭakam*.

118. Compare, for instance, *Mitra. Gō.*, I, 10 (p. 3) with *C. Vī.*, V, 106; and I, 9 (l.c.) with *E. G.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 77-79, and *Sachchū. Nir.*, I, 44. Tirumalāchārya, referred to in the *Mitra. Gō.* (p. 3, *vachana* below v. 8), is identical with Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya in the light of references cited here.

119. P. 4 (*vachana*); see also f.n. 64 *supra*.

120. *Ibid* (prose passage): *Dēśika-sārvabhaumareṇisidī-dvijarājār*.

be enacted under the very eye of Chikkadēvarāja on the occasion of *Vasantōtsava*¹²¹ of God Ranganātha of Seringapatam, evidently a very popular festival of the time. The *Mitravindā-Gōvindam* is written in an eminently enjoyable style and, as Singarārya himself tells us,¹²² is characterized by a wealth of pleasing metres, directness of meaning, sweetness and beauty of diction, a happy association of words, figures and sentiments, and harmony of sounds. Altogether a unique contribution to the Kannāḍa literature of the times, testifying to the activities and tastes of the court of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar during the last years of his reign.

Singarārya refers¹²³ in the *Mitravindā-Gōvindam* to two more works of his, namely, *Rāghavābhyudaya* and *Gīta-Rangēśvara*. These, however, have not so far come to light.

A series of works either ascribed to or written by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar himself, are extant. The earliest of these is the *Bhārata-Vachana*,¹²⁴ a Kannāḍa prose version of the *Mahābhārata* in Chikkadēvarāja's name (*Chikkadēva-Mahārāja-pranītamappa ṭiku; Chikkadēvarāya virachitamappa Karnāṭa-bhāshā rachita . . . ṭippanadoḷ*), dealing with the *Sānti-Parva*, *Śalya-Parva*, *Gadā-Parva*, *Sauptika-Parva*, *Aishika-Parva*, *Strī-Parva*, *Mausala-Parva*,

Chikkadēvarāja
Woḍeyar.

The *Bhārata-Vachana*; the *Bhāgavata* (*Chikkadēvarāja-Sūkti-Vilāsa*), c. 1682-1686.

121. P. 1 (prose passage); see also under *Social life* in Ch. XIII of this work
122. I, 3-5 (p. 2):

Kabbamaise madhuvam sūsutta; sadvṛtta sampattiyim |
Belagindandade nuṣṣimīnderdege varpudyad guṇaślēshadim ||
Lalītālankriye gāḍhyamāgi sogasim kaṇṭhakke karṇakke sai |
Taḷavaṭṭirpuvu . . . ; andambetta padakramangaḷinanē-
kālanakriyābhikhyeyim |
Chendam mumbarivodu bhāvatatiyim chanchadrasasphūrtiyim ||
Onē ritiyōḷandi barpa danyindāhḷadaman māḷkunḍ |
Nandam kainige . . . nāṭakam ||

123. I, 6 (p. 2).

124. Ms. No. 236—P. L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; also item Nos. 104-106, 108-109, 111-113 in the *Des. Cat. Kan. Mss.*, of the *Mad. Or. Lib.* (I. 190-201, 203-209, 213-220); see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 455, 459.

Mahāprasthāna-Parva and *Svargārōhaṇa-Parva*. All these episodes from the great epic seem to have been compiled between 1682-1686, since the latest political event directly reflected in them (especially in the colophons to the *Śānti-Parva*) is Chikkadēvarāja's repulse of the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam under Dādaji and Jaitaji (c. April 1682), and since they point to Chikkadēva as having been at the height of his power at the end of his campaigns against his feudatories (*Karnāṭa dharā-maṇḍalanum; samasta sāmanta-nṛpa sarvasva sankramaṇa*). They begin with invocations to Gaṇeśa, Śārada, Vāsudēva, Krishṇa and Vēda-Vyāsa. Some of the colophons to the chapters refer also to Chikkadēvarāja's devotion to Yadugiri-Nārāyaṇa and Mukunda. The *Bhārata-Vachana* is written in homely *Eosagannaḍa* prose style, and is another index of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as Chikkadēvarāja's personal religion during the intermediate stage (1680-1696). To the same period belongs the Kannaḍa prose version of the second section of the *Bhāgavata* (also in Chikkadēvarāja's name) entitled *Chikkadēvarāja-Sūkti-Vilāsa*.¹²⁵ The colophon to the work refers to Chikkadēvarāja as enjoying the sovereignty of the Empire (c. 1686) (*sāmrajyaśchikkadēvarāja-nṛpatēh*).

The next work of importance in Chikkadēvarāja's name is the *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya*, c. 1687-1690. *Nirṇaya*¹²⁶ (*Śrī-Chikadēva-mahārājēna prañitēshu; Śrī-Chikadēva-mahārāja krtishu Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaye*), a treatise (*mahā-prabandha*) in 14 chapters (*adhikāra*) defining and codifying the rites and practices for a good Śūdra. The introductory chapter (*upōdghātādhikārah*) begins with the usual invocation to Vishṇu and deals with the pedigree and exploits of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. At the end of

125. Ms. No. 16—P.L., *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha*; l.c.

126. Ms. No. A. 431—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*

the last chapter is a long prose colophon recounting a series of titles of Chikkadēvarāja, which reflect his achievements and the outstanding political events of his reign. The latest of these events incidentally referred to in both these chapters are Chikkadēvarāja's repulse of the Mahratta invasion of Seringapatam (1682) and his acquisition of Bangalore from Ēkōji (1687). The poetical passages and the prose colophon included, respectively, in these parts of the work are evidently taken from the compositions of Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya. Such borrowing, as is usual with Royal authors, does not, however, mean here anything more than that the king refrains, out of modesty, from speaking in praise of his own ancestry or exploits. Again, the *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya* is slightly later than the *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate charter* (1686) and almost contemporaneous with the *Dēvanagara copper-plate grant* (c. 1686-1690), since the introductory chapter contains verses¹²⁷ which are found in both these documents. It appears further to have preceded Chikkadēvarāja's legislation relating to the Arasu families in October 1690. We would not, therefore, be far wrong in assigning the work to about 1687-1690. The *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya* is a compilation in a mixture of prose (*vachana*) and poetry in Sanskrit, the subject-matter being taken from the 12th chapter of the *Śiva-Māhātmya* of the *Sūta-Samhitā* in the *Skānda-Purāṇa*. It is supported also by illustrative references from the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Manu-Smṛiti*. The work was, we learn, written with a view to bring about a much-needed social reform, namely, the uplift of the Śūdras and the preservation intact of the ideal of *Varnāśrama-dharma* applicable to them as members of the fourth order of Hindu society. The subject-matter

127. Compare, for instance, *Sachchū. Nir.*, I, 25-27, 37, 40, 50, 60-63, with *E. C.*, III (1) Sr. 14, ll. 34-41, 50-53, 56-59, 62-65, 65-77; also I, 12-25, 28-32, 44-47, 50, 60-62, with *E. C.*, *Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol.*, My. 115, ll. 21-44, 46-53 55-63, 77-83, 83-85, 86-95.

proper begins with invocation to *Śrīśaila-Guru*. The chapters forming the work are devoted to the consideration of matters relating to a good Śūdra's privileges and duties. Among the topics dealt with are: definition of the nature of the Śūdra caste (*śūdra-jāti svarūpa*); rights and limitations of a Śūdra in respect of Śāstraic and Vēdic studies (*śāstra vaśyatva, vidyāsthānēshuchādhikārānadhikriye*); principal duties and practices observable by him (*mukhya-dharma*); determination of his privileges in regard to impregnation and other ceremonies (*nishēkādishu*); the *dīkshā*, etc., according to the *Pāncharātra* (*Pāncharātrōkta dīkshādi*); divine knowledge (*brahmajñānādhikāra*); daily prayers (*s a n d h y ā karma*); pollution (*āśaucha*) and funeral rites (*karma-prayōga*).¹²⁸

Ascribed to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar are a number of songs in Kannaḍa, composed in the *saptapadi* and *tripadi* metres. These have come down to us under the appellation of *Chikkadēvarāja-Saptapadi*¹²⁹ and *Tripadigala-Tātparyā*,¹³⁰ the latter being also known as *Śringāra-Sangīta-Prabandha*. The latest political events echoed in these works are Chikkadēvarāja's legislation relating to Arasu families (1690) and the acquisition by him of Sakrepaṭṇa and Chickmagalūr (1690).¹³¹ These songs are accordingly to be assigned to the period c. 1690-1695. They not only eulogise Chikkadēvarāja's exploits but also serve to illustrate his devotion to Viṣṇu. Further, they seem to reveal, and bring us into intimate touch with, the personality of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

128. See ff. 10-13 (Introd. Ch.) referring to the scope of the work, etc. For a detailed exposition of the aims and objects of the *Sachchā. Nir.*, see under *Social life—Social legislation*, in Ch. XIII.

129. Ms. No. B. 67—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*: see pp.188-282.

130. Ms. No. 18-6-6—P. L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*

131. *Vide* Ch. XI, f.n. 149, for details.

Of, perhaps, greater interest and significance, however, are two Kannada productions entitled *Chikkadēvarāja-Binnapam* and *Gīta-Gōpālam*.¹³² Both these works are later than the *Chikkadēvarāja-Vijayam* (c. 1682-1686), the *Apratīma-Vīra-Charitam* (c. 1695-1700) and the *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya* (c. 1687-1690), since they freely borrow verses from the first two sources and the long prose colophon in Sanskrit from the last-mentioned one.¹³⁴ Both begin with invocation to Viṣṇu (as Yadugiri-Nārāyaṇa), and both are assignable to the period c. 1700-1704, which corresponds to the latest phase of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism as the personal religion of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. The *Binnapam*, however, is the earlier of the two and appears to have been written in or after 1700 when Chikkadēvarāja was, according to the work itself,¹³⁵ ruling Mysore in peace having subjugated his enemies (including the Koḍagu and Maleyāḷa chiefs) in all the eight directions (*eṇdeseya pagedaḷadāngidudarim*). The *Gīta-Gōpālam* is slightly later than the *Binnapam*, since it contains poetical pieces and prose passages from the latter, though in a condensed form.¹³⁶ The colophon at the end of each of these works

132. Pub. in the *Karnātaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series*, No. 15, Mysore, 1905; also *P.L. Mss.* of this work—No. 32 of the *Mys. Or. Lib.*, and No. 371 of the *Cat. Kan. Mss.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 455, 457-459.

133. Pub. in the *Karnātaka-Kāvya-Kalānidhi Series*, Mysore (No. and date of publication not specified on the title page); also *Mss.*—No. A. 48 (*P.*) of the *Mys. Or. Lib.*, and Nos. 372-375 (*P.L.*) of the *Cat. Kan. Mss.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 455, 459-461.

134. Compare, for instance, vv. 3-4, 10 of the *C. Bi.*, with *A.V.C.*, I, 25, III, 28, and I, 50; and verses on pp. 1-2, 5, 11, 16, 20, 24-25, 29, 33, 37, 41, 63 and 68 of the *Gī. Gō.*, with verses in *C.Vi.*, IV-V, and *A.V.C.*, I-III; also compare prose colophons on pp. 58-59 (of the *C. Bi.*) and pp. 38-39, 68-70 (of the *Gī. Gō.*) with the colophon on ff. 120-123 of the *Sachchū. Nir.*

135. See p. 4, para 2.

136. Compare vv. 5, 1-2, 6, 8-9 (on pp. 1-2 of the *C. Bi.*) with vv. 32, 1-2, 12, 13-14 (on pp. 19, 41, 63 and 65 of the *Gī. Gō.*); also compare, for instance, prose passages on pp. 5, 42-43, 47, 49-50, 52-55, 57-59, 60-62, 65-66 (of the *Gī. Gō.*) with *Binnapam* 19-30 (on pp. 41-57 of the *C. Bi.*). It is interesting to note the identity of the subject-matter treated of in these references.

refers to it as a *prabandha* and to the author as Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (*Śrī-Chikadēva-mahārāja virachitamappa divya prabandhangalo!*). At the same time these productions evidence, as usual, a free borrowing from, and are indicative of an acquaintance with, the earlier writings of contemporaries, particularly those of his minister Tirumalārya. Nevertheless there are sufficient grounds on which we can assign their authorship to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar himself. Firstly, the subject-matter of the texts is wholly permeated by the predilections, experiences and views of Chikkadēvarāja. Indeed his personality appears prominently throughout, and the reader is made to feel that he is being directly addressed by, and brought into intimate contact with, him. Secondly, the methodology of these works differs from that of the well-known contributions of Tirumalārya and his colleagues, in so far as the author here clearly states and develops his thesis with an individuality and zest all his own. Thirdly, in marked contrast with the works of Tirumalārya and other scholars, the prose and poetical style of these writings is perfervid, yet homely, eminently popular and quite intelligible. Fourthly and lastly, although there is no independent evidence that Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was an author himself, there is enough data at hand to hold that he was a person of many-sided tastes and accomplishments and that the possibility of his having tried his hand at literary ventures, particularly during the peaceful years of the latter part of his reign, is not altogether ruled out.¹³⁷

137. For details about the tastes and accomplishments of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, *vide* Ch. XVI below. Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 455, 460) which, while ascribing both these works to Chikkadēvarāja, refers to the possibility of Tirumalārya having written the *Gi. Gō.* and passed it off in Chikkadēva's name, on the ground that verses from Tirumalārya's works (like the *C. Vi.* and *A.V.C.*) occur largely in it. This position is untenable since it eschews considerations of personal element, style, methodology, etc., above referred to, borrows apart.

The *Chikkadēvarāja-Binnapam*, as noticed in the preceding chapter, deals with the essence of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophy of *Viśiṣṭādvaitism*, in the form of thirty humble prose petitions (*Binnapa*) addressed by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar to God Nārāyaṇa of Mēlkōṭe, the tutelary deity of the Yadu race (*tān tanna kula-dēvateyappa Yādavagiri-Nārāyaṇanaḍidāvaregalge binnapam geyva nevadoḷ*).¹³⁸ The work commences with eulogistic passages in poetry and prose referring to or echoing Chikkadēvarāja's exploits and achievements. Then the Royal author sets out his objective,¹³⁹ namely, popularisation of the fundamentals of all philosophical knowledge among his subjects in readable Kannada, in accordance with the well-known message of the Lord in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, to enable them all to attain salvation. The first ten petitions deal with the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being as creator, preserver and destroyer (*trivīdha-kāraṇanum*). The next eight petitions are centred round the romance of creation (*srṣṭi-krama*), with special reference to the universe, the elements, heaven and hell; and the last twelve expound the nature of salvation (*mōksha*) and the means of attaining it. The work reads throughout as a model piece of flowing *Halagannaḍa* prose, each *Binnapa* beginning with a stanza in the *kanda* metre by way of introduction. The *Gīta-Gōpālam* is a poetical work in two parts, modelled on the *Gīta-Gōvinda* of Jayadēva. It is devoted to an exposition of salvation for the masses in accordance with the teaching of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, as is pointed out by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar himself.¹⁴⁰ Each part contains a series of songs in seven sections (*saptapadi*). Each section of the first part contains seven groups of songs,

138. P. 5.

139. Pp. 4-5: *Ellarumarivante Kannada vātinolaṃ melnuḍigalinde akhila tatvārthaṅgaḷam sangatigoḷisi; prajegaḷanibarum ihadoḷ sogavāḍapar; ivarge paragatiyumam sampādisavēlpudēndārayḍu.*

140. P. 3, v. 10: *Īlōgarolva Gītada mūladoḷē nuktigatiya mogadōrisidam.*

all in the *tripādi* metre ; each section of the second part also embodies the same number of groups of songs which are, however, in the *panchapadi*, *tripadi* and *ēkapadi* metres, their number varying. The songs, on the whole, seem to be modelled and improved upon those of the earlier works ascribed to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, namely, the *Chikkadēvarāya-Saptapadi* and *Tripadigaḷa-Tātparyā*. They are occasionally interspersed by prose passages (*vachana*) briefly explaining the point at issue in each section. Both the parts are intimately connected with the explanation of the doctrine of trust in God's Grace.¹⁴¹ The first part (*pūrva-bhāga*), in particular, depicts the boyhood and sports of Lord Śrī-Krishṇa by way of giving prominence to Chikkadēvarāja's holding communion with and realizing the divine attributes of the Supreme Being;¹⁴² the second (*uttara-bhāga*) treats also of the doctrine of absolute surrender to Viṣṇu as the means of attaining salvation.¹⁴³ Delivered in a colloquial diction, the songs in the *Gīta-Gōpālam* have a fascination of their own ; they are soul-stirring and universal in their appeal and unailing in the human interest attaching to them.

The *Chikkadēvarāja-Binnapam* and the *Gīta-Gōpālam* thus occupy an important place in the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava literature of the period as living expressions of that faith in its popular aspect.¹⁴⁴ Chikkadēvarāja's religion as propounded in the *Binnapam*, in particular, is not merely the intellectual acceptance of a remote deity but a passionate insistence on the love and mercy of God. This prose-poem of his is not to be deemed a petty study

141. P. 5: *Eraḍum bhāgaḍoḷ . . . nambugeyemba tadupāyamam nīrūpisuvar.*

142. *Ibid.*

143. P. 41: *Mōkshamam sādhipudarka upāyamāda prapatti-svarūpamam nīrūpisuvar.*

144. For summaries of relevant extracts from these works, *vide* under *Religion* in Ch. XIII.

or a simple exposition of mere theological opinion; it is the portrait of as variously gifted and fascinating a man as ever lived. Variously gifted, we say *advisedly*, because the legend of his having been a religious persecutor has well nigh buried the lyric poet, the great soldier, the thinking philosopher, the subtle politician, the brilliant diplomat and the humane ruler. This work enables us to see the whole man as he was. His portrait of himself, as sketched here, may cause controversy; but he has helped to kill the traditional portrait perpetuated through the centuries. His *Appeal*—such a self-revealing, humble name—is one of great charm and humanity and is, even in the religious literature of India, of quite unusual design. There is not another work which gives, in such brief compass, so attractive a presentation of the true inwardness of the Vaishṇavite doctrine of Grace. It is one of the most successful attempts ever made to link up mystical Vaishṇavite theology with the great doctrine of *Prapatti*. Only a devout, passionate and earnest Vaishṇava, imbued with the truest spirit of the doctrine of Grace, could have written it. And when that is acknowledged, we acknowledge the fine spiritual atmosphere in which he lived, moved and had his being.

Another Śrī-Vaiṣṇava scholar at the court of Chikka-dēvarāja Wodeyar was Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya (or Tirumalāchārya) of Kaunḍiṇya-gōtra. He was by profession, we note,¹⁴⁵ a reader of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, skilled in composing poems in Kannaḍa, Telugu

145. See *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64 (1722), ll. 727-728, 730-731, and Sr. 100 (1724), ll. 91, 198-200:

Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalāryam Kaunḍiṇyam Vaiṣṇavam kavim ||;
Śrī Rāmāyaṇa-Bhārata-pārayāṇa-vihīta-vṛttinā-krtinā |
Kavinā Tirumaleyāchāryēṇa . . . ||;
Karnāṭāndhra-susamskrīta-kavitā-gāndharvakēshu yah kuśalāḥ |
Tēnēdam Rāmāyaṇa-Tirumaleyāchārya-sūrinā . . . ||.

and Sanskrit languages, and proficient in music. With the assent of Chikkadēvarāja, he composed the *Dēvanagara copper-plate grant*¹⁴⁶ in Sanskrit and Kannāḍa. The subject-matter of this grant, as referred to in the preceding chapter, relates to the year 1674, but the grant itself appears to have been actually composed at a considerably later date, since there are clear references¹⁴⁷ in it to the events of 1682 and since it records¹⁴⁸ also an additional share (*vritti*) granted subsequent to 1674. The earliest record echoing the events of 1682 is the *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate charter* dated in 1686; the next one is the long introductory chapter in the *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya* (c. 1687-1690), narrating the pedigree and exploits of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. The *Dēvanagara Plate* seems obviously to be subsequent to the former and almost contemporaneous with the latter, since it contains verses¹⁴⁹ found in either of these latter sources. Hence it must be taken to have been composed between c. 1686-1690.

On the ground of similarity of style and language, the *Seringapatam Temple copper-plate charter* and the introductory chapter to the *Sachchūdrāchāra-Nirṇaya* (setting out the pedigree, etc., of Chikkadēvarāja, together with the long prose colophon at the end of the treatise), referred

Other works.

146. *Ibid.*, Mys. Dist. Suppl. Vol., My. 115—see II, 150-151 :

Likhyatē tadānujneyā |

Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya vidushā tāmra-sāsanam ||

Cf. *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (III. 14-15) which places Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya in 1722, solely on the authority of *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 64 and 100, though in the *M.A.R.* (1912, pp. 56-57, para 127), referring to the *Dēvanagara Plate*, the name of the poet (*i.e.*, Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya) as its composer has already been noticed by the learned author of the *Kavi-Charite*. That Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya was a contemporary of Chikkadēvarāja and that he lived through the reigns of the first two of the latter's successors, are now borne out from a study of all the records composed by him. See also f.n. 150 *infra*.

147. *Ibid.*, II. 86-95; see also Ch. XI, f.n. 99 and 106, for details.

148. *Ibid.*, II. 459-476.

149. *Vide* references cited in f.n. 127 *supra*.

to above, have to be assigned to Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya, although his name is not specifically mentioned in both of these works. These documents are drawn up in the approved *kāvya* style in Sanskrit. Indeed so melodious are the poetical passages of Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya that Singarārya quotes from them in the *Mitravindā-Gōvindam*.¹⁵⁰

Among the poetesses of Chikkadēvarāja's court working directly under the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava influence, were Honnamma and Śringāramma.

Honnamma wrote the *Hadibadeya-Dharmam*,¹⁵¹ a Kannada poetical work in 9 chapters (*sandhi*) dealing with the duties of a faithful housewife. The poetess was, as noted in the preceding chapter, the bearer of Chikkadēvarāja's pouch (*sanchi*). She appears to have belonged to the fourth order of the Hindu society,¹⁵² and was attached to the household of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar since her teens (*pādadūḷigadoḷu baḷeda bālaki*).¹⁵³ She was, as she refers to herself,¹⁵⁴ an ordinary unlettered lady who wrote under the influence and favour of her religious preceptor Aḷasingarārya. Indeed Aḷasingarārya, we are told,¹⁵⁵ had once brought

150. I, 9 (p. 3); see also f.n. 118 *supra*. For details about the 18th century compositions of Rāmāyaṇam-Tirumalārya, *vide* Ch. XVIII in Vol. II of this work.

151. Pub. in the *Karnāṭaka-Kāvya-Manjari Series*, No. 4, Mysore, 1893; also *P.L. Mss.* of the work—Nos. 644-645 of the *Cat. Kan. Mss.* in the *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II, 505-506.

152. See I, 20-34, also 9-10, where she speaks of herself as a humble, yet highly favoured, chambermaid serving under Chikkadēvarāja.

153. I, 34.

154. I, 22, 38, IX, 53, 55-56: *Ōleviḍiḍu nā vōdadarive; palavōduḷaḷinde palavu bijjegaḷinde palabage vātugaḷinde belevaḍedirpenendenēisuvaḷalla; Aḷasingarāryanuḍḍāma kṛpā vaibhavake; neḷaḷida maimeyindāgi mahākṛti pēḷidenu; ā vupadēśavittarāryaru tanagā viḍhadōḷu pēḷidenu.*

155. I, 12-19 (pp. 3-4), 20-39; see also under *Position of women* in Ch. XIII. Compare the account of the poetess and her work in the *Editorial Introduction* (pp. 1-2) to it and in the *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II, 505), which refer to the possibility of Honnamma (the poetess) having been a native of

her literary and poetical talents to the notice of Chikkadēvarāja, who desired his principal consort, Dēvamma of Yeḷandūr, to have a poem composed by her (Honnamma). And Honnamma, thus encouraged, wrote the work. The *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* is an undated poem. Internal evidence, however, goes to show that it was written at a time when Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar was at the height of his power after his series of conquests in all the eight directions (*aṣṭadigvijaya lakshmiyaru*) during the early part of his reign,¹⁵⁶ and when Aḷasingarārya, father of Tirumalārya, had risen to eminence in the social life of the period as a leading Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosophical scholar.¹⁵⁷ In particular, the titles (namely, *Śrīmad-Vēdamārga-Pratiṣṭhāpanāchārya*, *Ubhaya-Vēdāntāchārya*) by which Aḷasingarārya is addressed in the *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* are found repeated *verbatim* in two lithic records of 1678 referring to him.¹⁵⁸ The *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* was thus a product of the period c. 1678-1680. The introductory chapter (*pīṭhikā sandhi*) indicates the scope and subject-matter of the poem. It begins with invocations to God Paśchimarangadhāma and Goddess Ranganāyaki of Seringapatam as well as God Nārāyaṇa of Yadugiri (Mēlkōṭe). Then follows a reference to the ancestry of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and a brief notice of his rule

Yeḷandūr on the assumption that she was favoured by queen Dēvamma (of Yeḷandūr). There is, however, no independent evidence in the work itself as to the ancestry, nativity, etc., of the poetess.

156. I, 4 (p. 2). 157. IX, 51-53; see also under *Social life* in Ch. XIII.
158. Compare *Hadi. Dhar.*, I, 12 (p. 3) and IX, 51, with *E.C.*, III (1) Sr. 94 and IV (2) Kr. 45 of 1678 (cited also in Ch. XIII, f.n. 110). The similarity in respect of the titles occurring in all these sources is significant. Also compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 505) which identifies Aḷasingarārya, mentioned in the text of the *Hadi. Dhar.*, with Singarārya, younger brother of Tirumalārya and author of *Mitra. Gō.*, a suggestion which is not warranted by evidence. Aḷasingarārya was prominent in Mysore during the early part of Chikkadēvarāja's reign also (up to 1685), and Singarārya, his son, during the latter part of it (from about 1698 onwards) —*vide* section on *Social life* in Ch. XIII; also works of Singarārya, above noticed.

and court and the circumstances under which the work came to be written. The poem, in the words of the poetess, is an embodiment of the essence of the philosophy of virtuous womanhood, an elixir of life, the quintessence of sublime truth and the secret of *dharmā*,¹⁵⁹ being intended for study and practical observance by all good housewives.¹⁶⁰ The theme of the poem is adapted, and aptly illustrated by references, from the *Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārata* (including the *Bhagavad-Gītā*), *Bhāgavata*, *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* and the canonical texts of Manu and other law-givers, with which the poetess shows her acquaintance.¹⁶¹ The next eight chapters are centred round the subject-matter of the work proper. Each of these chapters begins with invocations to Vishṇu and Lakshmi in their various manifestations. The second and third chapters deal, respectively, with the devotion of a good housewife to her husband and the nature of her services to him. The fourth chapter treats of her behaviourism towards her parents-in-law and other members in the family, and of faithful service to her husband. The fifth deals with the treatment to be accorded to her by her parents, brothers and sisters, parents-in-law and other relations; and touches on the responsibilities of parents in bringing up their daughters and bestowing them in marriage on right types of husbands. Chapter six is an exposition of the ethics of honourable wedlock, with reference to the happy companionship and co-operation of the married couple through life. Chapter seven depicts the state of renunciation and passionate longings of a virtuous lady separated from her husband during his long absence from his place. The next chapter deals with the daily

159. I, 39, 49, IX, 54 : *Sati dharmā . . . idu pāṭivratya-dharmā-tatvada sāra-vide-sanjīvana-mantra, idu paramārthu hitopadēśadu tiruḷu; dharmā-rahasya.*

160. I, 50 : *Satīyarōḍuvudu, oḷvendiṛidharmāda hadanaritācharisuvudu.*

161. I, 40, II, 29-50, III, 46-49, IX, 5, 14-15, 26-44.

routine of a devoted wife in her household. The last chapter is an earnest plea for single-minded devotion to and worship of Vishṇu on the part of faithful housewives, at the end of their meritorious careers, as means of attaining salvation in accordance with the doctrines of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism.¹⁶² The poem concludes with an expression of the indebtedness of the poetess to her preceptor Aḷasingarārya and an eulogy of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar's rule in Mysore.

The *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* is in the main written in the *sāngatya* metre. The close of each chapter, however, is indicated by a verse in the *kanda* metre (*sanchiya Honnamma nusirda kabbadoḷu . . . sandhi*). The work is a typical piece of *Halagannaḍa* poetry, its diction being grammatically pure, homely, easy-flowing, free from ornamentation and intelligible to a degree.¹⁶³ Throughout, the poem is expressive of the humility, earnestness and sincerity of convictions of an unsophisticated mind yearning for the maintenance unimpaired of the ancient ideals of Hindu womanhood, and for the preservation and promotion of domestic peace and felicity. Although, perhaps, Honnamma may be said to depict an idealistic picture of things, she maintains an intimate connection with the realities of contemporary life, in so far as she wrote under the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava influence of the times. Indeed she does appear prominently as a moralist working against a religious and philosophical background, and her poem is but an index of the popularity of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in the court of Mysore about 1680. As an exceedingly interesting though a plain lettered ode, as an everlasting code of social ethics relating to the duties

162. See IX, 1-3, 10-13, 45-48, referring to the merits, etc., of *juāna*, *vairāgya*, *hari-bhakti*, *kānya-karma*, *nitya-naimitta-karma*, *rahasya-traya*, *pancha-sanskāra* and *arthapanchaka-tatva* as means of salvation (*mukti*).

163. See I, 38: *Ellarumarivanteḷavātugaḷinde sollisuvenu*, where Honnamma herself refers to the simplicity of her style.

and responsibilities of women as good housewives,¹⁶⁴ the *Hadibadeya-Dharmam* occupies a unique place in the Kannaḍa literature of Chikkadēvarāja's reign.

Śringāramma wrote the *Padmini-Kalyāna*¹⁶⁵ (c. 1685).

She belonged to a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmanical family, being a daughter of Chintāmaṇi-Dēśikēndra and disciple of Śrīnivāsa-Dēśika.¹⁶⁶ She was, as already referred to,¹⁶⁷ a young poetess favoured by Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. The *Padmini-Kalyāna* is a Kannaḍa poem, also in the *sāṅgatya* metre, describing the marriage between God Śrīnivāsa of Tirupati and Padmini.¹⁶⁸

By far the most important contributor to Vira-Śaiva literature during the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar was Shaḍaksharadēva (Shaḍaksharaiya), particulars of whose ancestry, etc., we have elsewhere noticed.¹⁶⁹ Shaḍaksharadēva, we learn,¹⁷⁰ had attained celebrity, and been honoured by the cultured classes, as an expert in the art of composing poems in the Sanskrit and Kannaḍa languages. His writings generally belong to the period c. 1655-1700, although, curiously enough, there is nowhere any reference therein to his actual position as one of the councillors of Chikkadēvarāja's cabinet. Among the extant works, in *Haḷagannaḍa*, of Shaḍakshari are the

164. IX, 54: *Dharmada nenahu mareyadante kṛtīyāgi nirmisi nelegoḷisidenu.*

165. See *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 516-517.

166. *Ibid.*

167. *Ante*, Ch. XIII—see under *Position of women*; also *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, l.c.

168. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 517.

169. *Vide* under *Council of Ministers*, in Ch. XII.

170. See colophons to Shaḍaksharadēva's works (i.e., *Bhaktādhikya-Ratnāvali*, *Rājasēkhara-Vilāsa*, *Vṛshabhēndra-Vijaya* and *Śabaraśankara-Vilāsa*): *Samskrta Karnāṭaka bhāshāmaya sarasa-prabandha-nirmāṇachāturi-dhurīna*; *sarasajana-mānitōbhayakavitā-viśārada*; *ubhaya-kavitā-vichakshana*. See also *Rāj. Kath.*, XII. 474, where Dēvachandra speaks of Shaḍakshari as having been a distinguished poet of his age (*Shaḍakshariyu kavīśekhara-nenisīdam*).

Rājasēkhara-Vilāsa,¹⁷¹ *Vṛshabhēndra-Vijaya* a¹⁷² and *Śabaraśankara-Vilāsa*,¹⁷³ all written in the *champu* style. The earliest of these is the *Rājasēkhara-Vilāsa*, a *prabandha* completed on January 30, 1655.¹⁷⁴ It deals, in 14 chapters, with the story of how prince Rājasēkhara, son of Satyēndra-Chōla, received capital punishment at the hands of his father for having caused the death of a child during his recreations in the streets of his capital city, and how he ultimately obtained salvation at the hands of Śiva. It is based on the original Tamil work of Tirugnāna-Sambandar (Piḷlai-Nāinār), first written in the form of an epic poem in Kannaḍa by Gubbi-Malla-nārya (c. 1513) in his *Bhāvachintāratna*.¹⁷⁵ A manuscript copy of the *Rājasēkhara-Vilāsa* appears to have been actually completed on July 9, 1673 (*Pramādīcha*?, *Śrāvana śu.* 6).¹⁷⁶ It was probably this copy which is said¹⁷⁷ to have been presented by Shaḍaksharadēva at the court of Chikkadēvarāja. The *Vṛshabhēndra-Vijaya*, also called *Basavarāja-Vijaya*, was brought to completion on January 28, 1677.¹⁷⁸ It is a *mahā-purāṇa* in 42 chapters, dealing with the life of Basava, founder of Vīra-Śaivism. From a manuscript of this work it would seem that a copy of it was made by one Ganjām Yatirājaiya by December 23, 1700.¹⁷⁹ The *Śabaraśankara-*

171. Ms. No. K. 67—P.L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; also published work in the *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 442-446.

172. Ms. No. K. 406—P.L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 442, 446-447.

173. Mss. Nos. 67 and 357—P.L.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Ibid.*, 442, 448-449.

174. XIV, 184: *Jayābdada Māya suddha . . . tritiyejalli . . . i kṛti paripūrnamāyitu.*

175. *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 443.

176. Ms. No. K. 67 (referred to in f.n. 171 *supra*), ff. 113, v. 185.

177. See *Rāj. Kath.* (XII. 482, XI. 393), where Dēvachandra speaks of Shaḍakshari as having been well acquainted with Līlāvati and other narrative poems (*vastuka kāvya*), and refers to his (Shaḍakshari's) presentation of a copy of the *Rājasēkhara-Vilāsa* to Chikkadēvarāja and to his being honoured with grants of *maṭhs*, rent-free lands, etc., on the latter's appreciation of it.

178. ff. 153, v. 91: *Nalābda Māgha māśada sita-paksha panchamī.*

179. Ms. No. K. 406 (referred to in f.n. 172 *supra*), ff. 154 (ending).

*Vilāsa*¹⁸⁰ (c. 1690-1700) is also a *prabandha* in 5 chapters, dealing with the well-known sportive fight of Śiva (in the guise of a huntsman) with Arjuna. Shaḍaksharadēva is further credited¹⁸¹ with having written in Sanskrit the *Kavikarṇa-Rasāyana*, *Bhaktādhikya-Ratnāvali* and *Śivādhikya-Ratnāvali*. Only the first two of these works (c. 1680-1690) have, however, come down to us,¹⁸² and they are contributions to the devotional literature on Vīra-Śaivism. The *Bhaktādhikya-Ratnāvali*, in particular, has also a gloss (*ṭippaṇi*) entitled *Bhaktānanda-Dāyini*, written by one Guru-Siddha-Yati.¹⁸³

Shaḍakshari usually begins his works after invoking Śiva and the deities of the Śaiva pantheon (*i.e.*, Gaṇeśa, Shaṇmukha, Nandi, etc.), and after referring to his preceptor (Chikkavīra-Dēśika) and the early Vīra-Śaiva poets (*i.e.*, Basava, Channabasava, Prabhudēva, Mallāṇa, Hariśvara, Rāghavāṅka, Sōmanātha, Nijaguṇa-Śivayōgi and others). He invariably speaks of the excellence of his writings as stressing new modes of literary expression (*navīna ukti; nava-kāvya; nūtana; posa rīti; navīnamālanḁṛti*).¹⁸⁴ His diction is majestic, flowing and melodious, though his descriptions are in an ornate style. Altogether Shaḍaksharadēva's contributions are an index of the potency of Vīra-Śaiva tradition in Mysore during the latter part of the seventeenth century.

180. From the order of precedence mentioned in a *P. L. Ms.* (No. 67, ff. 29-30) of the *Śabaraśaṅkara-Vilāsa*, it would appear that the latter work was written subsequently to the *Rājasēkhara-Vilāsa*, *Vrshabhēndra-Vijaya* and *Kavikarṇa-Rasāyana*. Hence we are inclined to place it within the latest chronological limits, *i.e.*, c. 1690-1700. See also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 448.

181. See Preface to *Bhaktādhikya-Ratnāvali*.

182. Ms. No. A. 61—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*, and B. 920 (Pub.) in the *Mys. Or. Lib.* In view of what has been stated in f.n. 180 *supra*, we have to assign these works to c. 1680-1690.

183. See p. 66 (colophon) of B. 920 cited above.

184. *Vide* Mss. cited in f.n. 171-173 *supra*; see also *Kar. Ka. Cha.* (II. 444-446, 448), quoting texts from the originals.

Among the Jaina authors of the period, Chidānanda and Chikkaṇṇa-Paṇḍita claim our attention.

(c) *Jaina literature.*

Chidānanda was, we note,¹⁸⁵ a poet, on whom the pontifical office at the Jain *maṭh* of Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa had been bestowed by his predecessor Chārukīrti-Paṇḍita-Yōgīndra who had left the place to Sōmavārpēt owing to certain serious local differences. At the time of Chidānanda's succession to the pontificate after the death of Chārukīrti, the same state of affairs, we are told,¹⁸⁶ continued at Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa, in consequence of which he had to go about on a tour through various parts of the country (*nānā nāḍugaḷolu sancharisi*). Ultimately, however, he was established in the pontificate with the assurance of safety (*abhaya*) promised by Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar.

As a mark of gratitude to Chikkadēvarāja, it would appear, Chidānanda wrote the *Munivamsābhyaudaya*,¹⁸⁷ a poetical work in Kannāḍa dealing with the rise and fortunes of the line of Jain sages at Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa, from the time of Vardhamāna down to Chārukīrti-Paṇḍita-Yōgīndra of the *Dakṣhiṇāchārya-Pīṭha*. The poem, as it has come down, is in 5 chapters (*sandhi*) and is incomplete. The first chapter begins with invocation to Jina (*Vītarāga*) and contains verses of eulogy directly addressed to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and pointing to the excellence of his government tested with reference to the principles of the ancient science of politics, namely, the three-fold elements of power (*utsāha-prabhū-mantra-śakti*) and the seven-fold elements of sovereignty (*saptāṅga, i.e., svāmi-mantri-mitra-kōśa-dēśa-durga-bala-lakṣhaṇam*). In the second

185. *Munivams.*, II, 89-92.

186. *Ibid.*, 93-101.

187. Ms. No. A. 196—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 508-510.

chapter, the poet sketches the pedigree of Chikkadēva by way of tracing the existence of friendly relations between the Mysore Royal House and the pontificate of Chārukīrti, especially since the time of Chāmarāja Woḍeyar V (1617-1637). The subject-matter of the work commences from the third chapter.

The *Munivamsābhyaudaya* has to be placed towards the close of the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar, since it presents a picture of him as a king ruling Mysore in peace after overawing the chiefs of Kongu, Koḍagu and Maleyāḷa countries (c. 1700),¹⁸⁸ and since it is conspicuous by the absence of any reference to Viśālāksha-Paṇḍita (1673-1686). It is written in the colloquial *sāṅgatya* metre, and is invaluable as affording us some insight into the character of Chikkadēvarāja as ruler of Mysore with toleration as an article of his political faith.

Chikkaṇṇa-Paṇḍita was a Jaina Brāhman of Kāśyapa-
 Chikkaṇṇa - gōtra, son of a scholar by name
 Paṇḍita. Doḍḍārya.¹⁸⁹ He compiled the *Vaidya-*
 The *Vaidya-* *Nighaṇṭu-Sāra*,¹⁹⁰ a work on Pharma-
Nighaṇṭu-Sāra, 1703. cology in Sanskrit. It was, as he tells
 us,¹⁹¹ prepared in 1703 (ś. 1625) at the desire of
 physicians and experts (in various *śāstras*) of the court
 of Chikkadēvarāja Woḍeyar. The work begins with
 invocations to the five great Jaina preceptors (*panchaguru*),
 to Jina and Sarasvati and to the earlier Jaina poets like
 Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Āditya and Simhasēna.
 It is in 14 chapters and deals with the preparation of
 drugs from ingredients of various classes (*varga*), such as
 grains, roots, plants, herbs, flowers, fruits, sandal, sugar-
 cane and metals. The treatise was, as the compiler
 says, intended for practical application, to ensure the
 happiness of all living beings.

188. *Vide* Ch. XI, f.n. 183, for details.

189. *Vaidya-Nighaṇṭu-Sāra*, ff. 1, v. 8.

190. Ms. No. 3830—*P.L.*; *Mys. Or. Lib.*

191. ff. 1-2, vv. 5-7, 9.

Among the miscellaneous works assignable to the reign of Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar, the *Sarajā-Hanumēndra-Yaśō-Vilāsa*¹⁹² (c. 1700) is a Kannaḍa *champu* in 5 cantos, dealing with the history of Sarajā-Hanumappa Nāyaka, son of Sītārāma, chief of Tarikere-Santebennūr and a contemporary of Chikkadēvarāja. The author of the work is Krishṇa-Śarma, a Brāhman of Bhāradvāja-gōtra and Yajuśśākha, grandson of Appāji and son of Paṭṭe-Timmārya by Tirumalāmbā. Skilled in poetical composition, he was, as he tells us, a devotee at the feet of Goddess Mīnākshi of Madura, and was the head of the guard establishment at the Palace of the king of Mysore, *i.e.*, Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar (*Mahisūra-rāḍ-gēha-dvārā-dhyaksha*). The *Chikkadēvarāja-Dharanīramaṇābhya-dayaḥ*¹⁹³ (c. 1700), an anonymous epic poem (*mahā-kāvya*) in 5 cantos in Sanskrit, deals with the rise and fortunes of the Mysore Royal House up to Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar. Lastly, the *Chikkadēva-Kempadēvammanavara-mēlaṇa-hāḍugaḷu*¹⁹⁴ is a collection of Kannaḍa songs in the *sāṅgatyā* metre, in honour of Chikkadēvarāja and his principal consort Dēvamma, composed in or about 1703 (*Svabhānu*). The compiler does not mention his name but he seems to have been the son of one Narasaiya, a treasury official under Chikkadēvarāja (*Bokkasada-Narasa-vibhu-putranāgi*). Another Kannaḍa work, of unique popularity, though not written under the direct patronage of Chikkadēva, is the *Jaimini-Bhārata* (c. 1700)—dealing with the Āśvamēdhika-Parva of the Mahābhārata in 34 cantos (*sandhi*) in the *vārdhika-shatpadi* metre—by Lakshmiśa of Dēvapura or Dēvanūr (in the present Kaḍūr district), son of Anṇamānka of

192. Ms. No. B. 53—P.; *Mys. Or. Lib.*; see also and compare *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, II. 528-529.

193. Mss. Nos. 21 (P.L., in *Grantha* characters) and B. 12. (P.) in the *Maharaja's Sanskrit College Library, Mysore*.

194. Ms. No. 18-6-5—P.L.; *Mad. Or. Lib.*; see ff. 130-131.

Bhāradvāja-gōtra and a devotee of the local deity Lakshmīramaṇa (*Dēvapura-nīlaya Lakshmīramaṇa*), whom he invokes.¹⁹⁵

Here we take leave of the authors of the period of Chikkadēvarāja's reign and their contributions. The period was one of considerable activity. Despite the political troubles and the wars which resulted from them, the peace and order Chikkadēva evolved throughout his kingdom helped towards a Vaishṇavite Revival, which may be said to have reached its culminating point in his reign. He was, perhaps, the first leader of the Vaishṇavite Renaissance, which had its remote origin in the reigns of the Vijayanagar Emperors of the third and fourth dynasties. This Renaissance gave to the masses and the intellectuals alike a philosophy of life, a philosophy that linked life to spirituality as its sure sheet-anchor. The poetry of the period does not pretend to be a substitute for religion; this view is plainly discarded. Vaishṇavite philosophy made poetry the handmaid of religion. But religion does not overshadow the living faith of man in his higher destiny, though it furnishes the poet his subject-matter. It is here that we see the highest blessing that Vaishṇavism bestowed in its new setting. This, however, does not mean that all poetry became devotional; it is not so, as

195. Considerable controversy has, of late, centred round the nativity, date, etc., of Lakshmīśa, the author of this classic (Pub.). "Dēvapura," "Surapura" or "Gīrvānapura," occurring in the text, has been identified by some with Surapura in the present Hyderabad State, while the work itself is attempted to be placed in the 15th century. The trend of all the available evidence, however, is in favour of the identity of the place with Dēvanūr in the present Kaḍūr district and of the poet being a Śrī-Vaishṇava Brāhman. Both on the ground of style and from references to Lakshmīśa in Kannaḍa works of the 18th century (see *Kar. Ka. Cha.*, III. 16, 67), the poem must be held to have been composed about, or slightly subsequent to, 1700 when the harassing wars between Mysore and Ikkēri had come to a close and Dēvanūr, situated on the borders of both the kingdoms, had begun to enjoy the blessings of peace. As to its popularity, it ought to suffice if it is said that there is hardly a Kannaḍa knowing man who has not read it or heard it read (see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iv. 2456).

we have seen above. The Vaishnavism of this period helped to bring back poetry and even what went by the name of philosophy to a sense of stability, of realism, of belief in a fixed order of things which makes life worth living and work worth undertaking. That is what animates and informs poetry of this period. With the Renaissance, the old order of scepticism, of unbelief, of idealism that is not rooted in the earth, is dissipated and we get in its place a poetry that expresses the absence of unbelief and implants a sense of deep spirituality, a spirituality that knows no bounds, which treats all alike, which sweeps in all humanity under its wings, and which has behind it a philosophy which avowedly takes the whole of experience into consideration and thus opens a vista for the man of action as much for the man of inaction in the true spirit of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.¹⁹⁶

196. See *Bhag. Gī.*, VI, 3, which may be thus rendered: "For a Sage who is seeking Yōga, action is called the means; for the same Sage when he is enthroned in Yōga, inaction is the means."