LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

THE distinctive language of Mysore is Kannaḍa—the Karṇáṭaka of the Sanskrit pandits and the Canarese of European writers,[1] the latter name (*see* Hobson Jobson) being the Canarijs of the Portuguese. It is one of the family of South Indian languages,[2] on which the name Dravidian has been bestowed ;[3] but Karṇáṭaka seems to have been a generic term originally applied to both Kannaḍa and Telugu, though now confined to the former. The South Indian languages may therefore be conveniently described as forming two branches of one family—the northern or Karṇáṭaka, and the southern or Dráviḍa, the two being separated by the foot of the Ghat ranges, or a line running along their base from a little north of Mangalore on the western coast, through Coimbatore, to a little north of Madras on the east coast.

The derivation of Karṇáṭa, and its *quasi* adjectival form Karṇáṭaka, is unknown, but it is the only name for a South Indian people used in Sanskrit writers which appears not to be Sanskrit. Dr. Gundert has proposed *kar náḍ*, "the black country," as the original form of Karṇáṭa, in allusion to the black cotton soil of the plateau of the southern Dekhan. Sir Walter Elliot was inclined to connect it with Karna or Karni, as in Sátakarni, the family name of the early rulers before and after the Christian era.[4] Kannaḍa is supposed by the native grammarians to be a *tadbhava* formed from Karṇáṭa. *Kan* itself is said in the Rev. F. Kittel's Dictionary to mean blackness.[5] The name

[1] Telugu is spoken in the east of Mysore ; Tamil by camp-followers and body-servants of Europeans ; it is also the house language of Sri Vaishnava Brahmans, but they can neither read nor write it. Hindustani is the common language in use among Musalmans. The following are the proportions in which these several languages are spoken in Mysore, as stated in the census report of India for 1891 :—Kannaḍa, 73·94 ; Telugu, 15·19 ; Tamil, 3·22 ; Hindustani, 4·73. In Coorg 43·99 per cent. of the population speak Kannaḍa ; in the Madras country, 4·06 ; in Haidarabad, 12·58 ; in the Bombay country, 15·59 ; and in the native states under Bombay, 7·25.

[2] The other chief ones are Telugu or A'ndhra ; and Tamil or Dráviḍa, which is called Arava (ill-sounding) by the Mysoreans, as well as by the Telugu people. Malayálam may be considered an off-shoot from Tamil.

[3] By Dr. Caldwell, who considers Dráviḍa or Tamil as the representative of the group.

[4] *Numismata Orientalia*, "Coins of Southern India," p. 21.

[5] Mr. C. P. Brown, with his usual versatility, has striven to get a clue from the name of Canada, the British Dominion in North America, which, according to him, is a name unknown to the aborigines, and supposed to mean *ca-nada*, "we have

Karṇáṭa occurs as far back as the beginning of the fifth century, in Varáhamihira.[1] It is also used by Alberúni, who wrote in about 1030, as if a general term for the South. For, in describing the limits within which a Brahman might reside, he says: "He is obliged to dwell between the river Sindh in the north and the river Charmanvati (the Chambal) in the south. He is not allowed to cross either of these frontiers so as to enter the country of the Turks or of the Karṇáṭa. Further, he must live between the ocean in the east and west."[2]

The limits within which the Kannaḍa proper is spoken comprise the plateau of Mysore, Coorg, the Nilgiris, Coimbatore, Salem, Bellary, the southern Mahratta country, the west of the Nizam's dominions, and Canara. Wilks thus defines the region, but omitted the last, which is added in brackets.

The northern limits commence near the town of Beder, in lat 18° 45′ N., about 60 miles N.W. from Haidarabad; following the course of the language to the S.E., it is found to be limited by a waving line which nearly touches Adoni, winds to the west of Gutti, skirts the town of Anantapur, and passing exactly through Nandidroog, touches the range of Eastern Ghats; thence, pursuing their southern course to the mountainous pass of Gajalhatti, it continues to follow the abrupt turn caused by the great chasm of the western hills between the towns of Coimbatore, Palachi and Palghat; and sweeping to the N.W., skirts the edges of the precipitous Western Ghats [to a point about opposite Mangalore, whence it follows the coast line to Carwar, and again goes with the Ghats] nearly as far north as the sources of the Krishna; whence following an eastern and afterwards a north-eastern course, it terminates in rather an acute angle near Beder, already described as its northern limit.

The following dialects of Kannaḍa are also spoken in the south:—

Koḍagu, Kuḍagu or Coorg, in the principality of that name;
Tulu or Tuluva, in South Canara;
Tuda or Toda, the language of the people of that name in the Nilgiris;
Kota, spoken by the tribe so called in the Nilgiris;
Baḍaga, the speech of the people bearing that name in the Nilgiris.

nothing!" (*Carn. Chron.*, App. 84). But Webster puts it down as an (American) Indian word, meaning a collection of huts, a village, a town.

In the *Mackenzie MSS.* the derivation of Karṇáṭaka is given as *karṇa aṭaka*, "passing to the ears" of all men, and hence applied to "this honoured and renowned country." The same derivation also appears in the *Vis'vagunádars'a*, a work more than 200 years old.

If a heterogeneous compound (*arisamása*) be permissible—of which there are many examples, and for which there are special rules in the language—Karṇáṭa might perhaps be *karṇa áṭa*, amusing or pleasing to the ear: the "sweet musical Canarese" of Colonel Meadows Taylor.

It is curious that *Kannaḍa-vakki*, or the Kannaḍa bird, is a name of the parrot, which is also called *paṇḍita-vakki*, or the learned bird.

[1] Caldwell's *Gram. Drav. Lang.*, 34. [2] *Alberúní's India*, by Sachau, II, 134.

The numbers of the races speaking these languages and dialects are estimated at ten millions and a third, according to the statement in the margin, taken from the census returns of 1891.[1]

Kannaḍa or Canarese ...	9,751,885
Koḍagu or Coorg	37,218
Tulu	491,728
Toda or Tuda	736
Kota	1,201
Baḍaga	30,656
	10,313,424

The classical or literary dialect of Kannaḍa is called Paḷa-Gannaḍa or Haḷa-Gannaḍa, that is Ancient or Old Kannaḍa, while the colloquial or modern dialect is called Posa-Gannaḍa or Hosa-Gannaḍa, that is New Kannaḍa. The former differs from the latter, not—as classical Telugu and Malayálam differ from the colloquial dialects of those languages—by containing a larger infusion of Sanskrit derivatives, but by the use of different inflexional terminations. In fact, the mongrel introduction of Sanskrit or Sakkada words in combination with Kannaḍa words is strongly condemned by some of the principal old writers, who denounce the practice as the mark of an imperfect education. Nṛipatunga compares it to an unnatural union with an old woman; Nayasena, to the mixing of *ghi* and oil—one of the most pernicious adulterations of the bazaar; and Nágavarma, to the stringing of pearls along with peppercorns.[2] In those old inscriptions, moreover, which display the most literary skill, we find separate verses in Sanskrit and in Kannaḍa interspersed with one another, according to the opportunities afforded by the theme, in such a way as greatly to heighten the general effect. But though the terms above given may serve to indicate the two main divisions of the language, the classical dialect had already passed through ân earlier stage, which may be designated Púrvada Hala-Gannaḍa, the Primitive or Earlier Old Kannaḍa, which Wilks tells us was the language of Banavasi, and therefore belongs to the beginning of the Christian era and the S'átavúhana and Kadamba period. Whether the Buddhist scholars in this part of the country referred to in early Pali writings may have made use of this dialect we have no means of knowing, or whether it was supposed to be exclusively appropriated by the Jainas and so concerned with their Púrvas. Hala-Gannaḍa, as we know it, arose out of this ancient source in about the eighth century, perhaps at the time when the Ráshtrakútas gained the ascendancy over the Chalukyas. It was highly cultivated by a succession of gifted Jaina authors in the centuries following, which form the Augustan age of Kannaḍa literature. A writer of the twelfth

[1] Telugu is spoken by 19,885,137; Tamil by 15,229,759; and Malayálam by 5,428,250: these are the figures of the census of 1891.

[2] For references, *see* my Introduction to the *Karṇáṭaka-Bháshá-Bhúshanam.*

century states that he had composed his work in the new Hosa-Gannaḍa.[1] This, therefore, is the very earliest period to which the rise of the modern form of the language can be assigned, but its general adoption was a good deal later.

There are also certain other terms used in some writers to describe component elements of Kannaḍa, which are not easy to identify. Thus we have mention of *beḷu-Gannaḍa*, or white Kannaḍa; *teḷu-Gannaḍa*, clear Kannaḍa; and *oḷu-Gannaḍa*, local or home Kannaḍa. But the name of universal application for pure Kannaḍa is *achcha-Gannaḍa*; the well of Kannaḍa undefiled, and all the terms are apparently efforts to express composition that was clear and perspicuous, as opposed to a certain obscurity which seems to have been chargeable on the oldest forms of the language.

The written character which is common to Kannaḍa and Telugu, and which spread over the south and was carried even to Java, is derived, through that of the cave inscriptions in the west of the peninsula, from the south As'oka character, or that of all his inscriptions except in the extreme north-west of the Punjab. It belongs to about 250 B.C., prior to which date no specimens of writing have been discovered in India, though there are numerous earlier allusions to writing. This ancient alphabet has lately been satisfactorily proved by Dr. Bühler to be of Semitic origin. It is properly called the *Brahmi lipi*, and was introduced into India probably about 800 B.C.[2] The same scholar has also shown that the north As'oka alphabet, or *Kharoshṭhi*, written from right and left (the use of which is confined to the extreme north-west of the Punjab, though very curiously one word in that character occurs in the As'oka inscriptions found by me in Mysore), is derived from the Aramaic of the Akhæmenian period (the sixth to the fourth century B.C.), and was introduced by the Persian satraps as their official hand. But it was always of secondary importance, the Brahmi being the special Indian mode of writing.[3]

"It may be accepted as a scientific fact," says Mr. Cust, "that all the characters used in the East Indies can sooner or later be traced back to the As'oka inscriptions, and through them to the Phœnician alphabet, and thence backwards to the hieratic ideographs of the old kingdom of Egypt, and thence to the venerable hieroglyphics of the fourth dynasty."[4] The period assigned for the commencement of this dynasty is 3700 B.C.[5]

The Kannaḍa alphabet, as now arranged, corresponds with the Sanskrit, but with some additional characteristic letters. Thus, among

[1] *See Ind. Ant.*, XIV, 14. [2] *Indian Studies*, V, No. 3. [3] *Ind. Ant.*, XXIV, 311.
[4] *Mod. Lang. of the East Indies*, 19. [5] *Academy*, 29 Oct. 1892.

the vowels, while Sanskrit has only long *e* and long *o*, Kannaḍa has both a short and a long form of each of these vowels: *ṛi*, *ṝ*, *ḷṛi*, *ḷṝ*, are not Kannaḍa. Of the consonants, according to Nágavarma, the aspirated letters and two sibilants seem not to have belonged to the language originally, namely, *kha*, *gha*, *chha*, *jha*, *ṭha*, *ḍha*, *tha*, *dha*, *pha*, *bha*, *ś'a* and *sha*. On the other hand, three consonants not in Sanskrit are pure Kannaḍa, namely, *ḷa*, *ṟa*, and *ḻa*. Of these, only the first, which corresponds with the Vedic *ḷa*, is now in use.[1] The other two are obsolete, though the *ṟa* is still used in Telugu.

The disappearance from Kannaḍa literature, first of the *ḻa* (perhaps about the twelfth century), and subsequently of the *ṟa* (perhaps not till the seventeenth century), serves to some extent to mark definite periods, and is so far a guide in determining the date of manuscript works, especially if in verse, as the requirements of the rhyme will show infallibly what was the original letter used, though it may have been changed in transcribing. Similarly there is what have been called the P and H periods, words now spelt with the latter having formerly appeared with the former, as *posa*, *hosa*; *Poysala*, *Hoysala*; &c. The different stages of the language exhibit a change or transition in the forms of most of the letters of the alphabet, especially the pure Kannaḍa ones; but these again cannot be assigned so exactly to fixed dates as to be sufficient by themselves for chronological purposes.

The relationship of the South Indian languages to the other grand divisions of human speech is thus stated by Dr. Caldwell:—

"The Dravidian languages occupy a position of their own, between the languages of the Indo-European family and those of the Turanian or Scythian group—not quite a midway position, but one considerably nearer the latter than the former. The particulars in which they accord with the Indo-European languages are numerous and remarkable, and some of them are of such a nature that it is impossible to suppose that they have been accidental; but the relationship to which they testify—in so far as they do testify to any real relationship—appears to me very indefinite as well as very remote. On the other hand, the particulars in which they seem to me to accord with most of the so-called Scythian languages are not only so numerous but are so distinctive and of so essential a nature that they appear to me to amount to what is called a family likeness, and therefore naturally to suggest the idea of a common descent.

"The Scythian family to which on the whole the Dravidian languages may be regarded as most nearly allied is the Finnish or Ugrian, with some special affinities as it appears to the Ostiak branch of that family; and this supposition derives some confirmation from the fact brought to light by

[1] This is rather quaintly expressed, as follows, in one of the examples in the *S'abdánus'ásana*—Kannaḍigar ḷa-káraman oḍambaṭṭar.

the Behistun tablets that the ancient Scythic race, by which the greater part of Central Asia was peopled prior to the irruption of the Medo-Persians, belonged not to the Turkish, or to the Mongolian, but to the Ugrian stock."

On the other hand the Indo-European relationship of the Dravidian languages has been advocated by Dr. Pope on the ground of "deep-seated and radical affinities between them and the Celtic and Teutonic languages." But Dr. Caldwell observes in reply that "of all the members of the Indo-European family the Celtic is that which appears to have most in common with the Scythian group, and especially with the languages of the Finnish family—languages which may possibly have been widely spoken in Europe previously to the arrival of the Celts."

Professor Max Müller, who has placed Kannaḍa among the Turanian languages, describes them as follows:—

"The most characteristic feature of the Turanian languages is what has been called *agglutination*, or 'gluing together.' This means not only that, in their grammar, pronouns are *glued* to the verbs in order to form the conjugation, or prepositions to substantives in order to form declension; . . . . but that in them the conjugation and declension can still be taken to pieces: and although the terminations have by no means always retained their significative power as independent words, they are felt as modificatory syllables, and as distinct from the roots to which they are appended. In the Aryan languages the modifications of words, comprised under declension and conjugation, were likewise originally expressed by agglutination. But the component parts began soon to coalesce, so as to form one integral word, liable in its turn to phonetic corruption to such an extent that it became impossible after a time to decide which was the root and which the modificatory element. The difference between an Aryan and a Turanian language is somewhat the same as between good and bad mosaic. The Aryan words seem made of one piece, the Turanian words clearly show the sutures and fissures where the small stones are cemented together."

Professor Whitney has the following remarks on the subject:—

"The Dravidian tongues have some peculiar phonetic elements, are richly polysyllabic, of general agglutinative structure, with prefixes only, and very soft and harmonious in their utterance; they are of a very high type of agglutination, like the Finnish and Hungarian . . . . Excepting that they show no trace of the harmonic sequence of vowels, these languages are not in their structure so different from the Scythian that they might not belong to one family with them, if only sufficient correspondences of material were found between the two groups. And some have been ready, though on grounds not to be accepted as sufficient, to declare them related."

The native grammarians, as is well known, deduce all the Indian languages from Sanskrit, through one or other of the Prákrits. Nága-

varma, the earliest Kannaḍa grammarian whose works have been discovered, assumes the existence in India of three and-a-half mother languages—Samskṛita, Prákṛita, Apabhrams'a and Paisáchika[1]—and of fifty-six daughter languages sprung from them—Drávida, A'ndhra, Karṇáṭaka, &c. But Kannaḍa, in common with the cognate languages of the south, recognizes four classes of words as in current use for literary purposes—*tatsama*, pure Sanskrit words; *tadbhava*, Sanskrit words changed to suit the language; *dés'ya*, indigenous words; and *grámya*, provincialisms. To these a later classification adds *anyadés'ya*, foreign words. Now the *dés'ya* class alone can be taken to represent the pure language of the country, the real Kannaḍa as distinguished from what has been imported from Sanskrit or other sources. And this view is borne out by the fact that the *dés'ya* words not only include all the terms expressive of primitive ideas and common names of things connected with the earlier stages of society, but that they form the bulk of the language, and furnish the model on which terms introduced from other languages are framed. Imported expressions, therefore, though largely used—especially by Brahmans, who venerate Sanskrit, and who are now the principal literary class—for the purpose of imparting a scholarly elegance to their composition, are not essential to the culture of the language.

The first cultivators of the Kannaḍa language for literary purposes were the Jains, and down to the twelfth century we have none but Jaina authors. For about two centuries after, though an occasional Brahman writer appears, they were succeeded principally by Lingáyit and S'aiva authors, and from about the sixteenth century date numerous Brahmanical and Vaishnava works. There were during these later periods some compositions by Jains, but most of the literature of later times originated with the other sects. The leading characteristic of the Jaina earlier works is that they are *champu kávyas*, or poems in a variety of composite metres, interspersed with paragraphs in prose. The Lingáyits principally made use of the *ragaḷe* and *shaṭpadi* metres of the more modern works, while the most recent compositions are in *yaksha gána* metre, and some in prose only.

The *Ancient Kannada*, as Mr. Kittel says,[2] is quite uniform, and shows an extraordinary amount of polish and refinement. Its principal characteristics are the elaborate and highly artificial *champu* composition,—strict adherence to the use of now more or less disused case- and tense-signs (that towards the end of the period were fixed in grammatical treatises) and to the rules of syntax,—perspicuity resulting therefrom—the use of classical

[1] Perhaps called half a language because spoken only by barbarous tribes.

[2] Preface to *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*.

Sanskrit (also specifically Jaina) words in their unaltered form whenever desirable or necessary as an aid in composition, and that of a conventionally received number of *tadbhavas* (Sanskrit words changed to suit the tongue of the Kannaḍa people),—the proper distinction between the letters *l̤*, *r̤*, *ḷ*, *l* and *r*,—alliteration carefully based also on this distinction,—and lastly pleasing euphonic junction of letters. *Mediæval Kannaḍa* began to appear as contained in the poetry of S'aiva and Lingáyit authors. It is, as a rule, written in any one of the *Shaṭpada* metres, is somewhat negligent as to the use of suffixes and the rules of syntax, and therefore occasionally ambiguous, uses a few new suffixes, contains a number of *tadbhavas* not sanctioned by previous authors, has entirely lost the letter *l̤* (using *r* or *ḷ* in its stead), and frequently changes the letter *p* of the present or future verbal suffix and an initial *p* into *h*. The transition to *Modern Kannaḍa*, or the language of the present day, is seen especially in the poetry of the Vaishnavas. Several ancient verbs and nouns fell into disuse, the letter *r̤* began to be discarded, at least so far as regards its proper position in alliteration, words borrowed from Mahratti and Hindustani came into use, more frequent omission of suffixes took place, etc. The Modern dialect comprises the present Kannaḍa of prose writings and of common conversation. Of these, the first have two branches, one being tales, school-books and letters, and the other, business proceedings (especially those of courts of justice). The first branch differs from the second chiefly in so far as it is more exact in the use of inflexional terminations and less abounding in Hindustani and Mahratti. The language of ordinary conversation (excepting that of the educated classes) may be called a union of the two branches that is less particular in the choice of words, arbitrary about the use of suffixes, and at the same time full of vulgarisms. Many words of the modern dialect also are Sanskrit, especially such as are abstract, religious, or scientific terms. The ancient form of the present tense has been changed, most verbal suffixes have been somewhat altered, a few of the suffixes of nouns and pronouns have ceased to be used, many verbs, nouns and particles have become obsolete, and other verbs and nouns (based on existing roots) have been formed. But in spite of this, of the introduction of much Hindustani and Mahratti, of the lack of refinement, etc., the Modern dialect is essentially one with the Ancient and the Mediæval. It is, however, not uniform, but more or less varies according to localities.

On the history and extent of Kannaḍa literature an immense amount of light has been thrown in recent years. My researches had brought into my hands a number of ancient manuscript works previously unknown, an examination of the references in which, combined with dates in some, enabled the preparation of a provisional chronological table of authors. The results were communicated by me to the Royal Asiatic Society in London in 1882, 1883 and 1890. Later and fuller information was separately published by me in this last year.[1]

[1] In my Introduction to the *Karṇáṭaka-S'abdánus'ásanam*. These researches

The oldest work of which manuscripts have actually been obtained is the *Kavirájamárga* of Nṛipatunga, which was composed in the ninth century. But we have references which enable us to place the rise of Kannaḍa literature much farther back than this. In fact, there seems reason to believe that Kannaḍa was the earliest to be cultivated of all the South Indian languages. Ancient inscriptions give us the initial information on the subject.

The first notice we have of authorship is in connection with the Ganga kings. Simhanandi, who helped to establish this dynasty, perhaps in the second century, is classed as a great poet; Mádhava, the second king, ruling in about the third century, is stated to have written a commentary on the law of adoption: and Durviníta, the eighth king, about the fifth century, is said to have had the celebrated Jaina grammarian Púj yapáda for his preceptor, and to have written a commentary on a portion of Bháravi's poem, the Kirátárjuníya. Of course it does not follow that any of these wrote in Kannaḍa. But it becomes not improbable from the fact that Nṛipatunga, in naming Kannaḍa authors who had preceded him, expressly mentions Durviníta, and as this is an uncommon name, most unlikely to be borne by other persons, it may be concluded that he means the Ganga king.

Again, all the principal poets, in the introductory part of their works, refer to Samantabhadra, Kaviparméshṭhi and Púj yapáda, invariably in this order, as forming the earliest and most distinguished trio among the authors who preceded them. The first may, according to tradition, be placed in about the second century. The second, whose real name must have been Brahma, and who is probably the one called Kavis'vara among the early Kannaḍa poets named by Nṛipatunga, must naturally be placed some time between the other two. Púj yapáda we have already seen belongs to about the fifth century.

We next have a very remarkable combination of statements. Bhaṭṭákalanka, in his great grammar of the language, mentions the Chúḍámani, a work of no less than 96,000 verses, in terms of the highest praise, as if it were the most important production in early Kannaḍa literature. Inscriptions[1] further inform us that its author was S'rívarddha, also called the Tumbulúr-áchárya, and that it displayed all the graces of composition. Unfortunately no trace of the work has as yet been discovered. The most interesting statement of all, however, is

have been followed up with real interest by Mr. R. Narasimháchári, M.A., now Kannaḍa Translator to the Education Department, and he has placed at my disposal some notes prepared by him on the subject. I am glad, therefore, to be able to incorporate the additional information thus supplied.

[1] Sravan Belgola, No. 54; Mysore District, T.N. 105.

that S'rívarddha's eloquence was praised in a couplet by the celebrated Sanskrit author Daṇḍi, who is assigned by the principal Orientalists to the sixth century. Hence S'rívarddha must have lived at or before that time. Moreover, a work of such extent as his could neither have been produced nor required unless there had pre-existed a considerable literature in Kannaḍa and a wide-spread culture of the language. These considerations dispose of any objections that might be raised against the dates previously given as being too early.

We next have mention of a Ravikírti in 634, whose fame equalled that of Kálidása and Bháravi. Nripatunga also names as his predecessors in Kannaḍa composition, besides those given above, Vimala, Udaya, Nágárjuna, Jayabandhu, S'rívijaya, Chandra, and Lókapála. Of these, Vimala was probably Vimalachandra, whose disciple Vádírája was *guru* to the Ganga king Ráchamalla. S'rívijaya was praised by Vádirája, and therefore came before him. Chandra may be the Chandrabhaṭṭa mentioned by some later authors.

We now come to Nripatunga, and a more certain period, amply illustrated by works that are extant. Nripatunga, or Amoghavarsha, was a Ráshtrakúta king, who, after an unusually long reign, from 814 to 877, voluntarily abdicated the throne. He evidently took a great interest in the Kannaḍa country, people and language. In his work called Kavirájamárga,[1] the subject of which is *alankára* (rhetoric or elegant composition), he makes some interesting statements. "The region which extends from the Kávéri as far as the Gódávari," he says, "is the country in which Kannaḍa is spoken, the most beautiful land in the circle of the earth. In the central parts thereof, situated between Kisuvoḷal, the famous great city of Kopaṇa, Puligere, and the justly celebrated Onkunda, is found the pith (*tiruḷ*) of high Kannaḍa." Of these places, the first is the modern Paṭṭadakal in Kaladgi district, Kopaṇa is probably Kopal in the south-west of the Nizam's Dominions, Puligere is Lakshmes'vara in the Miraj State, and Onkunda, perhaps Vakkunda, in Belgaum district. The region indicated, owing to the numerous vicissitudes through which it has passed, is far from being regarded at the present day as the seat of the purest Kannaḍa, which is more probably to be found in Mysore. Nripatunga also praises the Kannaḍa people as having by nature an ear for poetry, and as speaking in a rhythmical manner, though quite unstudied. He states Kannaḍa, moreover, to be a much more difficult language in which to compose poetry than either Sakkada (Sanskrit) or Págada (Prákrit).

Gunabhadra, preceptor of Nripatunga's son Krishna while yet yuva-

[1] Now going through the press, under my direction, as well as the Pampa Bhárata (*see* next page).

rája, is mentioned by later writers; but the next poet whose works we actually have is Pampa, who wrote the Ádi Puráṇa and the Vikramárjuna-vijaya in 941. The latter is also known as the Pampa Bhárata. In it, Pampa's patron, a Chálukya prince named Arikésari, is identified with Arjuna and made the hero. These two works seem to have given a great impetus to Kannaḍa composition. "In the pithy (*tiruḷa*) Kannaḍa[1] of Puligere,[1] the royal city," says the poet, "did he write, naturally and without effort; thus his Bhárata and Ádi Puráṇa put all former poems under their feet. . He completed the one in six months and the other in three months, . . and they were read by all classes of people, by servants as well as by the greatest poets." Pampa was the son of a Brahman from the Vengi country who had embraced Jainism.

It is impossible in this place to do more than briefly name some of the principal Kannaḍa writers who followed, and their chief works, with dates where they are known.

In the tenth century we have Asaga; Ponna, author of the S'ánti Puráṇa, who claims to be superior to all other poets in command of both Kannaḍa and Sakkada, excelling a hundred-fold Asaga in the former and Kálidása in the latter, while in style he was fourfold both combined: he received a title from the Ráshṭrakúṭa king Krishna (probably Krishna or Kannara Akálavarsha, ruling 939 to 968). He was a Brahman who had become a Jaina. In 978 we have Chámunḍa Ráya, author of the Chámunḍa Ráya Puráṇa, an excellent specimen of prose composition of that period. In 993 came Ranna, author of the Ajita Puráṇa (which he was emulous should endure as long as the Ádi Puráṇa and S'ánti Puráṇa above mentioned) and of Sáhasa-Bhíma-vijaya, also called Gadá-yuddha,[2] the hero of which is the Chálukya prince Satyás'raya. He was of the bangle-sellers' caste and received a title from the Chálukya king Tailapa (973 to 997). At the same time as the two preceding we have Nágavarma, all three having had as their preceptor Ajitasena, *guru* of the Ganga king Ráchamalla. This Nágavarma, apparently a younger brother of Chámunda Ráya, was the author of Chhandómbudhi (the first work and chief authority in the language on prosody),[3] and of Kádambari,[4] a close version of Bána's work in Sanskrit. There is reason to suppose that he was not strictly orthodox as a Jain. His brother, by the erection of the colossal statue of Gomata at S'ravana Belgola, and by reputation, was one of the greatest upholders of the Jaina faith.

[1] *See* above, under Nripatunga.

[2] Lately published in Mysore.

[3] Published by Mr. Kittel at Mangalore in 1875, under the title of *Nágavarma's Canarese Prosody.*

[4] Published in Mysore, by B. Mallappa, Headmaster of the Maharaja's Kannaḍa School.

In the eleventh century may perhaps be placed Gunavarma, author of a Harivams'a, and Chandrarája, author of Madana-tilaka. The latter would appear to be the first Brahman who composed a work in Kannaḍa. His patron was Recha (or Mácha), a general under the Chálukya prince Jayasimha. There are not many names in this century, probably owing to the check caused by the Chola invasions.

The twelfth century, when Mysore was restored to Kannaḍa rule under the Hoysalas, seems to have been specially prolific in Kannaḍa works of high excellence. Nayasena, author of Dharmámrita; Nágachandra or Abhinava Pampa, author of Rámachandra Charita Puráṇa (also known as the Pampa Rámáyana),[1] and of Mallinátha Puráṇa[2]; Aggala, author of Chandraprabha Puráṇa; Karṇapárya, author of Neminátha Puráṇa; Nemichandra, author of a romance called Lílávati, and of another Neminátha Puráṇa, called Ardha Nemi from its being only half finished; Vrittavilása, author of Dharmapariksha and S'astrasára; and Sujanóttamsa, who wrote a panegyric on Gomata—were all Jains, as well as Nágavarma (apparently a different person from the one before mentioned). He is distinguished as Abhinava S'arvavarma, and was the author of several important works on the language, namely, Kávyávalókana, a work on rhetoric, the first part of which is a brief grammar, called S'abda-smriti, in Kannaḍa verse; Karṇáṭaka Bhashá Bhúshana,[3] a grammar in Sanskrit sútras; and Vastukos'a, a nighanṭu or dictionary, composed in many artificial metres, giving the meanings of Sanskrit words used in Kannaḍa. He appears to have been a teacher in the capital of Jagadekamalla (? the Chálukya king of 1138 to 1150), and also a tutor of Janna (*see below*).

But there were writers of other faiths besides at this time. Thus, the Brahmans Rudrabhaṭṭa, author of Jagannátha Vijaya,[4] who seems to have been under the patronage of Chandramauli, minister of the Hoysala king Víra Ballála (1172 to 1219); and Káma, author of S'ringára-ratnákara, may come here. Lingáyit poets, too, now made their appearance:—Harihara, author of Girijá-kalyána; Rághavánka, his nephew, author of Haris'chandra-kávya; and Kere Padmarasa, author of Díkshábódhe.

In the thirteenth century we find a group of excellent Jaina poets, all closely related to one another, patronized by the Yádava and Hoysala kings. Sumanóbána, priest of the Yádava capital, and described as a poet; his son Janna, author of Yas'ódhara-charita in 1217, and of Anantanátha Puráṇa in 1230, patronized by Narasimha II., and honoured with a title by the Hoysala king Víra Ballála;

[1] Published by me in 1892.
[2] Published in Mysore.
[3] Published by me in 1884.
[4] Often published.

Sumanóbána's son-in-law, Mallikárjuna, author of Súkta-sudhárnava, written for the Hoysala king Sómés'vara; his son, Kés'irája, author of the S'abdamaṇidarpaṇa, a standard work on the grammar of the language.[1] Other Jaina poets of this period were Kumudéndu, author of the Kumudéndu Rámáyaṇa; Bandhuvarma, author of Harivams'ábhyudaya and Jívasambódhane; Kamalabhava, author of S'ántís'vara Puráṇa; Aṇḍayya, author of Kabbigara-káva,[2] a work of special interest from its being written in Achcha-Kannaḍa or pure Kannaḍa, in response to a challenge that this was virtually impossible; Gunavarma, author of Pushpadanta Puráṇa; Sálva, author of Rasaratnákara, a work on dramatic composition; Mangarasa, author of Khagéndra-maṇidarpaṇa; and Máyaṇa, author of Tripura-dahana. This latter seems to be the first work written in the *sángatya* metre, intended to be sung to the accompaniment of some musical instrument.

Of other authors of this period may be named Chauṇḍarája, a Brahman, author of Abhinava Das'akumára-charita, a Kannaḍa metrical version of Daṇḍi's work in Sanskrit. The Lingáyit poets were Kumára Padmarasa, author of Sánanda-charitra; Pálkurike Sóma, author of S'íla-sampádane and other works; and Sómarája, author of Udbhaṭa-kávya.

From the fourteenth century Jaina poets are more rarely met with. But the following belong to that time:—Madhura, author of Dharmanátha Puráṇa; Abhinava Mangarája, author of Mangarája Nighaṇṭu, a vocabulary in verse, giving Kannaḍa meanings of Sanskrit words; and perhaps Kavi Bomma, author of Chaturásya Nighaṇṭu. Among Lingáyits were Bhíma Kavi, author of the Basava Puráṇa in 1369; and Singirája, author of Mala Basava Charitra.

The fifteenth century produced, among others, the Lingáyit writers—Linga, author of Kabbigara Kaipiḍi; Tónṭadárya, author of Karṇáṭaka S'abdamanjari, both vocabularies; Chámarasa, author of Prabhulingalíle; and I's'varakavi, author of Kavijihvábandhane, a work on prosody. Bháskarakavi, a Jain, wrote Jívandhara-charite.

But the authors now become too numerous to allow of more than a few of the principal ones being named. Among Jainas there were in the sixteenth century:—Mangarasa, author of Nemi Jines'a sángatya, Samyaktva-kaumudi, &c.; Linga, author of Chola Rája sángatya; Nanjunda, author of Kumára Ráma kathe; Ratnakarárya, author of Trilóka-s'ataka; Bommarasa, author of Sanatkumára-shatpadi; S'rutakírti, author of Vijayakumári-kathe. Among Lingáyits were:—Bommarasa, author of Saundara Puráṇa; Basavánka, author of

[1] First published at Bangalore in 1868 by Mr. Garrett; subsequently at Mangalore in 1872 by Mr. Kittel.

[2] Published at Mysore.

Udbhaṭadeva Charitre; Sadás'iva yógi, author of Rámanátha-vilása; Depa, author of Sobagina Sóne; Mallanárya, author of Bhávachintáratna; Virúpáksha-paṇḍita, author of Chenna Basava Puráṇa; Adris'appa, author of Praudha Ráya Charitra; and others. Among Brahmans were:—Kumára Vyása, who, in the reign of Krishna Ráya of Vijayanagar, translated into Kannaḍa verse the first ten parvas of the Mahábhárata; Timmanna, who completed the work; Purandara and Kanaka, authors of Vaishnava Dásarapadas, &c.; Kumára Válmiki, author of the Torave Rámáyana, a Kannaḍa version of Válmiki's work; Viṭhala, author of a Kannaḍa rendering of the Bhágavata Puráṇa; and others.

The seventeenth century saw the production of several works which are of the first importance in Kannaḍa literature. In 1604 was completed by the Jaina author Bhaṭṭákalanka Deva, his great work on Kannaḍa grammar, the Karṇáṭaka S'abdánus'ásanam,[1] an exhaustive treatise in Sanskrit sútras, after the manner of Pánini, with extensive commentaries, emulating the Mahábháshya of Patanjali. No other South Indian language possesses such a work. In 1657 appeared the Rájas'ékhara Vilása, a poem by the Lingáyit author Shaḍakshara Deva. This divides with the Jaimini Bhárata (*see below*) the honour of being the most highly esteemed poem in Kannaḍa. The same author wrote S'abara S'ankara Vilása, Vrishabhendra-vijaya, and other poems.

A remarkable development of Kannaḍa literature also took place in the latter part of the century, at Mysore, under the rule of Chikka Deva Rája (1672 to 1704). Not only was he an author himself, but numerous works of great excellence, some in imitation of the old poets, were composed by his two ministers, Tirumalárya and Chikkópádhyáya, or Alasingárya. The former wrote Apratimavíra Charita, a work on rhetoric; Chikadevarája Vijaya, a champu work, describing the king's conquests; Chikadevarája-vams'ávali, a prose work on the king's ancestors, &c. The latter wrote about thirty works, champus, sángatya and prose. Among the more important were Vishnu Puráṇa, Kamaláchala-mahátmya, and Sátvikabrahmavidyavilása, on the Vis'ishṭádvaita philosophy. Singarárya, Tirumalárya's brother, wrote a play called Mitravinda Govinda.[2] There was also a poetess at the court, called Honnamma, who wrote Hadibadeyadharma, the duties of a faithful wife.

Early in the eighteenth century the Brahman poet Lakshmís'a produced his Jaimini Bhárata, which is probably the most popular poem in the Kannaḍa language, being more easily understood than its

[1] Published by me in 1890.

[2] This and several of the works of these three authors have been published at Mysore.

rival above named. The numerous authors of this period do not otherwise call for special notice; and the troublous times of Mahratta invasions and Muhammadan usurpation were not favourable to the progress of literature.

At a later period the *yakshagána* stories gained popularity. These are generally based on episodes in the Mahábhárata or puránic works, and are dramatic in form, written for recitation on the native stage and suited for performance to rustic audiences. The number issued is very great, and many are attributed to S'ántappa, a Brahman of Gersappe. In some parts of South Mysore almost every important village has periodical performances of one of these plays, the actors being some of the villagers themselves, trained for the purpose; of course female parts are taken by boys. I have sometimes witnessed excellent acting in such performances, primitive as the accessories are. In other parts of the country, to the north, parties of professional actors travel about, performing in the villages. They generally have a woman with them who takes the part of the heroine. But under the late Mahárája encouragement was given to the production of a higher style of drama, to be placed on the stage like European plays. A good deal of success has rewarded some of the companies that adopted the idea. The principal poet at the court was the late Basavappa S'ástri, who produced excellent Kannaḍa adaptations of Kálidása's Sákuntala and other Sanskrit dramas. Others have followed in the same path, and a number of Shakespeare's plays have also been made the foundation of Kannaḍa dramas with Hindu names. Praiseworthy as these efforts are, however, they can never have that hold on the national mind, or tend so much to the revival of Kannaḍa learning, as a careful study of the ancient spontaneously-produced original works of the country, recently brought to light. Sectarian animosity against the Jains was perhaps at the bottom of their neglect heretofore, but such feelings are giving way, as they are bound to do, now that the linguistic excellence of the old works is recognized.

A college has been formed at Mysore specially for the study of Kannaḍa literature to a high standard, and prizes are awarded to pandits who distinguish themselves in the language at the Palace examinations. A few young men have combined to publish a monthly periodical, called the *Kávya-manjari*, in which ancient works recently discovered are published with careful editing.[1] A learned class with knowledge and appreciation of the language are thus arising, who are not ashamed to extend their study beyond the orthodox confines of Sanskrit, high as

[1] Jaina works are being published in the *Budhajanamanoranjini* in Kannaḍa, and the *Kávyámbudhi* in Sanskrit.

the reputation of scholarship in that language must ever stand. But as regards the great mass of the population, the works that issue from the presses and find most sale, next to school books and Yakshagána plays, are republications of former works, sectarian religious books, works on astrology, omens, and horoscopy, established collections of tales, and such like. Few are new works of literary importance.

An Oriental Library has been established in the Victoria Jubilee Institute at Mysore, from which some unedited Sanskrit texts are being published, and where has been deposited a large collection of rare Kannada works in manuscript, copied under my direction during many years past.

The Hindu manuscripts are on the two kinds of writing-material, exclusively employed till about 200 years ago, and still used by the learned. They are the *óle* and the *kaḍata*. The former was mostly used for literary works, the latter for accounts and historical records.

The *óle* is the leaf of the *táḷa* or palmyra (*borassus flabelliformis*). The material, as used for manuscripts, is stiff and flexible but brittle, of a yellowish-brown colour, from 1 foot to 2 feet long, and from 1 inch to 1½ inches wide. It is written on lengthwise, with an iron style, the characters being afterwards brought out by rubbing in black colouring matter. The bundle of leaves forming a work are all of the same size, and strung on thin cord, which passes through holes punched in the middle towards either extremity. A piece of wood, the size of the leaf, is placed at top and bottom, and tied down with the string, forming a binding for protection. The writing is often very minute and close together, with no break but a perpendicular stroke between one part and another. Such being the materials, the wonder is that so many works of antiquity have survived to this day.

The *kaḍata* is composed of cloth covered with a composition of charcoal and gum. It presents a black surface, which is written on like a slate, with a piece of baḷapam or pot stone. The book is of one piece, folded in and out, and is from 8 inches to 1 foot wide, and 12 to 18 feet long. A piece of wood, the size of the book, is attached at either end like a binding, and the whole is put into a case of silk or cotton, or simply tied up with a bit of string. The writing can be rubbed out and renewed at will. The kaḍata is still used by merchants and shop-keepers for accounts. Though liable to be expunged, it is perhaps a more durable record and material than the best writing on the best paper.

The introduction of paper is due to the Muhammadans, and certain coarse kinds were till lately made in the country, resembling the whitey-brown unglazed paper used in England for packets.

Of the Muhammadan literature of Mysore there is not much

apparently to be said. Some of the Persian annals of the reigns of Haidar and Tipu are of interest, and translations into English, by Colonel W. Miles, have been published for the Oriental Translation Fund, with dedication to the Queen.

A few words may be added on what has been done for Kannaḍa literature by Europeans. The first undertaking was the *English-Carnataca Dictionary* of the Rev. W. Reeve, completed in 1817, and published in 1824 with a dedication to Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras. Meanwhile, in 1820, Mr. McKerrell, Judge of Canara, and Carnataca Translator to Government, published his *Carnataca Grammar*, commenced in 1809, in the preparation of which he consulted the S'abdamaṇidarpaṇa. His work was dedicated to the King (George IV). In 1832 appeared Reeve's *Carnataca-English Dictionary*, commenced in 1817, a valuable work, for long the only one of its kind, though not up to the scholarship of the present day. It was reprinted at Bangalore, in portable form, in 1858, edited by the Rev. D. Sanderson of the Wesleyan Mission. But the work having long been out of print, the compilation of a new one was undertaken by the Rev. F. Kittel of the Basel Mission, aided by the India Office and the Mysore Government. The result has been the *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*, published at Mangalore in 1894, a bulky volume of 1752 pages. It is a work of great labour, and may now be considered the standard dictionary of the language.

Before 1850, the publication had been commenced, under the superintendence of the Revs. Dr. Moegling and Weigle of the Basel Mission at Mangalore, and at the expense of Mr. Casamaijor, former Resident of Mysore, of a series of works to form a *Bibliotheca Carnatica*. The following appeared:—*Basava Purana*, *Channa Basava Purana*, *Jaimini Bhárata*, *Rámáyana* (2 *kándas*), *Rávana Digvijaya*, *Dásarapada*, and *Rájendranáme*, a Coorg History. A grammar compiled by Krishnamáchári, College Munshi, was also published about the same time at Madras, called *Hosa-Gannaḍa-nuḍi-gannaḍi*.[1]

For the introduction of printing, Canarese is indebted to the missionaries at Bellary who translated the Holy Scriptures, as before related. The first complete translation of the Bible was finished in 1827, after sixteen years had been spent on the work. A similar period, from 1843 to 1859, was subsequently devoted to revising the

[1] All these works were lithographed, and in the *Rájendranáme* an attempt was made to overcome the mechanical difficulty presented in subscript letters by placing the compound letters side by side on the line, a system which made the reading very difficult, if not impossible, and to natives was incomprehensible, being opposed to the immemorial and established practice of the language.

translation.[1] The study of the language especially with a view to this undertaking, directed attention to such of the indigenous literature as was accessible; and the effort to produce so voluminous a work in portable form, was the means of effecting the improvements in typography previously referred to.

The wants of schools and universities, and of officers required to pass an examination in the language, have been the principal motives for the publication of a variety of useful works, some of the educational books in no small numbers. But, besides the publications in connection with the *Bibliotheca Carnatica*, the most valuable original literary works that have been published have been indicated in the footnotes above. It may be added that the collections of the numerous inscriptions throughout the country (now going through the press under my direction)[2] are invaluable as adjuncts to the study of the language. Though their primary importance is for historical purposes, they afford perfect models of the composition of the various periods to which they belong. Many are elaborate compositions by scholars of repute, and we have in them not alone specimens of the written characters of the time, but the exact spelling and arrangement, free from the errors, conscious or unconscious, that always creep into manuscripts copied from hand to hand, however carefully made.

Much might be added regarding the European works, some of great excellence, which Mysore has given rise to, such as *Wilks' History*, *Buchanan's Travels*, &c., not to mention the military works upon the wars with Mysore. Here Sir Walter Scott laid the scene of one of the Waverley novels—the *Surgeon's Daughter*.[3] Colonel Meadows Taylor's novel called *Tippoo Sultaun* contains masterly sketches of the times; and several lifelike and graphic sketches of the Canarese people may be found in his other Indian novels. But it seems unnecessary to enter farther upon this subject, except to add that a volume on *Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan*, by Mr. Bowring, is included in the recent Rulers of India series, edited by Sir W. W. Hunter.

[1] Another revision has been completed in the last few years.

[2] There have already been issued two volumes—*Inscriptions at S'ravaṇa Belgola*, in 1889; and *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I., in 1894.

[3] There is a memorial tablet in Trinity Church, Bangalore, to the great novelist's eldest son, Sir Walter Scott, who was a cavalry officer here, and died on his way home.