DRAVIDIAN LITERATURES

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI
Professor of History (Retired), University of Madras

Price Rupee One

Publisher
S. VISWANATHAN

DRAVIDIAN LITERATURES

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI
Professor of History (Retired), University of Madras

Price Rupee One

Publisher
S. VISWANATHAN

First Edition 1949

Copies can be had of
S. VISWANATHAN,
14, Singanna Naick Street,
G.T., Madras.

Printed by S. Viswanathan at the Central Art Press,
14, Singanna Naick Street, G. T., Madras.

CONTENTS

PREFACE

The aim of this booklet is to give the general reader a compact outline of the chronology and content of the literatures in the principal languages of South India in accordance with the results of the latest studies. For a more detailed treatment of most of the topics dealt with here I may refer him to the Chapter on Literature in my forthcoming *History of South India* under publication by the Oxford University Press. In addition to the books mentioned at the end, I owe much to my association with my former colleagues in the language departments of the University of Madras. I should make particular mention of Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri Pillai whom I have had the privilege of counting among my intimate friends for over forty years.

K. A. N.

Nileśvar,
Mylapore, Madras.
2nd Feb. 1948.

DRAVIDIAN LITERATURES

'Dravidian literatures' is a compendious and convenient name for the literatures in the leading languages of South India, of which Tamiḻ (Drāviḍa in Sanskrit) is the most ancient and leading language, and the expression is not meant to convey any idea that the people of South India belong to a different race from those of the rest of the country. The Dravidian languages are without exception greatly indebted to Sanskrit for their vocabulary, grammar and prosody as well as for the subject matter of their literatures. But they differ from modern and ancient Indian languages of Indo-Aryan origin in their basic structure, and survivals of a pre-Aryan culture are apparently more abundant, and perhaps more easily traced, in their literatures than in those of other Indian languages. Even Tamiḻ, however, does not show a single work or poem that is not in some way influenced by Aryan culture.

TAMIL

The Vedic seer Agastya is hailed in tradition as the Father of Tamiḻ and the *Kulaguru* of the Pāṇḍyan kings, the patrons of Tamiḻ. He was also the teacher of Tolkāppiyar, the author of the earliest extant treatise on Tamiḻ grammar. Legend, first recorded in the ninth century A.D., mentions three Tamiḻ Academies (*Śangams*) which lasted, at long intervals, altogether for 9,990 years and counted as their members 8,598 poets including some divinities, monarchs and sages among them. We may accept the reality of one *Śangam*, the so-called third *Śangam* attested by epigraphy and by the existence of a body of literature, the earliest in the langu-

Sangam literature

age, bearing all the traits of its early origin. This literature includes 2,279 poems of lengths varying from four or five lines to well over 800, composed on various occasions by 473 poets including some women, besides 102 anonymous pieces. As at present known these poems are found grouped in schematic anthologies known as *Eṭṭuttogai* (eight collections) and *Pattuppāṭṭu* (Ten Idylls), and at the end of each poem are found notes giving the name of its author, the occasion for the composition of the piece and other details. These notes must have been appended by the compilers of the anthologies and probably represent a generally correct tradition, though time and the vagaries of copyists appear to have wrought occasional confusion.

An early convention divided literature in Tamiḻ into two large divisions viz., *aham* (lit. interior) depicting subjective reactions to amorous situations particularly among lovers, and recollections of them; and *puṟam* (lit. exterior) portraying objective facts and events, liberality and war being the preponderant themes. There were many subdivisions within these broad spheres, but we need not go into the minutiae of these conventions. We may now indicate briefly the names and nature of the anthologies. (1) *Naṟṟiṇai* (the good *tiṇai*—*tiṇai* meaning the five types of landscape recognised by convention and the reactions to erotic situations occurring in them)—includes four hundred poems of moderate length, nine to twelve lines each, collected and edited by a Pāṇḍya prince: the collection is introduced by an invocatory poem by 'Perundēvanār who sang the *Bhāratam*'. The *Bhāratam* of this author is not extant. (2) *Kuṟundogai* (the short anthology): each poem in the collection has four to eight lines, and there are 400 poems by 205 authors put together by Pūrikkō. The subject matter is *aham* and the invocation at the beginning

is a poem by Perundēvanār. (3) *Aiṅguṟunūṟu* (the five short hundreds) with an invocation by Perundēvanār also, altogether 501 pieces. Each *tiṇai* gets a hundred poems by a single author. The compilation was undertaken by Kūḍalūr Kiḻār at the instance of a Chēra prince. (4) *Padiṟṟuppattu* (the Ten Tens), a quasi-historical work, each group of ten poems being by a single author and devoted to the praise of a single Chēra monarch. The first and last tens are missing in all known manuscripts and no details are forthcoming on the patron or compiler of the anthology. (5) *Paripāḍal* also a fragmentary work comprising 24 whole poems and parts of a few others, out of an original seventy. Individual poems vary in length from 25 lines to 400. The work takes its name from the metre employed and is meant to be sung to music. In its entirety it contained 8 songs on Viṣṇu, 31 on Muruga (Skanda), one on the goddess of the forest (Kāḍu-kiḻāḷ) 26 on the Vaigai river and 4 on Madura, the Capital of the Pāṇḍyas on its bank. Details of compilation are missing. (6) *Kalittogai* (collection of poems in the *Kali* metre) having 150 poems including the invocation. The poems deal with *aham* and are unequally divided among the five *tiṇais*, each group believed to be the work of a single author, one of whom, Ñallanduvanār, was also the compiler of the whole. (7) *Ahanānūṟu*, (the *aham* 400), making together with the invocatory song of Perundēvanār 401 poems on love situations. The collection was made by Rudraśarman of Madura at the instance of the Pāṇḍya king Ugrapperuvaḻudi. Lastly (8) *Puṟanānūṟu* (the *puṟam* 400) including the invocation at the beginning by 'Perundēvanār of *Bhāratam*.' This and the Ten Tens (No. 4 above) are most valuable for students of history as they contain numerous references to kings and battles and to other

political occurrences, and often portray in vivid colours the religion, society, industry and trade of the times. The references to sea ports and maritime trade with the Yavanas (Graeco-Romans) has much in common with the notices of South India found in classical writers like the author of the *Periplus*, Pliny and Ptolemy, and this agreement among the literary sources is reinforced by the discovery of numerous Roman coins dominantly of the first two centuries A.D. in many places, as well as of a factory of Roman merchants in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry. These coincidences make it certain that the bulk of the poems in the anthologies so far named belong to the first two centuries A.D.

The Ten Idylls (*Pattuppāṭṭu*) is a collection of longer poems which share all the features of the Śangam poems. All of them, except the first on Muruga (Skanda) which may be the latest of the poems in the collection, deal with historical persons and situations and are of value to history. There is little doubt that only a part of the literature of the Śangam has survived, and many pieces must have been lost besides the *Bhāratam* of Perundēvanār who is now known only by the invocatory verses which head some of the collections as we have seen. Though suffused with the ideas and ideals of northern Sanskritic culture, these poems of the Śangam age have notable characteristics which distinguish them from later Tamil literature. The proportion of Sanskrit words is relatively low in their vocabulary, and the metres employed are simple and popular and have little in common with Sanskrit metres. Above all, there is a vigour and directness in the language of the poets who create impressive pen pictures with a rare economy of words altogether unknown to the prolix writers of later ages. As already

indicated the *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest and most complete grammar of the language, may also be ascribed to this early period, though traces pointing to a later date are not wanting. It is said to have owed much to the Aindra school of Sanskrit grammar.

Post-Sangam period.

The next great epoch in Tamiḻ literature extending upto A.D. 850 was marked by an increasing inflow of Sanskrit influences, and the ascendancy of Jainism in the literary field as in the life of the country followed by a strong Hindu reaction which expressed itself in the wide-spread *bhakti* movement led by the Śaiva *nāyanārs* and Vaiṣṇava *āḻvārs* and giving rise to a large volume of sacred and popular literature. Most of the didactical works composed early in the period, some of which still share the characteristics of Śangam poetry, were grouped together under the title *padineṇ-kīḻkaṇakku* (the eighteen treatises in short metres); of these perhaps the earliest and certainly the most celebrated is the *Kuṛaḷ* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, a work of 1330 distichs divided into chapters of ten each—38 on *dharma* (*aṛam*), 70 on *artha* (*poruḷ*), and the rest on *kāma*. The author was a Jain well learned in the works of Manu, Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana. The remaining works are generally pithy statements on morals and social conduct, some of them like *Tirikaḍukam* (Skt. *trikaṭuka*), *Elādi*, and *Śiṛupañcamūlam* borrowing names of medicines on the ground that their prescriptions are meant for the cure of the affections of the soul as the medicines cure the affections of the body. Mention may also be made of *Paḻamoḻi* (Proverbs), a Jain work of 400 stanzas in the *veṇbā* metre, each citing a proverb and mentioning some incident or story in illustration of it; and of the *Aṣārakkōvai*, a veritable Tamiḻ *smriti* by a Śaiva author based avowedly on Sanskrit originals.

In general literature, the three most outstanding works are by Jaina and Buddhist authors. The *Śilappadikāram* of Iḷangō-aḍigaḷ (the young princely saint) is an unsurpassed gem, unique for its vivid portraiture and fine metrical effects. Its theme is an old popular saga upholding the ideal of the chaste wife (*pattini*, Skt. *patnī*) in a story based on the eternal triangle in sex relations. Kōvalan, a merchant prince of Kāvēripaṭṭaṇa, the Chola capital, neglects his wedded wife Kaṇṇagi, a paragon of virtue, and loses his fortune making love to Mādhavi, the most accomplished hetaera of the city. On a festive occasion the lovers play songs on the lute which rouse their mutual suspicion, and this results in a quarrel which sends Kōvalan back to his wife. They both migrate to Madura, the Pāṇḍyan capital, to start a new life there with money got by the sale of Kaṇṇagi's anklets (*śilambu*, which gives the name to the poem). A villainous goldsmith fastens a charge of the theft of the queen's anklet on Kōvalan and the unsuspecting King of Madura hastily orders the execution of Kōvalan, who is killed by the King's officers in the streets of Madura. Kaṇṇagi hears the news, rushes to the royal palace, and establishes her husband's innocence by clear proof that the anklet recovered from Kōvalan was not the queen's. The king dies on the throne of a broken heart, but that was no consolation to Kaṇṇagi, who wreaked vengeance by consigning Madura to flames. She then moved to the neighbourhood of the Chēra capital where she was received into heaven by the gods along with her husband. Śenguṭṭuvan and Gajabāhu are said to have consecrated shrines in her honour in their respective countries. The bulk of the story in spite of its supernatural elements is a moving human tale narrated with great power,

Silappadikaram.

and the author, a Jain, avows his intention of laying its scenes in all the three ancient Kingdoms of the Tamiḻ land.

The *Maṇimèkalai* (the jewel belt) is a Buddhist poem by Śāttanār, a grain-merchant of Madura, reputed to be a contemporary of Iḷangō. It is a continuation of the *Śilappadikāram* and treats of the story of Maṇimekalai, the daughter of Kōvalan by Mādhavi. The poem lacks the dramatic quality of Iḷangō's work and is rather pedestrian in its character and mainly of religious interest. It includes a long exposition of fallacies in logic literally translated from the *Nyāyapraveśa* of Diṅnāga (fifth century A.D.). The third great poem of the age is the *Perungadai*, Tamiḻ for *Bṛhat-kathā*, of which it purports to be a translation. The author was Kongu Vēḷir, a Jaina, and only parts of the work have been recovered. The translation was perhaps based on a Sanskrit rendering of Guṇāḍhya's *paiśācī* poem which is usually attributed to the Ganga king Durvinīta (fifth century). As a narrative poem the work has great merit and commands a deserved popularity. References in later literary works show that many other *kāvyas* produced in this period have been lost beyond recovery.

Manimekalai.

The Hindu religious revival mentioned above gave rise to a large volume of devotional literature, mostly hymns meant to be sung in chorus. They were collected and arranged as a sacred canon in a later age in the tenth century and early eleventh. The Śaiva canon (*tirumuṟai*) was begun by Nambi Aṇḍār Nambi perhaps in the reign of Rājarāja I and the first seven books in it are taken up by the hymns of the three most celebrated saints, Nānasambandar, Appar and Sundaramūrti, and are together called *Dèvāram*

Hymns—Saiva, Vaisnava.

(the Garland of God). The canon reached its final shape in the middle of the twelfth century with the addition of the *Periya Purāṇam* of Śēkkiḻār as the twelfth and last book. The intervening books (8-11) contain (1) the hymns of the famous Māṇikkavācakar (Bk. 8) whose *Tiruvāśagam* takes a place among the world's most authentic records of mystic religious experience and has been held by some to betray traces of Christian influence ; (2) the *Tirumandiram* of Tirumūlar, a somewhat obscure manual of Śaiva mysticism in 3000 verses (Bk. 10) and (3) the hymns of a number of minor saints of different ages grouped together in two books numbered 9 and 11. Mention must be made in passing of the *Tirukkōvai* or *Tirucciṟṟambalakkōvai* of Māṇikkavācakar which is cast in the form of a *kōvai*, a schematic love poem in 400 stanzas, but supposed in reality to have for its main theme the love of the soul for god. This is the earliest of the extant *kōvais*. About the same time as Nambi Aṇḍār Nambi began the Śaiva canon, a similar service was performed for the Vaiṣṇavas by Śrī Nāthamuni who arranged their canon in the form of 'The four thousand sacred hymns'—(*Nālāyira-divyaprabandam*). This contains the hymns of the twelve *āḻvārs*. Tirumangai and Nammāḻvār contribute over a thousand verses each and are rightly celebrated, the former for the richness of his poetic diction and the latter for the depth and reach of his philosophical ideas and yogic experiences. Periyāḻvār and his foster-daughter Aṇḍāḷ (Gōdā) who lived the life of a virgin claiming Ranganātha of Śrīrangam as her lord, and Kulaśekhara, a Chēra King, were other notable figures in the group. All the *āḻvārs* delighted in dwelling upon the mythology of the *avatārs* of Viṣṇu, particularly of Rāma and Krishṇa, and some of the most pleasing specimens of child poetry are found in their verses on the childhood of Rāma or on the boyish pranks of Krishṇa.

Excepting for a few short paragraphs in the *Śilappadikāram*, Tamiḻ prose was born late and found its principal employment in the commentaries. That on the *Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷ*, traditionally ascribed to Nakkīrar, a Śangam poet, has the distinction of being the earliest extant prose commentary and of containing the legend of the three *Śangams* reproduced above. Its style is by no means easy and repels the modern reader by its straining after verbal jingles.

Prose.

The anonymous *Nandikkalambakam* is a relatively short poem of about eighty stanzas in various metres ; it is quasi-historical in character and deals with the life and achievements of the Pallava Nandivarman III (A.D. 830-54). To his reign also belongs a Tamiḻ *Bhāraiam* of Perundēvanār, to be distinguished from his namesake of the Śangam age ; only a small part of the work has survived. It consists of *veṇbās* interspersed with connecting prose passages and thus takes the form of a *campū* as it is called in Sanskrit. The extant portions include the whole of the Udyōga and Bhīṣma *parvas*, and part of the Drōṇa to the battle on the thirteenth day. The work is not devoid of eloquence and charm worthy of its popular theme.

Nandikkalambakam ; Bharatam.

Tamiḻ literary activity reached its high-water mark in the age of the Imperial Cholas (A.D. 850-1200), the golden age of Tamiḻ culture. The *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* of the Jaina ascetic poet Tiruttakkadēvar composed early in the tenth century follows Sanskrit originals of the late ninth century and deals with the life story of Jīvaka, a great soldier and lover who marries no fewer than eight queens, (hence the alternative name of the poem *Maṇanūl*, book of marriages) rules a

Age of the Cholas.

kingdom and ends his life as an ascetic. The poem comprises well over 3000 stanzas and its art is marked by all the qualities of great poetry. It furnished the model for even the genius of Kamban, the author of the Tamiḻ *Rāmāyaṇam*. Another Jain writer of the time, Tōlāmoḻi (lit. of invincible speech) wrote the *Śūḷāmaṇi* which handles a Jaina *purāṇic* theme in easy flowing verse of high quality and is counted among the five minor *kāvyas* of Tamiḻ. The *Kallāḍam* of Kallāḍanār touches on the sixty-four sports of Śiva in a hundred *aham* stanzas marked by extreme pedantry due to the author's unnatural attempt to revive the poetic diction and forms of the Śangam age. Jayangoṇḍār, the poet laureate of the Chola court, celebrated the Kalinga war of Kulōttunga I (1070-1120) in a splendid poem, *Kalingattupparaṇi*, the earliest and best of all the *paraṇis* (war-poems) in Tamiḻ. It is unique in its choice diction and sustained harmony between the metres employed and the incidents portrayed; it keeps clear the line between fact and fiction and is of great value to the student of Chola history. Another Chola poet-laureate was Kūttan or Oṭṭakkūttan who graced the reigns of three successors of Kulōttunga *viz.* Vikrama Chola, Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II, and sang eloquent *ulās* on each of them. The *ulā* is a conventional peace poem, which describes a procession (*pavani*) of the hero round his capital city. Kūttan also composed a *paraṇi*, no longer extant, on Vikrama Chola's war against Kalinga, and a *piḷḷaittamiḻ* (child poem) on Kulōttunga II. The last is easily the best of his poems on account of its copious diction and rich melody and the beautiful imagery of its verses. The same poet's *Takkayāgapparaṇi* deals with a legendary theme, the war on the occasion of Dakṣa's sacrifice, on the model of the *Kalingattupparaṇi*, but must take its place well below its model.

A greater poet than Kūttan, the greatest Tamiḻ poet according to many, was Kamban, the author of the *Rāmāyaṇam* or *Rāmāvatāram* as he called it. This great poem, in spite of its author's profession that he follows Vālmīki, is in fact an independent creation of the highest order. Kamban naturally imports into his work the colour of his own time and place, the Chola Kingdom of the age of Kulōttunga III. His description of Kōsala is an idealized account of the features of the Chola country and his Rāma is as much master of the Tamiḻ idiom as of Sanskrit. Kamban yields to the conventions of Tamiḻ poetry on *aham* when he introduces a chance meeting of Rāma with Sītā immediately after his entry into Mithilā and gives an elaborate analysis of their mutual feelings—a situation not found in Vālmīki. He often compresses Vālmīki as in dealing with Daśaratha's *aśvamedha* or elaborates a hint thrown out by him as in the portrayal of Sītā's behaviour on her receiving Rāma's ring from Hanumān. The poem attained immediate popularity on its publication, and there is mention of a family of hereditary expounders of the *Kambarāmāyaṇa* even in the heart of the Kannaḍa country in Hassan at the end of the fourteenth century. Few authentic details of the poet's life are forthcoming and some minor poems of little merit pass under his great name.

Kamban.

The devotional literature of Śaivism continued to flourish under the Cholas, and as has already been stated the canon was arranged by Nambi Aṇḍār Nambi, who, along with several others, composed hymns which ultimately found a place in the ninth and eleventh books of the canon. The *Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇam* or the *Periya Purāṇam* composed by Śēkkiḻār in the reign of Kulōttunga II (A.D. 1133-50) is a

Religious literature.

landmark in the history of Tamiḻ Śaivism. It deals in epic fashion with the lives of the sixty-three *nāyanārs* and the author was a high official who commanded access to the carefully maintained archives of the Chola court and was thus in a position to vivify his traditional and legendary matter with many authentic details drawn from contemporary society and government. The work is a superb literary composition and worthily commemorates the Silver age of Śaivism in the South. Vaiṣṇava religious literature was mostly composed in Sanskrit during the period, a strange transformation for a movement which at the start carried in many ways a more popular appeal than Śaivism. Even the commentators on the canon evolved the *maṇi-pravāla* (gem and coral) style which revelled in mixing up Sanskrit and Tamiḻ words in a manner that put it beyond the reach of the common man. The *Rāmānuja-nūṟṟandādi*, a centum of verses in praise of the great reformer, by one of his disciples is almost the only conspicuous exception to the rule.

Jain writers.

The Jains were still active, writing works of various kinds. *Jīvasambodanai* of Dēvēndra-munivar expounds the twelve modes of meditation in the form of an address to the soul. *Yāpparungalam* and *Yāpparungalakkārigai* (cf. Skt. *Kārikā*) are two authoritative works on prosody composed at the close of the tenth century by the ascetic Amitasāgara. Other notable works in the field of Tamiḻ grammar are : the *Vīraśōḻiyam* by the Buddhist author Buddhamitra which attempts a synthesis between the Tamiḻ and Sanskrit systems of grammar ; and the anonymous *Daṇḍiyalangāram* on figures of speech based on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. The *Nēminādam* of Guṇavīrapaṇḍita, again a Jain, treats only of orthographs and parts of speech, like the more popular

Nannūl (good book) of Pavaṇandi which has practically displaced all other books as the beginners' handbook of Tamiḻ grammar. The large lexicon known as *Pingalam* after the name of its author belongs to this period, the only earlier lexicon extant being the much shorter *Divākaram*, of the eighth century A.D. The beginnings of the philosophical literature of Śaiva Siddhānta which attained importance in the next period are also to be traced here in the two short works *Tiruvundiyār* and *Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppaḍiyār*, the precursors of the celebrated *Śiva-Nāna Bōdam* of Meykaṇḍār (lit. one who saw the Truth).

Philosophy.

From the fall of the Chola empire to that of Vijayanagar (A.D. 1200-1650) may be taken to constitute the next great division in the history of Tamiḻ literature. The period was marked by a large output of philosophical works, commentaries, *purāṇas* and the several species of belles-lettres called *prabandhas*. Much of this literature is derivative and second-rate, and one gets the impression that with the passing of the political independence of the Tamils their creative power in literature also showed signs of decay. The *maṭhas* belonging to the several religious denominations among which Śaiva *maṭhas* dominated began to play a prominent part in the education of the people and tended to encourage a somewhat arid scholasticism among their votaries. The authors of the period too numerous for individual notice developed a rather narrow sectarian outlook and were mostly Hindus, though some Jainas still continued to flourish. The Pāṇḍyas confined to the extreme south of the peninsula were almost the sole representatives of the ancient glory of the Tamils, and did their best to make up by their achievements in literature for what they lacked in the political field.

Age of Puranas, Prabandhas, and Philosophy.

In the first half of the thirteenth century came Meykaṇḍār whose *Śiva-Nāna-Bōdam* formulates the tenets of Śaivism within the short compass of twelve *sūtras* and explanatory *vārttikas* on them by the author himself. Aruṇandi, at first the *guru* of Meykaṇḍār's father and later the pupil of Meykaṇḍār himself, wrote the more comprehensive *Śiva-Nāna-Śittiyār* altogether in verse; it is the most comprehensive statement of the true doctrine (*supakkam*, Skt. *svapakṣa*) preceded by a critical discussion of rival systems (*para-pakkam*, Skt. *para-pakṣa*) of which no fewer than fourteen are passed under review, including four schools of Buddhism and two of Jainism. The entire *Śāstram* of Śaiva-Siddhānta comprises ten more works besides the four so far mentioned, and the bulk of them were composed by Umāpati-śivācārya whose *Sankaṛpa-nirākaraṇam* bears the date A.D. 1313. Two celebrated anthologies of the Advaita system of philosophy and religion came about the end of the fourteenth century—the *Śivaprakāśapperundirattu* of Svarūpānanda Dēśikar, and the *Kuṛundirattu* (short anthology) of his pupil Tattuvarāyar. The smaller work is almost exactly half the size of the larger one and contains about 1500 verses. Tattuvarāyar was also the author of many popular devotional ditties which set the model for several later composers, the most prominent among them being Aruṇagiri-nāthar, author of *Tiruppugaḷ* comprising nearly 1400 songs on Muruga (Skanda) conceived as the highest godhead. He mentions Praudha Dēvarāya and therefore lived in the fifteenth century. Haridāsa, one of the many poets who adorned the court of Krishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagar, composed the *Irusamaya-viḷakkam*, an exposition of the two systems, *viz.* Viṣṇavism and Śaivism with a bias towards the former. Many other works of philosophy and religion some of them dealing with the rituals of worship in the temple and at

home, and several *sthalapurāṇas* were composed during the period of which no details can be given here. Mention must be made however of an exposition of *advaita vedānta* in a long Tamiḻ poem *Prabōdha-candrōdaya* in 48 cantos making up 2019 verses by Tiruvengaḍanāthan, an officer under the famous Tirumal Nāyak of Madura; this was meant to excel the Sanskrit drama of the same name by Krishṇamiśra in its popular appeal and has an alternative Tamiḻ title —*Meyñ-ñāna-Viḷakkam* (exposition of the true knowledge). The Vaiṣṇava writings in Tamiḻ in the period were mostly confined to great commentaries and sub-commentaries on the canon and a class of esoteric theological works called *rahasyas* (secrets). Piḷḷai Lōkācārya, the author of eighteen *rahasyas* and other works (early thirteenth century), Vedānta Dēśikar (1268-1369) a prolific author in Sanskrit as well as Tamiḻ, and Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni (b. A.D. 1370), the famous saint of the Ten-kalai (Southern school) *sampradāya*, deserve particular notice.

Among *purāṇas* of more general interest not confined to legends of a localised character, mention must be made of the *Sundara-Pāṇḍiyam* of Anadāri (c. A.D. 1580) on the sixty-four sacred sports of Śiva, which form the theme also of two other poems both called *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal-purāṇam*, one by a writer who is known only as the Nambi of Perumpaṟṟapuliyūr, and the other, a longer version by Parañjoti of Vēdāraṇyam, who lived perhaps at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Very celebrated also is the *Kandapurāṇam* of Kacciyappa Śivācārya (A.D. 1625) which takes Kamban's poetry as its model and derives its subject matter from a section of the Sanskrit *Skānda-purāṇa*.

In secular literature, the *Tañjai-vāṇan-kōvai* of Poyyāmoḻi of Vañji celebrates a Bāṇa general of the Pāṇḍya king Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara (1268-1308). The *Naḷa-*

veṇbā of Pugaḻēndi is an easy and moving narration of the tragic story of Nala and Damayantī; the date of the work is c. 1500. The *Bhāratam* (c. A.D. 1400) of Villiputtūrar is a poem of great merit which narrates the entire story of the epic in 4350 well turned stanzas in many pleasing metres. There were several *ulās*, *kōvais* and *andādis* written, but these must be passed over in this brief account. The Pāṇḍya Ativīrarāma of Tenkāśi (Southern Kāśi) achieved literary distinction (A.D. 1564) and *Naiḍadam* (Skt *Naiṣadha*) is the most prominent among his works. His cousin Varatungarāma was also a poet of merit who wrote, besides several minor poems, a theological poem in twelve *adhyāyas* known as *Piramōttarakāṇḍam*, and a work on erotics *Kokkōka*, being a translation of the Sanskrit original of the author of that name.

Curious as an early instance of the results of Western contact was Śivaprakāśar's polemic refuting the Christian creed—*Ēśumāda-nirākaraṇam*, (seventeenth century) a work no longer extant. Equally interesting is the same author's *Prabhulinga-līlai* dated A.D. 1652, a translation from a Kannaḍa original treating of the sports of Allamadēva, an incarnation of Śiva honoured of the Vīra Śaivas. Śivaprakāśa lived as a bachelor, and wrote many other works before he died at the early age of thirty-two.

Technical works

In the field of Grammar, besides works dealing with particular sections like prosody, *aham*, *puṟam*, figures of speech (*alaṅkāra*, *aṇi* in Tamiḻ) and so on, a notable composition was the *Ilakkaṇa-Viḻakkam* of Vaidyanātha Dēśikar of Tiruvārūr (early seventeenth century) which covers the whole range of Tamiḻ grammar and is rightly celebrated as *Kuṭṭi-ttolkāppiyam* (the minor *Tolkāppiyam*). This period was also the age of the great commentators and most of the celebrated

glosses on the Śangam works and on *Tolkāppiyam* and *Śilappadikāram* fall in it. The Jaina lexicon *Niganḍu-Cūḍamaṇi* of the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya registers an advance in lexicography which was followed by the *Agarādi-niganḍu* (A.D. 1594) of Chidambara Rēvaṇa Siddar, a Vīra Śaiva, whose work is the first to attempt an alphabetical arrangement of the words treated, a fact commemorated by the subsequent use of the word *agarādi* (Skt. *akārādi*) to denote a dictionary. Religious law found its codifier in Tamiḷ in Tamiḷākara-munivan of Tinnevelly (A.D. 1633) whose works *Prāyaccitta Samuccayam* and *Aśaucadīpikai* dealt respectively with expiatory penances and pollution due to death.

After the fall of Vijayanagar, the land was cut up into a number of smaller states and fell a prey to internecine strife and the depredations of Muslim and Marātha invaders from the north and of European merchant companies from the West until British rule once more united the country and re-established peace at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Political confusion was no serious bar to social activity which in those days depended very little on government, and literary works continued to be produced as ever. Without however getting lost in the details bearing on the numerous *purāṇas* and *prabandhas*, of more or less the same pattern, we may notice a few works of importance and draw attention to new developments. Towards the close of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth came Paḍikkāśu Pulavar author of *Toṇḍaimaṇḍala-śatakam*, a quasi-historical work on the traditions and history of Toṇḍainād (Pallava country), besides other works of a similar nature on a contemporary chieftain of Pallava extraction, and some devotional pieces ; he was patronised

After Vijayanagar

by Raghunātha Sētupati of Ramnad (A.D. 1678-1710) and a rich Muslim merchant of Kīḷakkarai, Sheik Khadir Periyatambi Maracair, better known as Śīdakkādi. The same merchant was also the patron of Umaṟu-pulavar one of the few Muslim poets in Tamil, whose *Śīṟāppurāṇam* narrates the life of the Prophet in a long epic of over 5000 verses in three *Kāṇḍas*. It is a work of high literary quality and very liberal in its outlook. The *Cōḷamaṇḍala-śatakam* of Atmanātha Dēśikar (A.D. 1720) is of the same nature as the *Toṇḍai-maṇḍala-śatakam* just mentioned. Of more popular interest is the *Kuṟṟālak-Kuravañji* of Tirikūṭarājappa-Kavirāyar (A.D. 1718), a sort of an opera for the open theatre, *vīthi-nāṭakam* (street-drama) as it is called. The quest of the individual soul for union with god is presented in the form of a love story, and an innovation in this work is the introduction of a gypsy-fortune teller, a widely-travelled woman of great charm, who is pursued by a lover of her own and who narrates her experiences with great *eclat*. The contemporary Marātha ruler of Tanjore recognized the merit of the composition by creating a permanent endowment for its annual staging in the Great Temple at Tanjore at the Navarātri festival. The *Drāviḍa Māpāḍiyam* (*Mahābhāṣya*) of Śivañāna-munivar, author of many another work of religious and secular interest, (c 1750) is an authoritative interpretation of the *Śiva Nāna Bōdam* and a classic restatement of the doctrines of Tamiḻ Śaivism.

Lexicography made a great advance in the *Caturagarādi* (quadruple dictionary) of Father Beschi (A.D. 1732), a Jesuit missionary known to the Tamils as Vīra-māmunivar (the redoubtable sage). The work follows a strictly alphabetical order and for the first time in Tamiḻ lexicography included meanings of common words also without

confining its elucidations to the hard words in the language. In its four sections, however, it still preserves something of the traditional arrangement familiar to the *Nigaṇḍus* of old. Beschi also produced a Tamiḻ-Latin dictionary of 9000 words about A.D. 1742, besides a Tamiḻ-French dictionary (1744) and a Portuguese-Latin-Tamiḻ dictionary. He is reputed to have compiled also a dictionary of common (dialect) Tamil, but these works are not forthcoming now. The *Catur-agarādi* became very popular, and was often copied on palm-leaves and apparently amplified by the copyists. A unique work of considerable literary and historical importance is the diary of Ānanda Ranga Piḷḷai, the famous *Courtier* (chief agent) of Dupleix, who maintained a careful daily record of events in which he took no mean part from 1706 to 1760; the diary was continued for ten years more by his nephew Tiruvēngaḍam Piḷḷai. The continuation is not so interesting as the main diary which has come to be recognized as a principal source for the history of the period; an English rendering of the diary has been published by the Madras Government but not the original, a precious specimen of the colloquial Tamiḻ of French India in the eighteenth century.

Aruṇācala Kavirāyar of Shiyali (Tanjore Dt.) narrated the story of Rāma in the form of an opera called *Rāmanāṭakam* (A.D. 1772) in easy and colourful Tamiḻ verse set to music; songs from this work still form a more or less regular feature of musical concerts, though the opera as such is no longer staged as it was once. The songs of Mastān Saheb, a Muslim ascetic of the close of the eighteenth century, are the outpourings of a mystic who had realized the unity of all religion and left sectarianism behind. Mention must also be made of the *padams* of Kavikuñjaram (A.D. 1792), songs of love remarkable alike for their literary quality and musical appeal.

Modern Age

The establishment of peace and settled government under the British, the inflow of western cultural influences, the spread of printing and the rise of the press, the patronage of princes like Sarfoji, the Marātha rāja of Tanjore at the beginning af the century, and the British Government later, and the growth of a class of persons educated on modern Western lines, formed the main factors in the shaping of literary activity in the best part of the nineteenth century. The rise of the nationalist movement as the cumulative effect of the cooperation of these factors came later towards the last quarter of the century. These factors influenced all South Indian languages alike and everywhere the publication of classics in the form of printed books made their study easier and more widespread; but the details of this side of the movement must be passed over.

Among new works, *sthalapurāṇas* were written in considerable numbers and Mīnākshisundaram Piḷḷai attained well-merited celebrity in this line. A full dress biography of this author, the first of its kind in Tamiḻ, was recently published (1933-47)—by that prince of editors of Tamiḻ classics Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Svāminātha Aiyar. Rāmalinga Svāmi carried on the tradition of devotional poetry and his songs are remarkable for their intense fervour and felicitous expression. New lines were opened up by different authors taking to translations and adaptations of Western originals. The prose medium became more common, and the drama and novel were introduced into South Indian literatures. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was adapted into an epic poem by Krishṇa Piḷḷai, a Christian author, towards the end of the nineteenth century. The tragic famine of 1876 (Dhāṭu) evoked a quasi-humourous popular poem, *Pañjalakashaṇam* (nature of famine) by

Villiyappa Piḷḷai. The narration of *purāṇic* themes in popular expositions (*kathā-kālakshēpas*) became common after the model of the Marātha *abhangs*, and the *Nandan Charitram* of Gopālakrishṇa Bhārati is the most celebrated and easily the best known of such productions which combined religion, music and the drama. The stage proper imitated from the West caused the production of dramas, like *Śakuntalai-nāṭakam* and *Bhārata Vilāsam* of Ramachandra Kavirāyar; the *Ariccandira* (Hariścandra) *nāṭakam* of Ranga Piḷḷai; the *Sāvittiri nāṭakam* of Govindasami Rao of Tanjore, himself a famous actor; the *Dambācari-Vilāsa* (1872) of Viśvanātha-Mudaliyār and *Pratāpacandra-vilāsam* of Rāmaswāmi Rāju. Many have followed in the wake of these pioneer works and to-day production is more for the screen than for the stage. But in point of taste Tamiḷ must be said to have lagged far behind the other languages of S. India in this line. Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* was adapted in 1872, and Sundaram Pillai of Trivandrum wrote the *Manōnmaṇīyam*, a drama on the Shakespearean model. *Rūpāvati* and *Kalāvati* are two plays by Sūryanārāyaṇa Śāstri who sought to combine features from Western drama with those of classical Sanskrit drama. Sambandam Mudaliyār has produced over fifty plays and himself took part in staging them with the aid of an amateur dramatic club. *Kaṭṭaivaṇḍi* of Prof. K. Swaminathan deserves notice as a very happy adaptation of Gilbert's *Gondoliers*.

An abridgement of *Smriti-candrikā* under the name of *Taruma-nūl* (1826) by Kandasāmi Pulavar of Madura, popular tales including a translation of Marāthi *Pañcatantra* by Tāṇḍavarāya Mudaliyār (1826), and anonymous prose versions of Vālmīki, Vyāsa and Kamban ushered in the use of prose as a normal medium in the nineteenth century. Novels on the Western model followed. Some of the

earliest and best among them were: *Pratāpamudaliyār Caritram* by Vēdanāyakam Piḷḷai; *Kamalāmbāḷ Caritram* by Rājam Aiyar, and *Padmāvati Caritram* by Mādhaviah. Some of Bankim's Bengali novels were also translated. But much trash was also produced in the form of thinly veiled translations and adaptations of sensational third rate stuff from English and other modern European languages. The short story also came into use, though the didatic purpose of several of them was too obtrusive. The numerous weeklies and monthlies are now the usual forum for the novel and short story before they appear in book form. The medium of the Essay was adopted with conspicuous success by Chelvakēśavarāya Mudaliyār, Subrahmanya Bhārati, Mādhaviah, Swāmi Vēdāchalam, Kalyāṇasundaram Mudaliyār and others. Text-books on Grammar and Dictionaries were produced to meet the growing educational needs as also works on modern scientific subjects. Among lexicographers Röttler (1834) and Winslow (1862) deserve particular notice, and the *Tamil Lexicon* (1913-36) published by the University of Madras under the editorship of Vaiyāpuri Piḷḷai may be said to replace all the earlier works in this line. Scientific literature in Tamiḻ as in most Indian languages is yet to find a generally accepted set of 'Technical terms,' a task which is being unduly complicated and delayed by meaningless but heated controversies over the principles to be followed in fixing the terms.

The nationalist movement and the impact of world politics have given rise to new experiments in poetry. Subhrahmaṇya Bhārati is the leader of the movement in Tamiḻ. He died in 1922 at the relatively young age of 38. His nationalist songs have had a great part in stirring up the people to a new sense of revolt and freedom; but his

poems on traditional and *purāṇic* themes which combine the best in the cultures of the East aud West often touch the highest levels of pure art and will be his lasting title to fame. He has found many followers and imitators. Dēśikavināyakam of Putheri, Travancore, deserves particular mention for the volume and excellence of his poetical work ; some of it comprises adaptations mainly from English while the rest handles current social and political themes in a creative manner.

KANNADA

After Tamiḻ, Kannaḍa possesses the oldest literature. Much prose and poetry must have come up before the date of Nripatunga's *Kavirājmārga* (A.D. 850) the earliest extant work on rhetoric in Kannaḍa ; but few traces now remain of this early phase of literature, and Durvinīta, Tumbaḷūrācārya and Śyāmakundācārya are just nāmes, and no more, and all of them were Jains. Pampa is the first and in some ways greatest poet whose works have survived (A.D. 941). He was also a Jaina, and his *Adipurāṇa* narrates the life story of the first Tīrthankara while his *Vikramārjunavijaya*, also called *Pampa-Bhārata*, narrates the Bhārata story in part, and identifying Arjuna with the Chālukya chieftain Arikēsari II of Vēmulavāḍa, it finds occasion to weave in contemporary historical incidents into the story. Ponna, a junior contemporary of Pampa, wrote the *Śāntipurāṇa* on the thirteenth Tīrthankara and the *Jinākṣaramāle*, 'an acrostic poem in praise of the Jainas.' He got the title 'Emperor of two languages' (Sanskrit and Kannaḍa) from the Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa III. These two poets together with Ranna (Skt. *ratna*) form the 'Three Gems' of Kannaḍa poetry. Ranna (b. 949) was poet laureate of the Chālukya court of Kalyāṇi. His *Ajitapurāṇa* (A.D.

Jaina Authors

993) is a *campū* on the second Tīrthankara written at the request of Attimabbe, the pious wife of general Nāgavarma. Ranna further wrote the *Sāhasabhīmavijaya*, also known as *Gadāyuddha*, depicting the combat in which Bhīma killed Duryodhana with his mace (*gadā*); the achievements of Satyāśraya, the Chālukya king, on whom the poet confers the title Sāhasabhīma find a place in the poem. A lexicon *Ranna Kanda* may well be his production also. Cāvuṇḍarāya, a Ganga feudatory, patronised Ranna before he went over to the Chālukya court, and got the title Rāya from his suzerain for setting up the colossus of Gommaṭēśvara at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. He composed the *Cāvundarāya-purāṇa* or *Triṣaṣtilakṣaṇa-mahāpurāṇa* in prose, setting forth the legends of the 24 Tīrthankaras, twelve Cakravartis, nine Balabhadras, nine Nārāyaṇas, and nine Pratinārāyaṇas, sixty-three in all. Nāgavarma was another protege of Cāvuṇḍarāya and his *Chandōmbudhi*, Ocean of Prosody, is the earliest extant work on the subject. The *Karnātaka-Kādambari*, a *campū* based on Bāṇa's prose romance, is highly valued for its sweet and flowing style.

Durgasimha, the Brahmin Śaiva minister of Chālukya Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla (c. 1030), wrote the *Pañcatantra*, a *campū* professedly based on Guṇāḍhya's *Brihat-Kathā*; the work is too full of sound jingles (*prāsa*) to suit modern taste. He mentions several writers as his predecessors or contemporaries. Among the latter was Candrarāja, a Brahmin polyhistor, whose *Madanatilaka*, a *campū* in eighteen *adhikaraṇas*, is a work on erotics in the form of a dialogue between his patron and his wife; the author claims to have written his work in the latest language of his time. A Jain Brahmin Śrīdharācārya wrote *Jātaka-tilaka* (A.D. 1049), the earliest work on astrology in Kannaḍa, and *Candraprabhacarite*, no longer extant. The

Jaina Nāgavarmācārya (A.D. 1070) set forth the ethics of renunciation in *Candracūḍāmaṇi-śataka*, a centum of easy verses in Mattebha metre. Nāgacandra, also a Jaina (A.D. 1105), wrote the *Mallināthapurāṇa*, a *campū* on the nineteenth Tīrthankara to whom he built a temple at Bijapur; but his best known work is the *Rāmacandra-caritapurāṇa*, which gives the Jaina version of the Rāma saga and differs from Vālmīki in many notable ways. To the same period belong *Samayaparīkṣe* of Brahmaśiva, a religious polemic seeking to establish the superiority of Jainism, and *Gōvaidya* of Kīrttivarma, a work of veterinary science, half medicine, half magic. Karṇapārya's *Nemināthapurāṇa* (1145) is a *campū* on the life of the twenty-second Tīrthankara in which the story of Krishṇa and Mahābhārata are also cleverly worked in. To about the same time must be assigned Nāgavarma II, author of two important works on grammar and rhetoric called *Kāvyāvalōkana* and *Karnāṭakabhāṣābhūṣaṇa*. The same author's *Vastukośa* is a short lexicon of 800 *granthas* giving Kannaḍa equivalents of Sanskrit terms. Udayāditya, a Telugu Chola prince, based his *Udayādityālankāra* (1150) on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, and Jagaddala Somanātha, a Jaina writer, translated Pūjyapāda's *Kalyāṇakāraka*, a Sanskrit work on medicine. Mathematical subjects were treated in easy verse by Rājāditya (1190) in several *gaṇita* works like *Vyavahāra-gaṇita*, *Kṣetragaṇita* and *Līlāvati*.

Most of the writers mentioned so far were Jainas, and it would be well to carry the account of Jaina writers a little further before turning to the two other influences in Kannaḍa literature—those of the Vīraśaivas and Vaiṣṇavas which became important from the twelfth and fifteenth centuries respectively. Jaina writers continued to flourish under the later Hoysalas and the lives of the Tīrthankaras

and *purāṇic* themes formed the staple of their subject matter. It is neither possible nor necessary to name all the writers and works individually, but note only the leading instances. Nēmicandra's *Līlāvati*, written under Ballāla II, is a plain romance with Banavase for its scene of action, in which a prince and princess dream of each other, meet after delays and are wedded to live happily for ever; he also wrote *Nemināthapurāṇa* which he did not complete. Janna was the author of *Yaśōdharacarite* (1209), the story of a king who practised and gave up human sacrifice, and the *Anantanāthapurāṇa* (1230) on the fourteenth Tīrthankara. Bandhuvarma, a Vaiśya, wrote the *Harivaṁśābhyudāya* and *Jīva-sambodhana*, the latter a work on morals and renunciation, being an address to the soul. Śiśumāyaṇa (A.D. 1232) initiated in his *Añjanācarita* and *Tripuradahana* (an allegory on Birth, Decay and Death) a new form of musical composition, *sāngatya*, which became common later. Āṇḍayya's *Madana Vijaya* (1235) avoids *tatsama* words and limits itself to *deśya* and *tadbhava*, an experiment not continued by later writers. Mallikārjuna's *Sūkti-Sudhārṇava* (c. 1245) is an anthology under eighteen topical heads of which only fifteen have been found. His son Kēśirāja (c. 1260) was the author of *Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa*, the standard grammar of the language. Kumudendu's *Rāmāyaṇa* (1275) in *ṣaṭpadi* metre was largely influenced by the version of Nāgacandra already noticed. Mangarāja's work on toxicology known as *Khagendra-maṇi-darpaṇa* (c. 1360) also deserves mention besides *Raṭṭasūtra* of Raṭṭa Kavi (c. 1300) and *Puṇyasvara* (1331) of Nāgārjuna, the latter comprising fifty-two *purāṇic* tales from Sanskrit for the guidance of house-holder. The Jainas declined under Vijayanagar (1336-1650) but kept on producing works on the lives of Tīrthankaras and other allied topics.

Madhura's *Dharmanāthapurāṇa* (1385) on the fifteenth Tīrthankara, and his short poem in praise of Gommaṭēśvara of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa; Vrittaviḷāsa's *Dharmaparīkṣe*, a translation of Amitagati's Sanskrit original, and *Śāstrasāra* are examples. The life of Jīvandhararāja was a favourite theme handled by three poets in the fifteenth century—Bhāskara (1424), Bommarasa (1485) and Koteśvara (1500). Bāhubali of Śringēri (1560) narrated the story of Nāgakumāra who despised riches and became an ascetic. Jainism lingered longest in the Tuluva country and two colossal statues of Jina were erected at Kārkaḷa (1431) and Yēnūr (1603), and many writers flourished there. The *Kāvyasara* (1533) of Abhinava Vādi Vidyānanda, an able controversialist, is an anthology under forty-five heads, much more valuable than Mallikārjuna's as it gives the names of many poets between A.D. 900 and 1430. Sālva (1550) produced a Jaina *Bhārata* in *ṣaṭpadi* metre. Ratnākaravarṇi described Jaina cosmography in his *Triḷōkasāra* (1557) and wrote *Aparājita Śataka* on philosophy, morals and renunciation, and *Bharteśvaracarita* on the legendary emperor Bharata, son of the first Tīrthankara. Many songs by the same author are still current among Jainas as Aṇṇagaḷa-pada. Nēmanna exalted meditation and study above rites and austerities as means of salvation in his *Jñāna-bhāskaracarite* (A.D. 1559).

Vīra-Śaivas

The Vīrā-Śaivas showed a decided preference for the prose medium, and Basava and his contemporaries created a large body of *Vacana* literature in easy prose to appeal to the common folk and popularise the new creed. There were over two hundred of these writers including several women with Mahādeviyakka at their head. The *Vacanas* often bore the *mudras* (sign marks) of their authors. Among Lingāyat

writers other than the authors of *Vacanas*, we may note Hariśvara, contemporary of Hoysala Narasimha I (1141-73), whose works included *Pampāśataka*, a centum of verses in praise of god Virūpākṣa of Hampe, *Girijā-kalyāṇa*, a *campū* in the old Jaina style on the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī; and *Śivaganaṇada-ragaḷegaḷu* on the lives of Śaiva saints—a work marked by all the characteristics of the new school which starts with him and uses distinctively Kannaḍa metres like *ṣatpadi* and *tripadi*. His nephew Rāghavāṅka wrote the *Hariścandra-kāvya* in very good poetry and works of hagiology like *Śōmanātha-carite*, and *Siddharāmapurāṇa* as well as *stōtras* and legends like *Hariharamahatva*, *Vīrēśvāra-carite* and *Sarabhacarita*. Kereya Padmarasa's *Dīkṣā-bōdhe* is a manual of doctrine in the form of a dialogue between a *guru* and his pupil. Pālkuriki Sōmanātha (c.A.D. 1295) from the Telugu country was the author of several works on Vīraśaivism in Telugu and Kannaḍa; chief among the latter are *Śīlasampādane*, *Sahasraganaṇāma* and *Pañcāratna*, besides several *Vacanas* and *ragales*. Two works of romance of this period are *Kusumāvali* (c. 1200) of Dēva Kavi resembling *Līlāvati* of Nēmicandra, and *Udbhaṭakāvya*, also called *Śringārarasa* (A.D. 1222) of Somarāya which has Udbhaṭa, a ruler of Gersoppa, for hero.

Under Vijayanagar, Lingāyat literature in Kannaḍa comprised the stories of reformers and devotees and expositions of doctrine. Among the former we have the *Basavapurāṇa* (1369) of Bhīmakavi in *ṣatpadi* metre, very popular to this day; the *Mahā-basavarājā-carita* of Singirāja (1500) also called *Singirājapurāṇa* on the life and miracles of Basava; and *Prabhulingalīle* of Cāmarasa (c. 1425) on Allama Prabhu, an associate of Basava. Another popular work in the same line was the *Cenna Basava Purāṇa* of

Virūpākṣa Paṇḍita (1584). There are also the lives of many *ācāryas* and *purātanas* (elders) which cannot be detailed in this short account. In the literature of doctrine there was much activity in the reign of Dēvarāya II (1422–46). Lakkaṇṇa's *Śiva-tatva-cintāmaṇi*, Jakkaṇārya's *Nūṛondusthala* (101 topics), Guru Basava's *Sapta-kāvya* (seven works) and the *Vacanas* of Jangamas (wandering teachers) of whom there are believed to have been one hundred and one, all belong to this period. There was much acute rivalry between Liṅgāyats and Vaiṣṇavas often reflected in the literature of the time. Tōṇṭada Siddhēśvara, who got his title 'of the garden' by practising *Śiva-yōga* in a garden, wrote the *Saṭsthala-Jñānāmṛta*, a work of 700 *vacanas*, and had many disciples who wrote similar works. His life became the subject of a *Siddhèśvara purāṇa* (1560) by Virakta Tōṇṭadārya. Nijaguṇa Śiva Yogi, a petty ruler turned ascetic, was a prolific writer who used *tripadi*, *sāngatya*, and *ragaḷe* as well as prose in his works. Gobbi Mallanārya wrote the *Bhāva-cintā-ratna* (1513) said to be based on a Tamiḻ work of Nānasambandar, besides *Sātyendracōla Kathe* and *Vīraśaivāmṛta* (1530). Virūparāja's *sāngatya* work (1519) on the life of Chērumānka, a *purātana*, and his son Vīrabhadra-rāja's five *śatakas* on the doctrine also fall in this period. The *padas* of Sarvajñamūrti in *tripadi* of which over a thousand are current treat of religion, morals, and society in brief, sententious sayings like those of Vemana in Telugu or Tukārām in Marāthi. Like them he placed sincerity above idolatry, pilgrimages and rituals.

Vaisnavas.

One of the earliest Vaiṣṇava works in Kannaḍa is *Jagannātha Vijaya*, a *campū* on the life of Krishṇa based on the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, by Rudrabhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Ballāla II 1172-1219. About 1280 Naraharitīrtha composed songs in praise

of Viṣṇu. But the real strength of Vaiṣṇavism as a force in Kannaḍa began in the reign of Krishṇadēva Rāya (1509-29). It was marked by translations of Sanskrit classics and the transition from mediaeval to modern Kannaḍa. In 1510 Timmanna completed the translation of the Mahābhārata which had been begun under Dēvarāya II by Nāraṇappa who translated the first ten *parvas* and earned the name Kumārā Vyāsa: the new work was called *Krishṇarāya Bhārata*. Then came *Torava Rāmāyaṇa*, the first Brahmanical version of the story in Kannaḍa, by Narahari also called Kumārā-Vālmīki. Cāṭu Viṭṭhala-nātha translated the *Bhāgavata* and produced fuller renderings of the parts of the Mahābhārata which had been abridged by Kumāra-Vyāsa, *viz.*, the Pauloma and Astika *parvas*. Popular devotional songs in *ragaḷe* metre formed an essential part of the Vaiṣṇavism in the period and the visit of Caitanya to Vijayanagar in 1510 gave a fillip to the movement started by Mādhavācārya and Vyāsarāya. Purandaradāsa was the earliest, most prolific and most famous' of the *dāsās*, mendicant singers, who now took it up. Kanakadāsa was another. Besides songs, he also wrote the *Mōhana Taraṅgiṇī* on Krishṇa stories in *sāṅgatya*, and *Nalacarita* and *Hari-bhaktisāra* in *Saṭpadi*. His *Rāma-dhānya-carite* is a little poem in praise of rāgi, the staple food of a great part of Karnāṭaka.

Collections of short stories, unsettled in date but probably of the sixteenth century, were *Battisa-puttali-kathe*, *Betāla pañca-viṁśati-kathe* in three forms *viz.*, *campū*, *tripadi*, and prose, *Śuka-saptati*; and so on. *Teñāli Rama-krishṇa Kathe* is a collection of funny anecdotes of the famous jester of the Vijayanagar court who was also a talented writer in Telugu.

Early in the seventeenth century the Jains author Bhaṭṭākaḷankadeva composed the *Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana*

(1604), the most comprehensive Kannaḍa grammar, a work of 592 Sanskrit *sūtras* with *vritti* and *vyākhyā* (gloss and commentary) in the same language ; its references to earlier writers and citations from leading writers are of great interest to the history of the language. *Bhujabali carite* (1614) of Pañcabāṇa inspired by the reconsecration of the Gommaṭa statue at Śravana-Beḷgoḷa in 1612, *Kārkaḷa-Gommaṭeśvara carite* of Candrama, *Bijjaḷa-rāja-carite* and *Jinamunitanaya* treating respectively of Basava's life and of morals from the Jaina standpoint are other works of the same period. Other Jaina writers and works of the century were : Padmana Paṇḍita of *Hayasāra-samuccaya* ; Chidānanda of *Munivaṁśābhyudaya*, and Chandraśekhara of *Rāmacandra-caritra*.

Seventeenth century

Later in the century there was a remarkable development of Brahmin authorship under Chikka Rāja Oḍeyar of Mysore (A.D. 1672-1704,) patron and author, like his two ministers Tirumalārya and Chikkupādhyāya. Tirumalārya wrote a number of works in praise of Chikkadeva, and the other minister is credited with more than thirty works including *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (1691), *Kamalācala-māhātmya* (1680), *Hastigiri-māhātmya* (1679), *Rukmāngada carite* (1681) and *Sātvika-brahma-vidyā-vilāsa* of Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. Singarāya, the brother of Tirumalārya, wrote a drama—*Mitravindāgovinda*. Other poets of the time were : Timmakavi, author of *Yādavagiri-māhātmya* (1677) and other works; Mallikārjuna of *Śrīranga-māhātmya* (1678); and Mallarasa of *Daśāvatāracarite*. Poetess Śrīrangamma wrote the *Padminīkalyāṇa*, and another poetess of the Okkaliga caste wrote a work on the duties of a faithful wife—*Haḍibadeya Dharma*. Among Brahmin authors must be noted Rāmacandra who wrote an

Aśvaśāstra; Tirumale Vaidya of the *Uttara Rāmāyaṇa*; Nāgarasa of *Bhagavad-gīte*; Timmarasa of *Kṣetragaṇita*, and Lakṣmīśa of *Jaimini Bhārata*, perhaps the most popular poem in the language.

Of the Vīraśaiva writers of the century we may note; Harīśvara, author of *Prabhudeva-purāṇa*; Siddhanañjēśa of *Rāghavānkacarita* and *Gururāya-caritra*; Pemmisetṭi or Prāsabhuṣaṇa of *Gurubhaktāṇḍara carite*; Mummaḍi Tamma of *Śānkara Samhita*; Parvatēśvara of *Caturācāryapurāṇa*; Saḍakṣaradeva of *Rājaśekharavilāsa* (1655), rival of *Jaimini Bhārata* in popularity, and *Vriṣabhendra-vijaya* and *Śabara-Śankaravilāsa*; and Sejjeya Siddhalingarāya of *Malayarājacarite*. Sarvajña, author of many popular *tripadi* verses going by his name, may also be assigned to this century.

Eighteenth century

In the eighteenth century, *Yakṣagānas* popular dramas suited for rustic audiences, which began to appear in the preceding century, became more common. These had small literary merit, and in fact high class literature was getting rare at the time. Among Brahmin poets of the time were: Lakshmakavi, author of *Bhārata* and *Rukmāngada carite*; Venkaṭēśa of *Hālasyamāhātmya*, a *campū*; Konayya of *Krishṇārjuna-sangara*; Tirumāmātya, who wrote a *Rāmāyaṇa* called *Rāmābhyudaya-kathā-kusumamanjari*; Bālavaidaya Cheluva, author of *Kannaḍa Līlāvati* and *Ratnaśāstra*, on precious stones; and the poetess Helavanakatte Giriyamma of *Candrahāśana kathe* and other works. Śankara Kavi of *Cōra Basava carite* and Nuronda of *Saundara-kāvya* were Vīraśaivas. Jaina poets of the time were: Pāyaṇṇa of *Ahimsā-carite*; Padmarāja of *Pūjyapāda-carite* (1792); Jayendra of *Karnāṭaka-Kuvalayānanda* besides poetess Celuvāmbe, queen of Krishṇarāja Oḍeyar I,

who wrote *Varanadikalyāṇa* and other works. There were also other Jaina writers besides many *dāsas* of the Madhva faith, authors of popular *padas* (songs of devotion).

Modern Times

From the nineteenth century Kannaḍa felt the impact of modern Western influences and shared practically all the developments noted under Tamiḻ. The century began with Krishṇa Rāja Oḍeyar on the Mysore throne, himself a voluminous writer to whom over forty works are attributed including the poetical romance *Saugandhikāpariṇaya*. He patronized *Yakṣagānas* which increased in number. Aliya Lingarāja wrote thirty of them besides poems like *Prabhavatīpariṇaya* of considerable literary merit. The Jaina Dēvacandra wrote in 1838 the *Rājavalīkathe*, a cyclopaedia of Jaina traditional history and chronology at the instance of Devirammaṇṇi, a Mysore queen. Another voluminous Jaina author was Candrasāgara Varṇi whose *Kadamba-purāṇa* is his best known work. Towards the close of the century there was a revival of literary activity under the impetus of modern influences and encouragement from Cāmarājendra Oḍeyar. Prose was more used in literature and in the press, and dramas of a high order began to be produced for the stage. The essay, the short story and the novel also came up, besides translations and adaptations from Western models as well as those in other Indian languages.

TELUGU

Beginnings

The beginnings of Telugu, marked by clear affinities to Tamiḻ and Kannaḍa, can be traced in stone inscriptions of the fifth and sixth century A.D. A Sanskrit work on prosody, *Janāśrayachandas*, perhaps the work of Mādhavavarman II (A.D. 580-620) of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty, includes some metres peculiar to

Telugu and unknown to Sanskrit. Early Telugu prose and verse can now be traced only in the inscriptions of Telugu-Cōḍas and Eastern Cāḷukyas, and there is a well turned verse in *Sīsa* metre in a grant of the Cāḷukya general Pāṇḍuranga (A.D. 845-6). Early literature must have been of the popular folk song variety like *lālipāṭalu* (cradle songs), *melukolupulu* (songs of the dawn), *ūḍupu-pāṭalu* (songs of harvest) and so on.

Literature proper begins with Nannaya's translation of the first two *parvas* and part of the third of Mahābhārata in the reign of Rājarāja Narendra (A.D. 1019-61). The work was not a literal translation, but a free rendering offering full scope for the author's imagination, and formed the model for other translators. He uses many Sanskrit words but is never obscure, and the majesty of his diction was compared to a noble elephant (*bhadragaja*) by Yeṟṟāpragaḍa, another translator of the Bhārata. The *Andhra Śabda Cintāmaṇi*, the first Telugu grammar, is also attributed to Nannaya who is said thereby to have earned the title *Vaganuśāsana*. A younger contemporary of Nannaya was Vemulavāḍa Bhīma Kavi, a rather emigmatic figure, but most probably a protege of Ananta Varman Cōḍa-ganga (A.D. 1078-1148) of Kalinga, and author of *Kavijanāśraya*, a grammar, and *Bhīmeśvara Purāṇa* on the legends of the shrine of Bhīmēśvara in Dākṣārāmam (Godavari Dt.). His *Rāghava-Paṇḍavīya* has been lost.

Nannaya

Vīra-śaivism became a force in the Telugu country and literature from the twelfth century. Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita's *Śiva Tattva Sāram* is an exposition of the doctrine in five hundred verses. His pupil Nanne Cōḍa, a Telugu-Cōḍa prince, wrote the *Kumārasambhava*, a *mahākāvya* recently recovered; be-

Vira Saiva works

sides Kālidāsa's work of the same name, it draws upon Udbhaṭa and the Śaiva literature current in his day. Nanne Cōḍa employed Kannaḍa and Tamiḻ words freely and had a partiality for Kannaḍa metres. His style is universally admired; but he is also believed to have courted death by using inauspicious metres. Pālkuriki Sōmanātha already noticed as the author of some Vīra-śaiva works in Kannaḍa was a contemporary of Kākatīya Pratāparudra II (1291-1330) and wrote *Paṇḍitārādhya Carita*, *Dvipada Basava-purāṇa*, *Vṛṣādhipa Śatakam*, a *stotra* of Basava, and *Anubhava-sāra*. The first was used by Śrīnātha who wrote another poem of the same name. Another *Basava Purāṇa* in Telugu verse was that of Piḍuparti Sōmanātha (1510).

The illustrious Tikkana Sōmayāji (1220-1300) resumed the translation of the Mahābhārata, beginning with the Virāṭa *parva* and going right up to the end. His prologue started certain conventions generally adopted by the poets who came after him; its main features were condemnation of incompetent poets and praise of good ones, a dream in which his grand father conveyed to him a message from god Hariharanātha that the work should be dedicated to him, and lastly a hymn of praise of the deity in which every compound word ended in the genitive case (*Saṣṭhyantamulu*). The first and last features were employed by Nanne Cōḍa before Tikkana. An earlier work of Tikkana was *Nirvacanōttara Rāmāyaṇa*—an all verse account of the story of Rāma after his coronation. The poet was known as *Kavi-brahma* (poet creator).

Tikkana

Yerrāpragaḍa (A.D. 1280-1350) filled the gap in the Vana *parva* between the works of Nannaya and Tikkana, and his style moves by imperceptible transitions from the mode of the one

Yerrapragada

writer to that of the other; he made it appear that the work was by Nannaya himself by dedicating it to (the memory of) Rājarāja Narendra. He says also that Tikkana urged him in a dream to complete the Bhārata. He also translated the *Harivaṁśa*, the epilogue to Bhārata, besides writing a *Rāmāyaṇa* not extant, and *Ahōbala-māhātmya* also known as *Lakṣmī-Nṛsimha-Purāṇa*. The three translators of the Mahābhārata have been held in the highest esteem and obeisance to the *Kavitraya* generally adorns the opening of later works.

Nāćana Soma (A.D. 1355-77) wrote *Uttara-Harivaṁśa*, a work meant to displace Yerrāpagaḍa's *Harivaṁśa*, by its superior quality, and critics have held that the poet succeeded in his aim. The Rāmāyaṇa was translated by Kona Buddhā Reḍḍi, a feudatory of Pratāparudra II Kākatiya, under the name *Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇa* in *dvipada* metre, a work of great sweetness and simplicity; who Ranganātha was, a poet of the court or *guru* of the king, is not clear. Hullakki Bhāskara produced another translation of the epic in the form of a *campū*.

Other translations

Among the contemporaries of Tikkana were: (1) Kētana, author of *Daśakumāracarita* which earned for him the title of Abhinava Daṇḍin, a grammar *Andhrabhāṣābhūṣaṇa* and a translation of Vijñānēśvara's *Mitākṣarā*; (2) Mārana whose *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* formed the basis of a greater work, Peddana's *Manucarita*; and (3) Mañćana, author of *Keyūrabāhucaritra*. Baddena, a Cōḍā feudatory of Kākatīya Rudramadēvi, wrote *Nītiśāstramuktāvali* on politics and *Sumati-Śataka*, a centum of popular moral maxims. Two works on mathematics were also translations from Sanskrit,—one of Mahāvīrācārya's treatise on the subject by Mallana (1060-70) and the other a transla-

tion of Bhāskara's *Līlāvati*, under the name *Prakīrṇaganita*, by Eluganṭi Peddana.

Age of Srinatha

Śrīnātha (1365-1440) may be said to dominate the latter half of the fourteenth century and much of the fifteenth. He was the friend of many ruling princes and chiefs including Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagar. He had great command over Sanskrit and Telugu and his master-piece was the translation of Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhakāvya* into Telugu under the name *Śṛngāra Naiṣadha*. His other works were *Paṇḍitārādhya carita*, *Śivarātrimāhātmya*, *Haravilāsa*, *Bhīmakhaṇḍa* and *Kaśīkhaṇḍa*—all works of religious import giving evidence of his staunch Śaivism. The *Carita* is not extant. *Krīḍābhiramam*, perhaps the earliest of the *Vīthināṭakas* in Telugu is also attributed to him; its scene is laid in the streets of Warangal. *Śṛngāradīpika*, a work on poetics ostensibly by Kumāragiri Reḍḍi, is held by some to be the work of Śrīnātha to whom are attributed besides the *Palnāṭivīra Caritram*, a ballad on the warlike heroes of Palnad (Guntur District) and many *cāṭus* or stray verses which command great popularity to this day. Śrīnātha's junior contemporary and brother-in-law was Bammera Potana (A.D. 1400-75) whose translation of the *Bhāgavatam*, longer than the original, was inspired by an intense devotion to Śrī Krishṇa. Its easy diction, vivid descriptions and narrative power have ensured for it a much wider popularity than that commanded by the translations of Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa. Potana, it is believed, declined to dedicate his great poem to his patron Rao Singa as Sarasvatī appeared to him in a dream and forbade his doing so. He also wrote the *Vīrabhadra Vijaya* in praise of Śiva as an expiation for having penned the words of abuse against Śiva in the description of Dakṣa's sacrifice.

Vēmana, the author of a celebrated *Śataka* of moral sayings, may be placed in the early fifteenth century. Pillalamaṛṛi Vīrabhadra Kavi, a younger contemporary of Śṛīnātha than Potana, translated the *Jaimini Bhārata* and dedicated the work to Sāluva Narasimha; his *Śṛngāra Śākuntala* is a rendering of the great drama of Kālidasa. Other poets of the age were: Nandi Mallaya and Ghaṇṭam Singaya (c. 1480) joint authors of *Varāhapurāṇa* and *Prabōdhacandrōdaya*, the latter a translation of the Sanskrit drama in the form of a *prabandha*; Peram Rāju Jakkaṇa (1450) author of *Vikramārka-carita*; Duggupalli Duggaya (1480) of *Naciketōpākhyāna*; Dūbaguṇṭa Nārāyaṇa (1470) of *Pañcatantra*; Vennalakaṇṭi Sūranna (1460) of *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and Gaurana, author of *Hariścandropākhyāna*.

Age of Krishnadeva Raya

The reign of Krishṇadeva Rāya marked a great epoch in the history of Telugu literature. Himself no mean scholar and poet, he was the patron of many great poets; and tradition with its usual violation of chronology, groups eight great names round the emperor and calls them *aṣṭadiggajas*, the elephants of the eight quarters. The practice of translating Sanskrit originals gave place now to the production of independent *prabandhas* which elaborated selected themes from the epics and *purāṇas* into separate works after the manner of the Sanskrit *mahākāvya*. The early *prabandhas* were remarkable for their originality, variety, freedom, and grace of manner and matter; the genre became stereotyped and monotonous in the hands of lesser poets of later times who slavishly followed rules of rhetoric but lacked the true poetic fire. Krishṇadēva's *Amuktamālyada* or *Viṣṇucittīya* was among the first fruits of the new movement and also marked the beginning of Vaiṣṇava influences on Telugu literature.

It is the story of Periyāḷvār and his daughter Gōdā and the poem is rich in ideas though involved in its style. Allasāni Peddana on whom the emperor bestowed the title Andhra-Kavitā-pitāmaha, Grand-father of Telugu poetry, wrote the *Manucarita* or *Svārōciṣasambhava*, in which as in the *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa, the parents of the hero, (a pious Brahmin Pravara and a divine courtesan Varūthinī whose love is refused by Pravara who is however personated by a *gandharva*), absorb all the attention of the reader. Nandi Timmana's *Pārijātāpaharaṇa* elaborates in beautiful verse a well known episode in Śrī Krishṇa's life ; there is a story that the poem had the object of reconciling Krishṇadêva to one of his queens who had offended him by sleeping with her legs towards his portrait by depicting the scene of Krishṇa falling at the feet of Satyabhāmā ; this is most probably apocryphal. Bhaṭṭumūrti who came later to be known as Rāmarāja-bhūṣaṇa wrote the *Narasabhūpālīyam*, a rhetorical work on the model of Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrīya* in Sanskrit, and the *Hariścandra-Nalōpākhyānam* which tells the two stories simultaneously by means of sustained *śleṣa* (*double-entendre*). But his best known work is the *Vasucaritra* which elaborates a minor episode from the Mahābhārata into a noble artistic poem of great beauty ; it was written in the reign of Tirumala I, brother of Rāma Rāya, and was translated into Sanskrit. Dhūrjaṭi wrote the *Kālahasti-māhātmya* besides a *śatka* on the same shrine, and his grandson Kumāra Dhūrjaṭi chronicled the conquests of the emperor in his *Krishṇadevarāya-vijaya*. The wars and loves of Rājaśēkhara, a king of Avanti, formed the theme of a typical *prabandha*, *Rājaśekharacarita* by Mādayyagiri Mallana; and Ayyalarāya Rāmabhadra abridged many *purāṇic* stories in his *Sakalakathāsāra-sangraha* at the instance of Krishṇadêva and later wrote the story of Rāma

in *Rāmābhyudayam* under the patronage of Gobbūri Narasarāja. Pingali Sūranna's *Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya* is another double story marked by unusual felicity for this kind of forced composition; his *Kaḷāpūrṇōdayam* is more a novel in poetry than a *prabandha* proper and its plot, a veritable comedy of errors, grips the attention of the reader throughout. Sūranna himself thought the *Prabhāvati Pradyumna* his best work; it handles a *purāṇic* theme in an original dramatic manner. The characters in this work 'are life like, their movements spontaneous, their conversations natural, and the situations tense and vivid.' In some ways most interesting was Tenāli Rāmakrishṇa, a poet of talent as well as jester, who began his career under Krishṇadēva Rāya but lived on to the reign of Venkaṭa. His *Pāṇḍūranga māhātmya* is a poem of high merit which describes the successful rescue of a dissipated Brahmin's soul from the servants of Yama, because he happened to die in Pandharpur. *Udbhaṭācārya-Carita* is another work of Rāmakrishṇa. Śankusāla Narasimha Kavi is said to have evoked the jealousy of even Peddana who obstructed his approach to Krishṇadēva Rāya; his poverty forced the poet to sell his poem *Kavikarṇa Rasāyana* in the market place; one of the verses reached the emperor through his daughter Mohanāngi, and when he sent for him it was found that he had left for Śrīrangam; the poem depicts the life of the legendary emperor Māndhātā. There were many other works written in the sixteenth century which must be passed over, though mention must be made of Molla, a poetess of low caste, who produced the most popular version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in chaste and simple Telugu; and of Venkaṭanātha who translated the *Pañcatantra* into a *prabandha*. Notable among the scientific literature of the time were Manumañci Bhaṭṭa's *Hayalakṣaṇa-śāstra* and Vallabhācārya's *Līlāvati-gaṇita*.

After the fall of Vijayanagar in the seventeenth century, Telugu literature found patronage in the feudatory courts of Gaṇḍikōṭa, Siddhavaṭam, Nellore, Gingee, Tanjore and Madura. A large volume of literature came up with more or less the same old themes from the epics and Purāṇas, not all of it really of very high quality. Without stopping to recount the names of the poets and their works, we must note one significant development of the time viz. that of *Yakṣagānas*, popular dramatic presentations, to which every one contributed his share. One of the queens of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka of Tanjore, Rangājamma, made a departure from the ordinary *Yakṣagāna* in her *Mannārudāsa Vilāsa* by employing more characters than usual and by the frequent use of prose instead of song in conversations. Of the same period Chāmakūra Venkaṭa Kavi, author of two *prabandhas*, *Vijayavilāsam* on the adventures of Pāṇḍava Arjuna, and *Sārangadhara* a story with the well-known motif of step-mother's love for her stepson who does not reciprocate it. Venkaṭapati's *Tārāśaśāṅka-Vijayam* from Madura may also be noted. The *Śukasaptati* of Kadiripati, the commander-in-chief of Śrīranga III, is a work of great literary merit in which he perfected the art of story-telling. Later poetesses of note were Muddupaḷani of the eighteenth century who wrote the *Rādhikāsvāntam*, and Tarikoṇḍa Venkamma of the nineteenth who produced a *Bhāgavatam* besides *Rājayōgasāram* and *Venkaṭācala-māhātmyam*.

After Vijayanagar

The period from the latter half of the seventeenth century to the third quarter of the nineteenth has been called the Age of Despair marked by *śatakas* addressed by disconsolate poets to various deities 'calling upon them to save themselves and their votaries from the depradations of Muslims and other alien enemies of the land.' Examples

of *śatakas* evincing such traits are *Bhadrādrirāmaśatakam*, *Andhranāyakaśatakam* (Devarakoṇḍa), and *Simhādrinarasimhaśatakam*. The period saw the production of 165 *śataka* poems as against only 35 up to the end of the seventeenth century. Prose came into vogue in this period. Its use began in the seventeenth century with Raghunātha Nāyaka's *Vālmīkicaritram*, and in the next century Kandurti Venkaṭācalakavi wrote *Bhāratam*, *Bhāgavatam* and *Rāmāyaṇam* in prose. Other prose works appeared in Tanjore, Madura and Mysore. The *Kīrtanas* of Tyāgarāja and earlier, the *Muvvagōpālapadams* of Kṣētrayya who was patronized by Vijayarāghava of Tanjore deserve mention for the literary quality of some of them, though primarily they were musical and dance compositions.

Modern Age

Modern Telugu literature is marked by all the features of the Indian renaissance under the impact of Western civilization. K. Viresalingam may well be looked upon as its founder. He was an ardent social reformer, who having given up Vīraśaivism and turned Brahmo continued to retain the 'militant aggressiveness' of his original creed in the advocacy of the causes he made his own. He achieved literary distinction along many lines. His *Rājaśekhara-caritram* was the first novel in Telugu, modelled on Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* and translated into English under the title '*Fortune's Wheel*' by T. R. Hutchinson. His *Telugu Kavulu* is the first history of Telugu literature. As dramatist, short story writer, journalist and translator of Sanskrit and English originals he left his impress on many aspects of the new movement. He was also a keen controversialist and essayist. Another voluminous writer along different lines like Vīresalingam was

Cilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham, a forceful orator, and an original novelist and dramatist. 'Bhāvakavitvam' is the name that has come to be applied to the work of a number of younger writers who seek to cut away from the traditional classical modes of poetry and try experiments in writing lyrical short poems dealing with social topics of current interest in a realistic manner under the influence of sundry modern writers in other languages, Indian and European. There are naturally wide differences of opinion on the work of the new school and the time is not come for a final assessment. Another school tries to maintain the ancient tradition which is by no means played out; to this belong Śatāvadhānis Tirupati Śāstri and Venkaṭa Śāstri and their disciples. Yet others follow a middle path seeking to combine the liberal outlook and literary simplicity of the modern with the form and grace of the classical writing. The drama, novel, short story, and essay have also come to stay besides lexicons, grammars, and scientific works catering to daily educational needs, and a growing periodical literature which finds increasing support from the reading public. Many of these developments have necessarily felt the strong influence of the nationalist movement and of the new social ideologies particularly Socialism and Communism. Histories of the Telugu language and literature in its various aspects have been written by different writers and literary criticism was given a start by C.R. Reddi's *Kavitattvavicāramu* which has been kept up by several subsequent writers. The keen controversy over the merits of Bhāvakavitvam mentioned above is evidence of a live critical sense among the connoisseurs of Telugu literature.

MALAYALAM

Malayālam is the youngest of the main languages of South India and its literature begins relatively late. The

language was obviously a growth from the local dialect of Tamil known as 'Kodum Tamiḻ'. The literary idiom of the language is heavily indebted to Sanskrit and the ancient alphabet was suitably modified with the aid of the Tamiḻ-grantha alphabet to express the Sanskrit sounds adequately.

Beginnings

The anonymous *Uṇṇunīli-Sandeśam*, modelled on Kālidāsa's *Meghasandeśam*, is the earliest extant literary work and belongs to the fourteenth century. The poem is half full of Sanskrit words and is universally accepted as one of the most exquisite works in the language. What are now known as *Paḻaiya pāṭṭus* (old songs) though we know them only in a modernised form must have originated from a time anterior to the age of the poem just mentioned. There are many varieties of these folk songs such as *Brāhmaṇippāṭṭu* sung in marriages and others which take their names from the deities celebrated like *Bhadrakāḷippāṭṭu*, or from the occasions when they are sung like *Tiruvādiraippāṭṭu*. They seem generally to have been accompanied by dancing. There were also longer songs of a similar character like the *Payyanūr Paṭṭola* of which only the memory is left. Much more truly literary among these early compositions were *Rāmacaritam*, a long metrical version of the Yuddhakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa attributed to an ancient ruler of Travancore and the somewhat later *Rāmakathāppāṭṭu* of Ayyippiḷḷai Aśān. Both these works show signs of a strong Tamil influence in respect of words and metres.

Campus, Prabandas

From the thirteenth century, the growth of *Cākkiyārkūttu*, a dance recital of literary works, led to the rise of a large volume of *campū* literature, works in mixed prose and verse and *prabandhas* which enriched the repertoire of the Cākkiyār

Their subject-matter was generally drawn from the Purāṇas and epics, but they were often enlivened by satirical references to contemporary personalities and usages. They were written mostly by Nambūdiri Brahmins, a class well known for their wit and sarcasm employed to good purpose in these works. Puṇam Nambūdiri of the fifteenth century to whom many *campūs* are ascribed is perhaps the best known among them; the *Rāmāyaṇa campū* is unquestionably his master-piece. Second only to him was Maḷamangalam Nambūdiri of the sixteenth century, the inspired poet of the *Naiṣadha campū* in which the tragic scenes such as Nala leaving his kingdom and Damayantī lamenting over her separation from Nala are portrayed with great effect. There followed many imitators of lesser calibre, Nārāyaṇan, author of the *Bhārata campū* being perhaps the most notable among them.

A group of poets from Niraṇam in Central Travancore sought to develop a pure Malayāḷam style free from the domination of Tamiḷ and Sanskrit. Their work dates from the fifteenth century and Rāma Paṇikkar's Rāmāyaṇam popularly called *Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇam* is an important production in this class. The author also wrote other works like *Bhārata gāthā*, *Sāvitrī-māhātmyam*, *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam* and *Bhāgavatam*. He has been called the 'Chaucer of Malayaḷām.' Mādhava Paṇikkar, grandfather of Rāma Paṇikkar, translated the Gītā in the same style.

Middle Malayāḷam ends and modern Malayāḷam is born in Ceruśśēri Nambūdri's *Krishṇa gāthā*, early sixteenth century, a marvellous *Kāvya* on the life of Krishṇa as narrated in the tenth *skandha* of the *Bhāgavata*. For some time after Ceruśśēri only popular songs, *tuḷḷals* and *pāṭṭus*, were produced in the old traditional manner of early Malayāḷam. The next great poet

Eluttaccan

was Tuñcat Rāmānujan Eḻuttaccan, who has left his impress deep on modern Malayālam. His works covered the whole range of Hindu Mythology and the genre known as *kiḻippāṭṭu* reached its perfection in his hands. His diction is simple and comes close to the spoken language. His date is disputed, but most likely he flourished in the sixteenth century or early seventeenth. His chief works were: *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇam Kiḻippāṭṭu*, *Harināma-Kīrtanam*, *Cintāratnam*—on *advaita* Vedānta, and perhaps also *Bhāgavatam-Kiḻippāṭṭu* and *Dēvī-māhātmyam*.

Kathakali

The variety of dance-drama known as *Aṭṭakatha* or *Kathakaḷi* came into vogue late in the fifteenth century and the *Rāman Aṭṭam* of Koṭṭārakkara Tampurān is one of the earliest compositions in the line meant to be staged in eight performances. Over two hundred *Aṭṭakathas* are known to have been composed in later times, but most of them have little literary value.

Modern Age

From the middle of the nineteenth century the new influences which played on other languages produced their effects on Malayālam also. But for a considerable time Sanskrit metres dominated poetry which retained its classical form well into the present century. The *Mahābhārata* of Kunhukuṭṭan Tampurān and *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vaḷḷatholˌ Nārāyaṇa Menon, *Paṇḍavōdaya* of Kochuṇṇi Tampurān and *Umakerala* of Ullūr S. Parameśwara Aiyar are some of the notable products of this school. Vaḷḷatholˌ is the bridge to the new school which he started with shorter poems in Malayālam metres under the influence of Tagore's poetry and the nationalist movement. But even in the new poetry which carried a much wider popular appeal than the classics, the best pieces were not the didactic pieces with a political or social content, but lyrics in a purer imaginative vein like

Magdalana Mariam, Śiṣyanum Makanum, Koccu Sīta, Oru Citram and so on. He also translated the so-called dramas of Bhāsa. K. M. Paṇikkar improved the *campū* form by the mixture of elegant prose in his *Hyder Nāyakan*, while his *Pankipariṇayam* describes a wedding in the old *svayamvara* manner. Among other poets of the new school are Nalapat Nārāyaṇa Menon, and his niece Bālamaṇi Amma and Kumaran Asan. By the side of the translations of Sanskrit dramas like that of *Śākuntala* by Kerala Varma Valiya Koyil Tampurān and other plays modelled on the Sanskrit drama, many prose dramas with a social bias on the model of Oscar Wilde and Shaw, and operas like *Urvaśi* of Krishṇan Tampi also came to be written. *Velu Tampi Dalava* by Kainikara Padmanābha Piḷḷai dramatises a theme from recent history. Krishṇan Tampi wrote also some *harikathas* with songs and narrative mixed. K. M. Paṇikkar has written also dramas of merit which present epic or historical themes in a modern garb like *Mandodari, Bhīṣma* and *Dhruvasvāminī*. The novel, short story, biography, literary criticism and journalism have also made progress, though it is too early to assess the achievement on these lines.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tamil: M. S. Pūrṇalingam Piḷḷai—History of Tamil Literature. (Tinnevelly, 1929)

Sōmasundara Deśikar—Sixteenth century Tamil Poets

Seventeenth ,, ,,

(both in Tamil Madras, 1936)

P. N. Appuswami and S. Deśikar } A Century of Tamil Progress (P. E. N.)

M. Srinivasa Iyengar—Tamil Studies (Madras 1914)

Kannada: R. Narasimhachar—Karnāṭaka Kavi Carite—3 vols. in Kannaḍa (Bangalore 1917-29)

,, History of Kannaḍa Literature (Mysore 1940)

E. P. Rice—A History of Kannaḍa Literature (Calcutta, 1921)

Telugu: Chenchiah & Bhujanga Rao—A History of Telugu Literature (Calcutta-no date)

P. T. Raju—Telugu Literature (P.E.N. Bombay, 1944).

Malayalam: Nārāyṇa Paṇikkar—Kerala Bhāṣā Sāhitya Caritram, 4 vols. (1927, 1929, 1941, 1944).

T. K. Velu Pillai—Travancore State Manual Vol. I (1940).

C. Kunhan Rāja—Malayālam in the Indian Literatures of To-day—All India Writer's Conference 1945. P. E. N. (The International Book House, Bombay.)