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Abstract

This dissertation examines the shifting social, political, and religious significance of poets in southern India and the Deccan during the fourteenth- and fifteenth-centuries. To this end, the project centers on the career of Gaurana, a poet and scholar from a family of courtly brahmans in Telugu-speaking south India (present-day Telangana and Andhra Pradesh). Modern historians and literary scholars have interpreted Gaurana's compositions in Telugu dvipada—typically considered a non-elite genre—as evidence that he affiliated with the Vīraśaivas, an egalitarian devotional movement. However, through an analysis of his Telugu compositions and his neglected treatises in Sanskrit poetics, I argue that Gaurana's relationship to the Vīraśaiva poets and similarly inclusive literary traditions was one of competition and appropriation rather than collaboration.

Chapter Two examines Gaurana's *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* (A Light on the Properties) project, two Sanskrit treatises on poetics and poetry's metaphysical characteristics. It demonstrates that Gaurana offered an unprecedented and systematic synthesis of multiple Sanskrit knowledge systems to argue for brahmanical prerogatives in the poetic profession. In order to reconstruct the literary world and poetic forms to which Gaurana laid claim, Chapter Three traces the conceptual and compositional history of cāṭuprabandha, the panegyrical genres detailed in the Lakṣaṇadīpikā. Chapter Four analyzes Gaurana's Telugu dvipada poetry to grasp how his compositional choices align with his theoretical positions and situate him relative his poetic predecessors and contemporary competitors. Finally, focusing on his *Navanāthacaritramu* (The Deeds of the Nine Naths), Chapter Five explores Gaurana's relationship to Śaivism, Srisailam, and his monastic patrons. Utimately, the dissertation traces changes in the character of literature, the development of vernacular cultural practices, and the ways in which literature registered transformations in the political culture of late medieval south India.

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Chapter 1

Introducing Gaurana

For that matter, he did not consider himself a genius. . . . He could see with complete clarity the experimental nature of his books: admirable, perhaps, for their novelty and for a certain laconic probity, but not for their passion. "I am like Cowley's *Odes*," he wrote me from Longford on March 6, 1939. "I do not belong to art, but merely to the history of art." There was for him no discipline inferior to history.

J. L. Borges, "An Examination of the Work of Herbert Quain"

Animated by an attempt to understand (precolonial) poetic practices, their textual artifacts, and their wider historical contexts, this dissertation also seeks to elucidate the relationships between all of these. In this, the dissertation's orientation is double: It simultaneously seeks a portrait of poetry, texts, and society in this period as well as a method—perhaps a winding path—for arriving at such an image. At its core then, the dissertation simply poses to a set of south Indian examples some of the perennial questions of literary study: What, after all, is literature? What is its relationship to its authors? What is its relationship to the world? And how do we know?[1] In asking these questions, this dissertation forsakes notions of an eternal essence of Literature (whether these be derived from thought Romantic, Sanskritic, or more probably the coincidence of the two) and follows recent studies of south Asian literature as they have set out to scrutinize the contigent nature of the literary, as well as its entanglements in larger schemes of culture and society.[2] In this light, the question "What is literature?" must thus become "What was literature thought to be, by whom, and wherefore?"

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[1] Antoine Compagnon, *Literature, Theory, and Common Sense*, trans. Carol Cosman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

This essay ventures a literary history of the Deccan in southern India during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by focusing on the poet Gaurana, who flourished in the Telugu country from about 1375 to 1445 CE. This period has generally been imagined as politically turbulent, an interregnum framed by the demise of Andhra's Kākatīya dynasty in 1323 CE and the ascendancy of Vijayanagara's Saṅgama dynasty over southern India at the middle of the fifteenth century. Even as it saw the competition of smaller kingdoms and principalities, the period also witnessed great poetic productivity, which literary history often represents through the major poet Śrīnātha (fl. 1390-1430).[3] The period also saw the life and work of a lesser-known poet named Gaurana. Standing behind a set of disparate works in both Sanskrit and Telugu, Gaurana is at face value a peculiar figure: A brahman boasting a ministerial pedigree, he seemingly held no administrative post. A theorist of Sanskrit poetics, he has to his name only poetry in a low-ranking Telugu genre. But even as he has received some notice, he nonetheless holds a minor status in the literary history of Andhra and greater south India. This essay hesitates to give an aesthetic assessment of Gaurana, and would not at this early juncture argue for his greatness as such. Still, it is a central claim of this dissertation that where major poets like Śrīnātha may in their greatness cast a shadow over their age, a minor figure such as Gaurana can serve to illuminate their shared literary world.

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[2] Many of these follow (whether implicitly or expressly) declarations of methodological intent from the Literary Cultures in History Project: Sheldon Pollock, "Introduction," in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 3-7; Sheldon Pollock, "Literary History, Region, and Nation in South Asia: Introductory Note," *Social Scientist* 23, nos. 10/12 (1995): 1–7.

[3] See now Velcheru Narayana Rao and David Shulman, *Śrīnātha: The Poet who Made Gods and Kings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Poetry and Power

Descending from this orientation, the dissertation follows recent studies which have attended to the articulation of power with poetry. These studies consider the communicative capacities of poetic language and the ways that poetry reflects and expresses the social, cultural, and political positions and interests of its creators. Especially influential on this front has been Sheldon Pollock's work, which fuses these two strands. Specifically, he has has sought to describe the way in which the discourse of *kāvya* (poetry, literature) was central to the operation of *rājya* (royal or political power).[4] In the world Pollock describes, language and literary form represent and even constitute power; subsequently, they can be seen as indices for changes in the structure and conception of political society. Thus, for instance, the literary vernacular's novel supercession of Sanskrit as the discourse of *kāvya* at the beginning of the second millennium is taken as a mark of a new socio-political order.[5] The analysis ultimately rests on describing poetry's instrumentality and its place *vis-à-vis* the powerful, who have, not unexpectedly, been identified with kings and the elites of their courts. A fundamental aspect of rule here was patronage of the literary arts, to be sure; but it also consisted of a personal excellence in these arts.[6] This work has convincingly shown that understanding the social and political worlds of premodern India requires understanding the poetry that has been left by them.

These studies have maintained that *kāvya* literature and the court were fundamentally linked in premodern India.[7] Consequently, the relationship between poetry and patrons has received the most attention. With respect to this, a king's patronizing literature was essential to his being a king. What is more—patronage not being enough—mastery of languages and literary arts was central to geopolitical mastery, such that the king himself came to play the poet.[8] The picture of poetry's role in the formulation of royal authority has thus become increasingly clear.

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[4] Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 5.

[5] Ibid., 410-423.

[6] Ibid., 162-188. Daud Ali has shown that political discourse in medieval India was primarily the discourse of courtly interaction, and that this was in large part coextensive with the discourse of *kāvya*. Daud Ali, *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univesity Press, 2006).

[7] A structural portrait of the place of *kāvya* and its panegyrical (and world-sustaining) function is provided in David Smith, *Ratnākara's Haravijaya: An Introduction to the Sanskrit Court Epic* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985). But Pollock's work has most recently set the terms of such analyses: The relationship between poetry and power—or, as he puts it, *kāvya* and *rājya* is the exact focus of his *Language of the Gods*. Daud Ali gives a sustained analysis of the place of *kāvya* portions in epigraphical materials from the Coḻa period in "Royal Eulogy."

While my dissertation preserves this orientation, it also recognizes and attempts to address some elements that have remained out of focus: First, the significance of and connection between sites of literary production beyond the court is still being explored. Second, the focus on potentate-poet relations has tended to eclipse the automony of poets and the interactions that took place between them. And, following this, little attention has been paid to the relationship between poetry, poets, and other schemes of social power—like caste—with which the court and other domains were intertwined.

For one, while the court remain an crucial site and category in my analysis, I also move to turn away from it. Great though its gains have been, the courtly orientation that marks the work of Pollock has been at the expense of other modes and sites of literary production. Among these other kinds of literature, religious literature has been a conspicuous object of inattention. Pollock has made the rationale for this explicit in his work: Indology has historically given much of its scholarly attention to religious literature, and this overemphasis has obscured the courtly basis of literature and the process of literarization that Pollock describes for both Sanskrit and the vernaculars.[9] Nonetheless, religious sites and communities have played a critical role in the development of South Asian literature and culture more generally. The temple is a particularly important locale in this regard. Particularly in the context of South India it has long been recognized as a center of cultural and economic activity.[10] Rich literatures of both systematic thought and poetry have arisen around these sites. In the case of Telugu literature, V. Narayana Rao has described the multiplicity of Telugu literatures and literary culture, expanding the view beyond the court which is so often taken as the focus in studies of poetic literature. In particular, against the court he poses the temple as the other primary site of literary production. Thus, against the scholar-poet of the courtly—and generally brahmanical—*kāvya* tradition emerges the poet-devotee who is committed only to his or her religious community (as in the case of the Telugu Vīraśaiva poet exemplified by Pālkurīki Somanātha) or temple deity (in the case of Bammĕra Potana in Telangana or Tāḷḷapāka Annamayya at Tirupati).[11] In the metapoetic statements found in their works, such poets explicitly reject the literary modes of the court, whether or not they employ techniques and tropes of this rejected tradition in actual practice. The model that emerges is one in which there is for each sociopolitical position a corresponding poetics: For the court, there is a courtly literature; for the temple, the *bhakti* poetry of devotion. Little room is left for the poetic work (or poet) that does not conform to these models.

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[8] For an extended discussion of this concept, see: Pollock, *Language of the Gods*, 162-188. This seems to me the reason that the figure of Bhoja looms so large in Pollock's work: not only do the king's works offer a consummation of much Sanskritic literary theory, but the man himself is the paragon of the poet-king both for Pollock and later literary legend.

[9] Pollock describes Sanskrit, for instance, as "handmaiden" to religious studies. Sheldon Pollock, "The Social Aesthetic and Sanskrit Literary Theory," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 29 (2001): 199. For a longer critique of the assumptions of the religious basis of literature with respect to regional languages, see: Pollock, *Language of the Gods*, 423-436.

[10] Focusing on Tirupati, Burton Stein traces the donative economy and the development of irrigation and agricultural resources of the temple. Burton Stein, "The Economic Function of a Medieval South Indian Temple," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 19, no. 2 (1960): 163–176. James Heitzman shows the economy of temple endowment and how this influenced claims to power in Cola South India. James Heitzman, "Temple Urbanism in Medieval South India," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 4 (1987): 791–826. Arjun Appadurai shows the way in which the temple is a nexus of exchange of material and symbolic goods between kings and sectarian leaders, particularly in the Tamil country of the later Vijayanagara period. Arjun Appadurai, "Kings, Sects and Temples in South India, 1350-1700 A.D.," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 14, no. 1 (1977): 47–73. Cynthia Talbot shows function of temples and the endowment thereof in expanding and maintaining the economic and political network of elites in Kākatīya-period Andhra. Cynthia Talbot, *Precolonial India in*

Even so, scholars like Francesca Orsini have identified the need to illuminate a broader set of literary locales.[12] Among these other sites, *maṭhas*—monasteries and, more broadly, colleges or lodges located at temple complexes—have been shown to be particularly important, especially as nodes joining the domains of the temple and court in southern India.[13] Scholars such as Elaine Fisher are beginning to untangle the early modern history of these institutions and their intellectual productions.[14] Even so, the maṭha and temple have mostly been explored in terms of the religious commitments of their leaders and affilliates. And the sites have been revealed as important stewards of literary culture in

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Practice: Society, Region, and Identity in Medieval Andhra (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 87-124.

[11] Velcheru Narayana Rao, "Multiple Literary Cultures in Telugu: Court, Temple, and Public," chap. 6 in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 408-413.

[12] Francesca Orsini, "How to do multilingual literary history? Lessons from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century north India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 49, no. 2 (2012): 225–246.

[13] Tamara Sears, *Worldly Gurus and Spiritual Kings: Architecture and Asceticism in Medieval India* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014). Valerie Stoker, "*Darbār, maṭha, devasthānam*: the politics of intellectual commitment and religious organization in sixteenth-century South India," *South Asian History and Culture* 6, no. 1 (2015): 130–146.

[14] Elaine M. Fisher, "Transregionalizing a Religion: Monastic Lineages and the Transformation of Tamil Śaivism," in *The Maṭha: Entangled Histories of a Religio-Political Institution in South India*, ed. Sarah Pierce Taylor and Caleb Simmons (In Progress).

south India well into the eve of colonialism.[15] So, by considering the range of political and cultural institutions in which poets and poetry functioned, a richer picture of those functions can emerge.

On the second account, even as other sites of literary production and circulation come into view, still other elements of the social conditions of poetry demand our attention. Poets themselves are among these. The (mostly non-royal) poets (Sanskrit *kavis*) who composed *kāvya* have become in some ways incidental to their works. What has been more important is the relation of poet and poetry to the social and political powers they served. This is justified on a number of accounts. On the whole, it is not surprising that those seen as holding the lion's share of power (that is, kings and other chiefs) and the structure of relations between them and others should receive the most attention. This state of affairs in only bolstered by a general lack of evidence about the lives of poets in particular. What information is available often finds poets of record serving kings and their courts in some other office, usually in a ministerial or diplomatic capacity. Furthermore, poets' work as political functionaries seems to be corroborrated by insights into the history of kāvya itself: Though there was apparently a division of labor between the poets of inscriptional *praśasti* and poets of the long narrative *kāvya* works, it was primarily a difference in the scale, not in the stylistic quality of the work. That is to say, both sets of *kavis* engaged with the same literary modes. Subsequently Sanskrit *kāvya* appears as a limited, more or less unified discourse.[16] This unification is transformed with the first and second "vernacular revolutions" described by Pollock. Yet even here, the overriding concern seems to be the way in which the poet's literary work reflects the ideology of the patron—whether this be a Deccani court's new vision of sovereignty (as in Pollock's exemplary Rāṣṭrakūṭa polity for the case of the first revolution) or the vehement social critique of an emergent religious movement (as in the case of the Vīraśaivas). This common state of affairs has helped to underscore the notion that the poets and their poetry were merely subservient to and directly reflective of the operation of political and cultural power.

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[15] Sascha Ebeling, *Colonizing the Realm of Words: The Transformation of Tamil Literature in Nineteenth-Century South India* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010).

[16] Pollock, *Language of the Gods*, 134-5. The point is reiterated with a Coḻa example in Daud Ali, "Royal Eulogy as World History: Rethinking Copper-Plate Inscriptions in Cōḻa India," in *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia*, ed. Ronald Inden (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 221-2.

Still, this subordination was not absolute and recent works have focused on the poet behind the poetry. Throughout the history of *kāvya* literature, we are faced with poets who express their cynicism and ambivalence about kāvya's fundamentally panegyric function. Such instances foreground the poet's autonomy, his power, and the ways in which the patron is in fact dependent on the poet. This ambivalence and cynicism is present almost from the beginning of the classical *kāvya* tradition. Bāṇa voices it in his *Harṣacarita*. It also stands at the core of later medieval works like Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* as highlighted by a number of recent studies. Yigal Bronner, in a study of the eleventh-century Sanskrit poet Bilhaṇa and especially his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, has described the poet and how he positions himself in respect to his poetry and political life, ultimately observing in his works a "poetics of ambivalence" with respect to kingly power.[17] Whitney Cox, positioning this image of Bilhaṇa in the larger political-literary culture of the Cāḷukya/Coḻa dominated Deccan, has read this ambivalence as signaling a transformed and increasingly mobile literary professional class in the region.[18] It is also a recurrent theme in stories from south India about *bhakti* and temple poets, such as the Telugu poet Potana (late fifteenth century), as mentioned in the introduction. Nevertheless the focus is still on understanding the kinds of relationships that obtain between poets (or other, less distinguished literary professionals) and the powers (usually kings) that they serve, and how these relationships are borne out in *kāvya* literature. The fact that poets often held some other political office under a king, while it may draw attention to the poet as an agentive force in politics, would seem to underscore his being beholden to the imperatives of the patron and his court. Even so, these works does begin to theorize explictitly the potential and realized mobility of the professional poet.

But by focusing on the relationships that obtain between poets and their patrons, the various relationships that might obtain between poets themselves are often left out of the analysis. Yet, in not accounting for this aspect of the poets' work, part—perhaps much—of the meaning of the work is lost. The literary scholar, as Pierre Bourdieu argues, must identify the position of the literary field—which includes works, producers, patrons, and other consuming agents—within the larger field of power and social action; but it is also necessary, as he says, to consider the internal relations within this field.[19] Producers of literature exist in a space of various possibilities (stylistic, linguistic, conceptual, and thematic) and their choices within this field are determined in part by their place in the wider socio-political world but also by their interests for standing in the literary domain alone.[20]

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[17] Yigal Bronner, "The Poetics of Ambivalence: Imagining and Unimagining the Political in Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 38, no. 5 (2010): 457–483.

[18] Whitney Cox, "Scribe and script in the Calukya West Deccan," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 47, no. 1 (2010): 1–28.

Though temporally and geographically far afield of Bourdieu's case, the literary culture of medieval Andhra can be subjected to a similar perspective. The scholarship cited above has described many of the ways that the literature relates to power in general; and though it has largely neglected the interactions between poets—and here I am thinking of relations like competition, veneration, emulation, or affiliation, to name a few—it has of course not been entirely overlooked them. With respect to these dimensions, the *kavipraśaṃsa* (praise of poets) verses often found in the preambles to many works of *kāvya* have received particular attention. For example, Sascha Ebeling has examined the *ciṟappuppāyiram* (or "special preface") in Tamil and the way in which these were employed by poets to further their own status and that of fellow poets; such practices bound poets into an "economy of praise" wherein this praise, which was circulated in the form of verse, helped poets obtain a position and earn a living under the auspices of some patron or institution.[21] Pollock and Ali have, as we saw above, noted that there is not merely a division of labor between but also a kind of hierarchy of poets that mirrors the hierarchy of kings.[22] Works like Ballāla's Sanskrit *Bhojaprabandha* (the theme, if not the mode, being picked up in our period by Anantāmātya's Telugu *Bhojarājīyamu*) describe the exploits of authors of the Sanskrit canon like Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, many of which involve competitive encounters among each other and a motley crew of versifiers. In Andhra, oral verses from the *cāṭu* tradition are contextualized by similar stories of poetic competition, many of which feature Gaurana's contemporary Śrīnātha.[23] In the worlds drawn by these texts (both inscribed and oral), the trope of poetic competition is central.

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[19] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 215.

[20] Ibid., 206. We might also keep in mind the revision of a Marxist sociological poetics posed by Medvedev (and Bakhtin) in response to the critique of the Formalist school of literary criticism: A history of literature cannot be based on an internal analysis alone, nor on an analysis that proceeds from the work directly to the socio-economic environment; rather, analysis ought to be based in a thorough analysis of internal features, then out to relations with other literary works, then to the general ideological environment, and only at that point should analysis engage with the social and economic context. P. N. Medvedev and M. M. Bakhtin, *The Formal Method in Literary Scholarship: A Critical Introduction to Sociological Poetics*, trans. Albert J. Wehrle (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

[21] Ebeling, *Colonizing the Realm of Words*, 73.

[22] Ali, "Royal Eulogy," 222.

Furthermore, as we study the character of the relationships between poets, we must also consider how wider social structures may subtend these poetic interactions. The aforementioned *Bhojaprabandha* offers an image of this in its diverse ensemble of poets: Career Vedic ritualists, courtier and ministerial brahmans, princes, courtesans, and washerfolk are all shown to venture a verse or two for aesthetic and/or monetary merit. While I am not suggesting that Ballāla's work be read as a documentary report, I would argue that it (among other works explored later) presents such episodes to a diverting or satiric effect, but that this effect precisely depends on an awareness of competitive interactions between poets, some of which were also bound up with tensions based in class- and caste-based competition.

To be sure, caste has not been ignored in the study of Indian literature, but for the precolonial period interest has primarily orbited around declarations in or about religious literature. Broadly, these have consisted of violently proscriptive injunctions against sharing Vedic instructions with those of low caste backgrounds; or else, the democractizing or egalitarian declarations issued by some poets in the devotional or *bhakti* traditions have also garnered attention. This has led to some stark characterizations of the different literary traditions in premodern India, fusing caste distinctions broadly and directly to the political and religious sites delineated above. Thus, the literature of the court is considered Sanskritic and brahmanical, while the literature of the temple offers more room for non-brahmans. Statements in this vein are quite explicit, but less conspicuous ways in which literary cultures are imbricated in social institutions like caste remain for research. However, scholars have begun to unravel some of the other tangled histories. Exemplary here is the work of Rosalind O'Hanlon and Christopher Minkowski on the social history of brahman scholars in western and northern India.

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[23] Narayana Rao and Shulman, *Śrīnātha*, 153-156.

In working to identify networks of families and households, they have sought to understand how these brahmans defined their identity and how these identities were imbricated with professional and intellectual activies.[24] For southern India, recent research has begun to detail the networks of brahmans that undergirded intellectual and aesthetic traditions. For example, Elaine Fisher examines the emergence of these networks and identities in the early modern Tamil country.[25] Whitney Cox explores the textual creations and philological methods produced by scholars in these networks.[26] This study would continue in this vein and seek to make explicit some of the workings of caste in literary culture, with a further hope of illuminating as well as networks beyond the brahmanical ones that seem to be foregrounded by the literary archive. Following Rich Freeman's move in his study of literary culture in premodern Kerala, there is considerable warrant for examining how poets and poetry conditioned and were conditioned by contexts of caste as well as other social and political institutions.[27] Consequently, this study pays particular attention to articulations of genres not just as formal types but as literary practices that constitued and were constituted by social conditions.

So, in the attempt to describe the historical contingency of and change within the literatures of premodern India, the competitions for power and standing within the field of literary activity must be kept in full view. Such an analysis does not, however, demand that we remain outside or at the edges of the text. Rather, it requires an even closer reading of the works in question and an attention to their formal features. For it is these features—as scholarship both outside of the South Asian context (like Bourdieu and Medvedev/Bakhtin cited above) and within (like the work of Pollock, Shulman, and Narayana Rao) has shown—are charged through with meanings that simultaneously relate them to other literary works and producers as well as larger social phenomena.

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[24] See especially: Rosalind O'Hanlon and Christopher Minkowski, "What makes people who they are? Pandit networks and the problem of livelihoods in early modern Western India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 45, no. 3 (2008): 381–416; Rosalind O'Hanlon, "The Social Worth of Scribes: Brahmins, Kayasthas and the Social Order in Early Modern India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 47, no. 4 (2010): 563–95; Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Speaking from Śiva's temple: Banaras scholar households and the Brahman 'ecumene' of Mughal India," *South Asian History and Culture* 2, no. 2 (2011): 253–277.

[25] Elaine M. Fisher, *Hindu Pluralism: Religion and the Public Sphere in Early Modern South India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017).

[26] Whitney Cox, *Modes of Philology in Medieval South India* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

[27] Rich Freeman, "Genre and Society: The Literary Culture of Premodern Kerala," in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 439.

Gaurana in the Age of Śrīnātha?

But why focus on Gaurana, a minor poet, to illuminate these issues? I suggested at the outset of this chapter that it is precisely his obscurity that may cast a brighter light on his literary world. But how so? Why Gaurana over his contemporary Śrīnātha, whom some literary histories have deemed so major a poet that they dedicate the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to his name?[28] In asking this, I do not mean to engage in aesthetic arguments over Śrīnātha's eminence in these years. Instead I mean to ask about the status of poets and their place in their world in their time. To this question, even those modern commentators who do lionize Śrīnātha for his aesthetic achievements—most recently Shulman and Narayana Rao—note that the poet has earned such esteem mostly in retrospect: In his own day, he likely struggled to find a sympathetic audience for his works.[29] Given this, Śrīnātha would not seem inherently a better candidate for illuminating his period than any other poet of his day. But I would suggest here that Śrīnātha's status in large part descends from the nationalist ideology—concomitantly linguistic and Hindu—subtending many Telugu political and literary histories. However, while Śrīnātha features easily in the narratives of nationalist literary histories, the prominent role he is made to play edges out other aspects of his figure and his period. In particular, the model of the age of Śrīnātha borne out by Telugu literary histories leaves unexplored the shifting nature of literary and political identities in favor of fixed forms and figures fitted into evolutionary schemes that find their ending in the modern nation. On the other hand, focusing on Gaurana facilitates our moving beyond received narratives, and it allows us to examine more fully the dynamic (if seemingly unusual) forms of poetry and power in the period.

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[28] P. T. Raju, *Telugu Literature* (Bombay: International Book House, 1944).

[29] Narayana Rao and Shulman, *Śrīnātha*, 52.

Poets, Periods, Politics

The period of his flourishing presents a number of challenges to historical study, and particularly periodization. These problems descend in large part from the political fragmentation evident in the Deccan during these years. At face value, the years make up a more or less coherent period, but precisely because they seem to have seen much political fragmentation from 1323 (when Kākatīya Warangal was captured) to the late 1440s, when powers from outside of Andhra (namely the Gajapatis, Sangama Vijayanagara, and the Bahmani kingdom) became the primary political contenders. Aside from the work of Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma, the period between 1325 to 1450 CE has received little attention, nested as it is between the collapse of the Kākatīyas and the emergence of a fully imperial Vijayanagara. In this time there was not one central (or: centralizing) power but many: the Paṇṭa Rĕḍḍis of coastal Andhra and the Recĕrlas of present-day Telangana were most prominent, along with the rising star of Vijayanagara and the Bahmani sultanate; but others like the Elamañci Cāḷukyas and Telugu Coḍas were also involved in the fray.

On the whole, this fragmentation has been incorporated into nationalist historical narratives, which cast the period as a dark episode in the saga of Hindu-Muslim conflict in Andhra and greater India. Thus, when the period has been a focal point, it has primarily been either as a postscript to Kākatīya history or prehistory to Vijayanagara.[30] In Somasekhara Sarma's history, for example, the scholar reconstructs the chronology of kings of the Rĕḍḍi clan—along with those of their rival clan the Recĕrlas, and smaller kingdoms like the Elamanchi Cāḷukyas—using epigraphic sources, literary works from Sanskrit and Telugu, and Persian chronicles. The narrative that overlays and explains this chronology is primarily one of Hindu-Muslim struggle.[31] The opening of the period saw the indisputable advent of Islamicate power in South India, when the Delhi Sultanate brought the Kākatīyas to heel around 1323. In the wake of the Kākatīya kingdom's demise, a number of warrior clans arose to assume power. First among these were the Musunūri Nāyakas, who are said to have led a federation of Hindu warriors against the Muslim invaders. The Rĕḍḍis and Recĕrlas figure first as subordinate soldiers in this fight before moving to the forefront as leading families.[32] Their kingdoms appear in this story as brief, but ultimately feeble, glimmers of hope until Vijayanagara emerges in full force.

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[30] For the former see: Talbot, *Precolonial India in Practice*, 175-183; for the latter: Burton Stein, *Vijayanagara* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univesity Press, 1989), 13-20.

[31] Somasekhara Sarma's orientation to the material is clear from the first paragraph of the preface: "The Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu, who began as the subordinates of the Musunūri chiefs of Rēkapalli and Waraṅgal, soon became independent, and played an important role during the revival of Hindu supremacy in the post-Kākatīya period." M. Somasekharasarma, *History of the Reddi Kingdoms (circa. 1325 A.D., to circa. 1448 A.D.)* (Waltair: Andhra University, 1948), v. The sentiment is echoed in Turaga Kṛṣṇamūrti's study of literature during this period. Turagā Kṛṣṇamūrti, *Rĕḍḍiyugamuna Āṃdhra-Gīrvāṇa Sāhitya Vikāsamu [The Development of Telugu and Sanskrit Literature in the Reddi Period]* (Pittalavemavaram, 1962), iv-v.

This narrative of Hindu-Muslim struggle is primarily rooted in the claims to dharmic kingship that constitute the rhetoric of many of the epigraphic sources. But as Cynthia Talbot has shown in her analysis of inscriptions from the early years of this period, the claims are more likely based in the struggle for authority among groups without a long established power base.[33] A more useful framework for the social and political history of this period is that offered by Talbot in *Precolonial India in Practice* of an Andhra in which power, and social and political identities, were in flux. What we are left with is a region of numerous kingdoms and social institutions striving for power. Among them are more established lineages (like the Elamanchi Cāḷukyas and Telugu Coḍas) and the upstart kingdoms that seemed to dominate the period, namely the Rĕḍḍis and Recĕrlas. It is apparent that the Rĕḍḍis and Recĕrlas were one of a number of upstart peasant clans who at some point during the Kākatīya period forsook (or, perhaps: leveraged) the plow for the sword and became military contenders. They emerged from an environment pervaded by a kind of militarism. The hero-stones commemorating fallen warriors mark the landscape and gory celebratory feasts (e.g. rice mixed with the blood of the defeated) are recorded in some of the literature. Cynthia Talbot points to this very militarism as one of the engines of social mobility in precolonial Andhra. The Recerlas and Reddis are undoubtedly rooted in such a land. Indeed, "rĕḍḍi" is seen as common title for land-owning peasants very early on in Andhra. (The Recerlas are often counted as "veḷamas"—another title of land-owning peasants.)[34] Over the course of the first half of the fifteenth century, these Rĕḍḍi and Recĕrla kingdoms would ultimately be subordinated to the more powerful kingdoms of the Bahmani sultanate, Saṅgama-led Vijayanagara, and the Gajapatis from Kaliṅga.

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[32] On the first of the Rĕḍḍi kings, Prolaya Vema: "An ardent supporter of Hindu *dharma*, Prōlaya Vēma placed all his resources in men and material at the disposal of Prōlaya Nāyaka in the struggle for the liberation of his country and strove hard with the help of his brothers and relations to free it from the Muslim yoke." Somasekharasarma, *Reddi Kingdoms*, 76.

[33] Cynthia Talbot, "Inscribing the Other, Inscribing the Self: Hindu-Muslim Identities in Pre-Colonial India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, no. 4 (1995): 719-721.

In part, Śrīnātha's status as the central literary figure of this period lies in his connections to the Rĕḍḍi, Recĕrla, and Vijayanagara kingdoms featured in this narrative. His primary political position in this years seems to have been as a Sanskrit literatus—specifically the *vidyādhikārin* (superintendent of learning?) and epigraphic poet—in the court of Rĕḍḍi king Peda Komaṭi Vemā. Some traditions also cast this position as a diplomatic one and find the Rĕḍḍi kings sending the poet as an ambassador to the courts of their Recĕrla rivals in the Telangana interior.[35] Beyond the courts of Telangana and coastal Andhra, other traditions associate Śrīnātha with Vijayanagara. While prefaces to his Telugu works show his patronage by Rĕḍḍi kings in the early stages of subordination to the Saṅgamas, they also reference his achieving the status of *kavisārvabhauma* (emperor of poets). He captured this title, tradition holds, from Diṇḍima Bhaṭṭa, a poet in the associated with the court of a "Karnāṭa king" usually identified as Vijayanagara's Prauḍha Devarāya II.[36] This title does not indicate a courtly appointment so much as it replicates in the literary world the political hierarchies constituted among royal patrons. In this, literary history depicts Śrīnātha not just as connected to the region's major courts but explicitly celebrated by them, leading Somasekhara Sarma to deem him "the first Andhra national poet."[37]

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[34] The naming of the Recĕrlas is quite confused in the scholarship. Historians often give the Recĕrlas the title of "Padmanāyaka" and classify them as "Velamas." See, for instance, Ārudra's designation of the Recĕrla's era as "the age of the Padmanāyakas" (Padmanāyaka yugam). Nevertheless, Cynthia Talbot advises caution when it comes to these designations in her discussion of post-Kākatīya kingdoms. As she notes, the Recĕrla kings used this clan name "Recĕrla" as their primary social identifier. Padmanāyaka and Velama were separate social (śūdra) groups at this time. Padmanāyaka was a status that could be claimed by warriors of disparate clans and does not appear in the epigraphic record until the late sixteenth century. It is only in the seventeenth century that some Velamas begin to claim Padmanāyaka status. These three groups—the Recĕrlas, Velamas, and Padmanāyakas—have been conflated because late-nineteenth and twentieth century historians have relied on the *Vĕlugoṭivāri Vaṃśāvaḷi*, a genealogy of the Vĕlugoṭi chiefs of Venkatagiri in southern Andhra (Nellore district). This family claimed descent from the Recĕrlas, whom the work defines as Padmanāyaka Velamas. For a fuller discussion see: Talbot, *Precolonial India in Practice*, 189-192. Following Talbot, I will refer to the kings primarily by their clan name.

[35] Somasekharasarma, *Reddi Kingdoms*, 526-530. The sources of this tradition are not given by Somasekhara Sarma. Part of the foundation may lie in that oral (*cāṭu*) verses praising a Recĕrla king have been attributed to Śrīnātha. Even so, the story holds that Śrīnātha was deployed to Recĕrla court to reclaim the Rĕḍḍi king's sword—named *Nandikāntapotarāju*—which had been captured in a battle. Pleased by the poet's poetic talents, the Recĕrla rulers are said to have returned the sword to Śrīnātha and bestowed many other gifts upon him.

[36] Narayana Rao and Shulman, *Śrīnātha*, 153-155.

Gaurana, on the other hand, appears to have occupied a less prominent position; and, in comparison to the clearly courtly Śrīnātha, he is difficult to situate in terms of the prevailing models. The image of Gaurana—both that which emerges from his metapoetic statements and from an overview of his body of work—lies somewhere between the different (if not rival) poetics of the court and the temple. To be sure, he does have ties to the political world sketched above. He boasts that his eldest paternal uncle Potarāja served as a minister to the king Recĕrla Māda I (alias Siṅgaya Mādhava I) who ruled Devarakonda (in present-day Telangana) from about 1369 to 1384 CE.[38] Thus he claims a ministerial, brahmanical pedigree in the preambles to his works, pointing with one hand to the courtly culture that has occupied much of the (literary) historical imagination. He does not, however, seem to have been directly patronized by these courts. Instead, his prologues connect him to the temple complex of Srisailam. The temple had long been seen as a center of esoteric activity in the literary imagination of medieval India and, beginning in the thirteenth century, it became a center for the Vīraśaiva (or Vīramāheśvara) tradition that had begun two centuries earlier in what is now Karnataka. The two works for which he is best known, *Navanāthacaritramu* (The Deeds of the Nine Naths) and a telling of the trials of the King Hariścandra, were composed in Telugu in the *dvipada* meter that had hitherto been associated with anti-court Vīraśaiva literature.

Despite this association, Gaurana betrays little of the devotional sentiment we have come to expect of the temple's poet-devotee, let alone the more revolutionary imperatives attributed to the Vīraśaivas. Instead, building upon his ministerial lineage, he promotes himself as an author in the classical (practically: Sanskritic) tradition, taking the titles of an *ālaṃkārika* (poetician) in his Telugu works. His work in the discipline of poetics—despite their unusual focus (elaborated in Chapter Two)—corrobrate this dimension of his persona. Further, these works are of particular interest because they particularly take up the topics of panegyric and *varṇaviveka* (also called *varṇaśuddhi*), the evaluation of poetic language in terms of the auspicious and inauspicious circumstances it can engender for poets, patrons, and other auditors. Gaurana thus directly offers a compelling case for the description and analysis of the relationship between poetics (as the qualities of poetry and the discipline that theorizes them) and the operations of social and political power. Nonetheless, Gaurana has largely escaped notice in considerations of literature's impact on political history.

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[37] Somasekharasarma, *Reddi Kingdoms*, 531.

[38] The identification of his uncle Potarāja and which Māda he served is the crucial point in dating Gaurana. Some take it to be Māda II (r. 1400-1425). See: Kandukūri Vīreśaliṅgam, "Gauranamantri," in *Āṃdhra Kavula Caritramu* (Hyderabad: Viśālāndhra Publishing House, 2005), 403–413; and Gaurana, *Hariścaṃdropākhyānamu*, ed. Tañjanagaramu Tevappĕrumāḷḷayya (Madras: Vemāru Veṅkaṭakṛṣṇamaseṭṭi & Sons, 1911). But others adduce an epigraphic record of the uncle that places him in the service of Māda I. For this view, see: N. Veṅkaṭaramanayya, "Gaurana," in *Vyāsamaṃjari* (Hyderabad: Āndhra Sārasvata Pariṣattu, 1967), 24–32; and Sarasvati Mohan, "Gaurana and his Sanskrit works," *Annals of Oriental Research (University of Madras)* 20 (1965): 1–10.

However, by turning to this lesser-known figure, the dissertation aims to sidestep simple equivalences and linkages between literary and political developments. As mentioned above, Gaurana did bear connections to the principalities at the center of political histories of the period. But he seems to have made his own professional home not in these courts but at Srisailam, where he was patronized by a figure named Muktiśānta, who was the head (*adhipati*) of the complex's Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭha*. An unusual example, the figure of Muktiśānta complicates the narratives of political history for this interregnum. As I detail in Chapter 5, the ascetic had begun to style himself as a king of Bhikṣāvṛtti (*bhikṣāvṛttirāya*) who sat enthroned over the domains of Srisailam. Given his connection to the important (if short-lived) Recĕrla kingdoms and the hybrid figure of Muktiśānta, Gaurana also presents a means by which these political entities might be better understood. But because his ties to these kingdoms are less immediate than those of some other contemporaries (Śrīnātha, for instance, held administrative posts under the Rĕḍḍis), the temptation to interpret his literary work in terms of dynasty-centered political history may be diminished. Moreover, the scope and character of his political ties may provide an image of unfamiliar forms of social and political power.

Language, Languages, and Literary History

As I have sketched so far, notions of an essentially Hindu India have provided basic structures for organizing political history. But these are intertwined with more specific notions of linguistic nationalism, which posit essential links between a people, a land, and a language. However, while familiar to recent history, such conceptions are foreign to the years under consideration here.

The literatures with which I will be concerned in this project are those written in Sanskrit and Telugu. In geographical terms, this means that the works that will make up my archive were composed in what are now the states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. For the literary historical purposes of this project, it is necessary to keep in mind not only that as legal entities these states were created in 2014 and 1952 respectively, but also that the ideologies of language that contributed to the creation of this state were unknown to premodern South India. Indeed, some of the geographic and cultural heterogeneity that characterizes the region is elided (though only incompletely, as the continuing saga shows) by the nationalistic ideologies that fuel the process. For one, the modern states are made of three zones: the historically more prosperous coastal region, which is the only one properly called Andhra; the drier interior of Telangana; and the southern interior of Rāyalasīma. Over the course of the tweltfth and thirteenth centuries, these saw a significant degree of political integration under the Kākatīya empire, as Cynthia Talbot has shown in *Precolonial India in Practice*. But beyond this limited political integration and that which obtained through networks bound to temples and the like, the region saw no single political overlord.

What has, according to modern nationalistic ideologies, bound the region together (and been a point of contention) is its language, Telugu. Language is a crucial factor in the constitution of a nation and a people, according to the nationalist model; but as Lisa Mitchell has shown, the idea of a "mother tongue" and a natural concommitance of a language, land, and people is—in the case of Telugu and Andhra—a product of Indian intellectuals' engagement with the European ideology of linguistic nationalism encountered in the colonial period.[39] In the premodern Telugu country, the primary conceptual opposition was that between *deśabhāṣās* (languages of place) and *devabhāṣā* (the langauge of the gods or Sanskrit).[40] But the modern concepts came to supplant the more pragmatic multilingualism that characterized the premodern period. Thus, coming out of the colonial period, there has been an essential connection between the region of Andhra and the language of Telugu.

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[39] Lisa Mitchell, *Language, Emotion, and Politics in South India: The Making of Mother Tongue* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 19-24; 35-67.

[40] Velcheru Narayana Rao, "Coconut and Honey: Sanskrit and Telugu in Medieval Andhra," *Social Scientist* 23, nos.

Literary history has been an important tool in the construction of national identities and, in particular, the creation of the linguistic states in India.[41] As the works of Lisa Mitchell and Heiko Frese show, literary histories of Telugu (not unlike those for other modern South Asian languages) have contributed to development of a Telugu linguistic identity that would precipitate the development of linguistic states in India.[42] These nationalistic preoccupations in literary history come to privilege statements that articulate connections between a language and land.

The elevation of poets largely hinges on their contribution to these developments. For Telugu this has meant that Śrīnātha stands out not only for his literary achievements, but because he offers a classic (and perhaps even seminal) description of the "land of Andhra" (*āṃdhrabhūbhuvana*) in his *Bhīmeśvarapurāṇamu*.[43] Earlier references exist that designate the area as the "place of the three lingas" (*triliṅgadeśa*, *triliṅgajanapada*).[44] But these same poets also make other statements that provide different labels to what seem to be the same regions and languages. Indeed, Śrīnātha himself often affiliates his poetic work as being not of Andhra but of Karṇāṭa and its language. So, while seemingly clear, the references are still in many ways obscure and do not necessarily possess the conceptual contours granted to them by modern readers. Consequently, the poets themselves must also fall away from the essential relationships literary history has tended to grant them.

Yet privileging the relationship of a region to a single language obscures the fact that the spaces of premodern India were decidedly multilingual.[45] Sanskrit and Telugu literature was certainly composed,

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10/12 (1995): 25.

[41] For the notions of language and nations in South India, see: Thomas Trautmann, *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), xi-xii. Linda Hutcheon describes the national model and its continued relevance (Linda Hutcheon, "Rethinking the National Model," in *Rethinking Literary History: A Dialogue on Theory* (Oxford University Press, 2002), 4-14).

[42] Mitchell, *Language, Emotion, and Politics*; Heiko Frese, "From Scattered Archives to the Centre of Discourse: Histories of Telugu Literature in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century," chap. 4, ed. Hans Harder (Social Science Press, 2010), 84–98.

[43] *Bhīmeśvarapurāṇamu* 3.50. For a full translation of the passage, see: Narayana Rao and Shulman, *Śrīnātha*, 23-24.

[44] See, for example, Ketana's early grammar of Telugu, *Āṃdhrabhāṣābhūṣaṇamu*, and Vidyānātha's Sanskrit *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa*.

[45] For North India, see Orsini, "Multilingual." For the South in a later period, see Indira Viswanathan Peterson,

read, and heard in the same place; and poets in both literatures certainly encountered each other directly.[46] This is, of course, not to mention other languages and literatures that circulated in the region, Tamil and Kannada being the most salient examples. Furthermore, some poets composed works in multiple languages. Gaurana is one; Śrīnātha, the giant of the age, is another. Though known primarily for his Telugu works, he also composed Sanskrit *praśasti* as *vidyādhikārin* to Peda Komaṭi Vemā Rĕḍḍi. This dimension of his work is often mentioned, but its significance is rarely contemplated. Because he is counted as a Telugu poet first and foremost, his work in Sanskrit is considered incidental to—not constitutive of—his image. In order to take the robust view of the literary field that I pointed to above, this study must consider the literatures from this period in Telugu and Sanskrit in what would have been their necessary relation to each other.

Mārga, *Deśi*, and Genre in Telugu Literary History

One way to cut through the attention to one language or another has been to consider the relation of languages as it was articulated by south Asian literary cultures themselves. Sheldon Pollock has re-emphasized that in premodern India literature could only be composed in a restricted set of languages. In the first millennium of the common era, these were Sanskrit and the literary Prakrits. Within this set regionally-denominated ways or *mārga*-s were imagined; but despite their names, these were ultimately cosmopolitan in scope, transcending any real regionalism.[47] Starting in the second millennium, courtly intellectuals (first in the south) began constructing and promoting vernaculars as languages fit for literary composition. This was largely done through the adoption of the discourse on literature

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"Multilingual Dramas at the Tanjavur Maratha Court and Literary Cultures in Early Modern South India," *The Medieval History Journal* 14, no. 2 (2011): 285–321.

[46] For instance, Gaurana's contemporaries Śrīnātha and the Sanskrit poet Vāmanabhaṭṭabāṇa likely crossed paths in the Rĕḍḍi courts. Kuruganṭi Sītārāmayya examines the correspondences between the Telugu works of the former and the Sanskrit works of the latter. See Kuruganṭi Sītārāmayya, "Vāmanabhaṭṭabāṇuḍu-Śrīnāthuḍu," *Bhārati* 13, no. 5 (1936): 579–582.

[47] Pollock, *Language of the Gods*, 209. More recently, Andrew Ollett has proposed another orientation—the "language order"—for understanding the notions of language and literature in premodern India. For him, Prakrit is the key term in the analysis for understanding developments in Sanskrit and then vernacular literary cultures. Andrew Ollett, *Language of the Snakes: Prakrit, Sanskrit, and the Language Order of Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017).

in Sanskrit, whereby the regional language was conceptualized on the cosmopolitan model. Thus, in Pollock's preferred case of Kannada, there is the early conceptualization of two distinct registers of literary language, one which is more Sanskritic and second which is more local in character. The former would eventually be labeled *mārga*, the latter *deśi*.[48]

This categorization is also known in the case of Telugu and finds expression as poets describe their practice and speak about their notions of poetry. The earliest employment of these terms seems to be in Nanněcoḍa's (early twelfth century?) *Kumārasaṃbhavamu*, among the earliest extant texts in classical Telugu. Here there is not yet an internal division of Telugu literature into two registers. Rather, he says that there was first *mārga* (cosmopolitan) literature in Sanskrit, and then later the Cāḷukya kings had *deśi* or regional literature composed in Telugu.[49] The distinction is clear; yet it is equally clear that the literatures interacted closely and constantly from the very beginning. As Pollock has insisted, the initial shift to the vernacular was not a populist one; rather it originated with the courtly elite, among whom the paradigm of Sanskrit literary culture reigned supreme. Telugu literature absorbed the mature Sanskrit literary tradition—its words, its poetic meters, its poets, its works, its theories of literature, its motifs, its themes—all at once. Nanněcoḍa, for instance, takes the Sanskritic tradition as his primary point of reference. He alludes to Eastern Cāḷukyan patronage of Telugu literature (and possibly by extension Nannaya's pioneering work), but mentions no other Telugu poets explicitly. Instead he speaks of the Sanskrit tradition, praising authors such as Vyāsa, Vālmīki, and the Kashmiri poet and poetician Udbhaṭa (whose work he follows). Thus—and this is also clear from the beginning in Nannaya's work—competence in the Sanskrit tradition was in many cases a prerequisite for composing and appreciating the then new literature in Telugu.

As Narayana Rao has shown, this scheme is replicated within Telugu literature in the thirteenth century, when Pālkurīki Somanātha begins the Telugu Vīraśaiva literature with his *Basavapurāṇamu*. In this work Somanātha uses the *dvipada* verse form to tell the tales of Basaveśvara—a pioneer of the movement—and other legendary (Vīra)śaiva devotees. This meter, its name (approximately "couplet") marks it as having two lines rather instead of the usual four, setting it apart from meters borrowed into Telugu literature from Sanskrit. *Dvipada* is also distinguished from other verse forms in that it is never mixed with other meters (as is the norm in *campū* or *padyakāvya*), but is always the sole meter used in a composition. Until Somanātha, works of literature had been primarily composed in *campū*, a form consisting of mixed *gadya* (poetic prose) and *padya* (verse), which had been earlier defined by theorists of literature writing in Sanskrit. Apologizing for his choice of form, Somanātha asserts that a work in the *dvipada* meter, replete with"beautiful, idiomatic Telugu, is to be preferred over dense compositions" in the *campū* form for its accessibility. In doing so, he effectively replicates the distinction made by Nannĕcoḍa. Yet instead of distinguishing between two languages, he speaks of two distinct modes within Telugu itself. One is the Sanskritic *mārga* style, which is primarily composed as *campū*; the other is *deśi* by virtue of its accessible, idiomatic language cast in *dvipada*.

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[48] Pollock, *Language of the Gods*, 408.

[49] Nanněcoḍa, *Kumārasaṃbhavamu* 1.23 as translated in Velcheru Narayana Rao and David Shulman, *Classical Telugu Poetry: An Anthology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

By the time of the Rĕḍḍis and Recĕrlas, these developments had already taken place. And in terms of its literary production, the period was a prolific one. In royal circles, this primarily meant the direct patronage and production of works in Sanskrit. These years saw the flourishing of Vāmanabhaṭṭabāṇa, who in partially taking the name of canonical prose poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa, betrays his classical aspirations. His oeuvre bears it out as well: His historical *kāvya Vemabhūpālacarita* on the Rĕḍḍi king Peda Komaṭi Vemā (r. 1403-1420) is clearly modeled on his first-millennium namesake's *Harṣacarita*; he writes a messenger poem (*Haṃsadūta*) in emulation of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*; his now mostly lost *Nalābhyudaya* evokes Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*; and his play *Pārvatīpariṇaya* has been described as a (perhaps feeble) attempt to transport Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṃbhava* to the stage, borrowing as it does much of the original's diction.[50] In short, each of his works explicitly invokes some first millennium Sanskrit classic. This poet is but one example. His royal patron Peda Komaṭi Vemā (or Vīranārāyaṇa) Reḍḍi was himself a literary scholar who produced commentaries on the *Amaruśataka* and selections from Hāla's

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[50] Gary Tubb, "Heroine as Hero: Pārvatī in the *Kumārasaṃbhava* and *Pārvatīpariṇaya*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102, no. 2 (1984): 235. Vāmanabhaṭṭabāṇa is also the author of *Śabdaratnākara*, a lexicon, and of *Śṛṅgārabhūṣaṇabhāṇa*, a one-act erotic/comedic monologue.

Prakrit *Sattasaī*. Similar examples can be drawn from the Recĕrla kings, the Rĕḍḍis' rivals. Under their auspices flourished the scholar-poet Viśveśvara, who wrote *Camatkāracandrikā*, a treatise on poetics. His royal patron, Recerla king Siṅga II wrote a play, *Ratnapāñcālikā*, and a *Rasārṇavasudhākara*, a work on dramaturgy. At this level, the model of the Sanskrit poet-king was quite dramatically brought to life.

Not solely interested in promoting Sanskrit literature, these elite patrons (though perhaps not those at the highest echelons) also patronized Telugu literature. Still, these Telugu works actively engaged with the Sanskit tradition. Two works on the *Harivaṃśa* were composed: one was by Nācana Somanātha (fl. 1355-1377 under the patronage of Saṅgama king Bukka I); the other was written by Eṟṟāprĕgaḍa, court poet of the first autonomous Rĕḍḍi king Vemā I. This latter poet is most well-known, though, for completing the small section of the Telugu *Mahābhārata* left undone by the earlier two poets Nannaya and Tikkana. Towards the end of the period, Bammĕra Potana composed what he would of his Telugu *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. These other figures aside, the engagement of Telugu poets with the Sanskrit tradition has come to be represented by Śrīnātha. It is not hard to find the reasons: He is said to have composed a (now lost) Telugu translation of Hāla's *Sattasaī* as a teenager. Most famously he writes a *Śṛṃgāranaiṣadhamu*, (perhaps the first) self-avowed translation of a piece of Sanskrit poetry, namely Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhacarita*. In this work and others, Śrīnātha's engagement with the Sanskrit tradition is so intense that V. Narayana Rao and David Shulman have shown that the poet effectively "re-Sanskritiz[ed] Sanskrit."[51]

More to the point, Śrīnātha has come to represent the mature *mārga* mode of Telugu poetry and the period's Telugu literature in general. In particular, he is credited with inventing the Telugu *prabandha*, which literary histories have considered the pinnacle of Telugu genres and the analogue of the Sanskrit *mahākāvya*. Thus he stands in Telugu literary histories as the crowned progenitor to the prabandha's "golden age," where poets like Allasāni Pĕddana, Tĕnāli Rāmakṛṣṇa, and Bhaṭṭumūrti composed major works like *Manucaritramu*, *Pāṇḍuraṅgamāhātmyamu*, and *Vasucaritramu* (respectively), under the auspices of the Vijayanagara court.[52] Thus, not only is Śrīnātha credited with articulating a clear vision of the Telugu state but also for ushering in the age of Telugu literature's aesthetic apex.

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[51] Narayana Rao and Shulman, *Śrīnātha*, 25.

Gaurana's position in this environment is less clear. Where Gaurana is prized in Telugu literary history, he is prized for his contribution to the Vīraśaivas' deśi orientations. Given his apparent affiliation with Srisailam, which in the thirteenth century came to be dominated by Vīraśaiva sects, Gaurana's composing his two Telugu narrative works in *dvipada* is not all together surprising. At least at first glance, the works are indeed *deśi* in terms of an overarching mode. But the formal choice has led Telugu literary historians to make certain ideological inferences about Gaurana. In particular, they have generally assumed that when a poet chooses to write in *dvipada*, he does so in an egalitarian, Śaiva spirit—such that his narrative and/or systematic thought might be better propagated amongst the people. Subsequently, Gaurana's work on the nine Nāths is situated against an alleged source text, the (now lost, if ever extant) work of the same name by the poet Śrīgiri.[53] The sense yielded by Gaurana's introduction seems to be that Śrīgirikavi's work was in mixed verse (*padyabandhamul*), presumably in a *mārga* mode.[54] Whether the source work was composed in Sanskrit or Telugu is unclear from the *Navanāthacaritramu*. Now, *dvipada* was certainly—perhaps even primarily—employed as an antidote to elite Sanskritic literary forms when Pālkuriki Somanātha used it for his Vīraśaiva narratives on Basava, Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya, and the larger Vīraśaiva devotional community. So, even if the full significance of Pālkuriki Somanātha's referring to his language use as "jānu tĕnuṁgu" awaits full elaboration,[55] he certainly aimed for greater accessibility and inclusiveness, as the countercultural ethic of the Vīraśaivas is well-documented if not indisputable.

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[52] Ilanit Loewy Shacham, "Kṛṣṇadevarāya's *Āmuktamālyada* and the Narration of a Śrīvaiṣṇava Community" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2015), 1-6.

[53] See also Ārudra's explanation of the form of *Navanāthacaritramu* in *Samagra Āṃdhra Sāhityaṃ* Vol. 5: "The abbott [Śāntabhikṣāvṛtti] proposed it like this: Until now, this story has existed in Telugu as a work of campū literature, written by the poet Śrīgiri. Were it a work of *dvipada* literature, it would be well-propogated among the folk." (53) For this sentiment, see also: Kṛṣṇamūrti, *Rĕḍḍiyugamuna Āṃdhra-Gīrvāṇa*, 116.

[54] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra: Dvipadakāvyamu*, ed. T. Koṭeśvararāvu (Hyderabad: Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Academy, 1984), 5. The identity of this poet Śrīgiri is unclear. There is a Pramathakavi Śrīgiri (also known as Śrīgiri Ayyaṅgāru) who appears as a donee in two records of the early Rĕḍḍi kings. Somasekhara Sarma identifies him with the Śrīgiri mentioned by Gaurana, but there is no mention elsewhere of a *Navanāthacaritra* by the poet. Somasekharasarma, *Reddi Kingdoms*, 498-9.

[55] The term suggests something of a deeply idiomatic Telugu and is first used by Nannĕcoḍa (*Kumārasaṃbhavamu* 1.35). However, its meaning is not entirely clear. Narayana Rao and Shulman, *Classical Telugu Poetry*, 25.

However, the ways that Gaurana frames his works and presents himself (as compared to the likes of Somanātha and others) complicate this picture. For one, despite his affiliation with Srisailam—specifically the Bhikṣāvṛtti leader Muktiśānta—he does not present himself as a Vīraśaiva devotee, not even of the *ārādhya* tradition that would be expected of a brahmin.[56] As I have shown above, he places himself in a courtly ministerial lineage and elliptically praises the classical tradition (referring to Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Kālidāsa) rather than a distinctly sectarian tradition or community. In short, he presents himself as a *kavi* and his work as *kāvya*, without any apology for his generic choice. Part of this may be explained by a diffusion of the vehement literary protest introduced by Pālkurīki Somanātha, as evidenced by Telugu Mahābhārata poet Tikkana Somayāji's claim to be friend to both schools (that is, Śaiva and non-Śaiva) of poetry.[57] However, even if the *deśi* register had become more acceptable, *dvipada* remained on the fringes of respectability; it was never really supported by Sanskritic, brahmanical circles and was even repudiated.[58] Gaurana's choice here then remains unexpected, especially as he expresses an orientation more *mārga* than *deśi*.

Still, for all his seeming abnormality, Gaurana also appears to embody the diagnostic features of medieval literature in Andhra that David Shulman and Narayana Rao identify and then attribute to Śrīnātha: In his bilingual literary production, he touches on the continued negotiation between the literary use of the cosmopolitan Sanskrit and Telugu; his writing of Telugu *dvipada* as *kāvya* touches on the contested nature of *kāvya* literature and the presence of a contest for standing between a higher *mārga* style (exemplified by the courtly *campū*) and a less-esteemed *deśi* mode (*dvipada* being paradigmatic) in Telugu literature; and, though there are no tales of his sorcerously powerful poetry, Gaurana nevertheless focuses his literary theoretical attentions on the metaphysical aspects of literary language.[59] In this respect, Gaurana in fact offers more immediate access to these themes than any of his contemporaries, including the seemingly indominable doyen of his age, Śrīnātha.

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[56] Cāgaṇṭi Śeṣayya, *Āndhra Kavi Taraṅgiṇi [The History of the Poets of Andhra]*, vol. 4 (Kakinada: Āndhra Pracāriṇi, 1948), 253-255. Śeṣayya is able to distinguish him from another poet named Gaurana (late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries) who was an *ārādhya* brahman and explicitly presents himself (and is presented by his son and grandson) as such.

[57] Narayana Rao, "Coconut and Honey," 30.

[58] Ibid., 29.

Metapoetics, Poetics, Poetic Practice

Given the apparent incongruities in his poetic persona, this dissertation will pay particular attention to the metapoetics of Gaurana, his contemporaries, and his predecessors—that is, how they actually speak of their poetic practice and how their statements define concepts of the poet, poetry, and audience. Attending to such declarations may disrupt received literary historical narratives and give us greater insight into the linguistic and literary practices of Andhra in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Yet Gaurana in fact offers only brief metapoetic statements in his prologues. And while representations of literary practices and their reception in narratives themselves can provide useful metapoetic insights,[60] these, too, are mostly lacking from Gaurana's work. In the absence of such explicit metapoetic declarations, I would look in two further places: For one, I would attempt to read Gaurana's Telugu compositions for their implicit (meta)poetics. Second, I would look also the presuppositions and implications of his work in Sanskrit poetics. Taken together, these may provide a richer picture of poetic practice and its conceptualization in premodern Andhra.

On the first account, I would see his compositional choices as containing in themselves metapoetic statements of a kind. That is, I consider his compositional choices to possess certain metapoetic connotations that assert the poetic work's relation to that of predecessors and contemporaries named and unnamed. The orientation in part descends from the theoretical arguments of Bourdieu and the formalists cited above. Some studies of Sanskrit literature have dealt with how poets differentiate themselves from their predecessors. Thus, for instance, Yigal Bronner tracks Bāṇa's allusions to and revisions of his predecessor Subandhu's sometimes impertinent paranomasia.[61] And Gary Tubb traces the ways that Abhinanda's verse *Rāmacarita* may have been influenced by the style of Bāṇa.[62] Building on this analysis of allusion and influence and their anxieties, this dissertation would also follow studies that seek to understand how stylistic choices reveal other social, cultural, and political affiliations through these implicit metapoetic gestures.[63] Similarly, I would read Gaurana's Telugu style—how he engages and deploys a range of linguistic, rhetorical, and thematic tools—for what it suggests about the traditions—poetic, social, political, religious—that he might privilege. Still, the move beyond the literary position of an individual work can only come after taking stock of the resources and restraints that inhere in the chosen form; simultaneously, works must also be placed within a fuller network of literary forms—both works nominally of the same genre and those that are not.[64] Given the unexpected character of his compositions, Gaurana's work invites such investigations into its poetic and social orientations, which themselves may provide a chance to illuminate the literary field of which they were a part.

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[59] Narayana Rao and Shulman, *Śrīnātha*, 16-34.

[60] Thibaut d'Hubert has shown this in his studies of the poet Alaol and literatures of Bengal and Arakan. See, for instance: Thibaut d'Hubert, "Patterns of Composition in the Seventeenth-Century Bengali Literature of Arakan," chap. 16 in *Tellings and Texts: Music, Literature, and Performance in North India*, ed. Katherine Butler Schofield and Francesca Orsini (Open Book Publishers, 2015), `http://books.openedition.org/obp/2530`. Whitney Cox has compellingly read narratives in Cekkiḻār's *Pĕriyapūrāṇam* for what they reveal of textual practices in the poet's world. Cox, *Modes of Philology*, especially Chapter 2.

Systematic work in poetics (*alaṃkāraśāstra*) and allied disciplines may also be read for its metapoetic insights. To be sure, such texts are already metapoetic even though they are not necessarily comprised by poetic compositions as such. However, the gap between alaṃkāraśāstra and poetic composition can be particularly narrow in many cases: On the one hand, many of the literary principles in tropes defined in treatises are exemplified by verses composed by the poeticians themselves, especially in the early centuries of the discipline. Similarly, the poets and poeticians recognize hybrid genres that fuse the forms of scholastic treatise and poetic composition (for example, *sāstrakāvya* and *kāvyaśāstra*). On the other hand, poets often explicitly deploy the terminology of the discipline in their compositions, whether to playfully preempting their imagined critics' contempt or to offer their auditors preferred protocols for the appreciating the work.[65] In these cases and others, texts in poetics may also be analyzed for the further metapoetic connotations that link their systematic and conceptual work to the wider social world.

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[61] Yigal Bronner, *Extreme Poetry: The South Asian Movement of Simultaneous Narration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

[62] Gary Tubb, "Something New in the Air: Abhinanda's *Rāmacaritra* and Its Ancestry," chap. 13 in *Innovations and Turning Points: Toward a History of Kāvya Literature*, ed. Yigal Bronner, David Shulman, and Gary Tubb (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 357–394.

[63] In Sanskrit literature, for example, Gary Tubb has shown how Kālidāsa's composition of the *Kumārasambhava* was likely influenced by the poet's theological commitments.Tubb, "Heroine as Hero." For Telugu, Ilanit Loewy-Shacham has drawn out connections between the structure of the *Āmuktamālyada* and its poet Kṛṣṇadevarāya's relationship to the Śrīvaiṣṇava devotional community.

[64] This approach is drawn from the recent revival of Historical Poetics as literary historical method. A particularly useful example of such work has been Boris Maslov, "The Semantics of *aoidos* and Related Compounds: Towards a Historical Poetics of Solo Performance in Archaic Greece," *Classical Antiquity* 28, no. 1 (2009): 1–38.

Much scholarship on alaṃkāraśāstra has tended toward intellectual history. But Gaurana's work, I would suggest, provides a convenient avenue for this kind of work because his treatises engage with issues in the practice of poetry that are not often examined in alaṃkāraśāstra and studies of it. Scholarship of the last twenty years has opened up the history of alaṃkāraśāstra, especially working to highlight its contributions to the intellectual history of southern Asia and the wider world. Here alaṃkāraśāstra's engagements with the philosophy of language and wider developments in Indian philosophy have been of particular interest. This diverges from earlier European and American scholarship. As Lawrence McCrea has shown, modern histories of Sanskrit poetry and poetics have largely focused on categorizing texts in poetics according to what each considered to be the essence of poetry: In so doing, they produced teleological accounts oriented toward the works of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, who championed especially the primacy of *rasa* (essentialized emotion) and *dhvani* (suggestion as a distinct semantic function).[66] Poeticians (for example, Mahimabhaṭṭa) who reject the theory of dhvani have been long noted because of they directly engage with Ānandavardhana and are close to his time. However, scholarship of recent decades has begun to account for and assert the importance of these interlocutors and competitors of Ānandavardhana.[67] Furthermore, studies have focused on the intellectual methods and achievements of poetics beyond the debates around *rasa* and *dhvani*. A case in point can be found regarding the novel methodology of the new poeticians

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[65] For example, Thibaut d'Hubert has shown this in the case of seventeenth-century Bengali poetry and its musicological poetics. d'Hubert, "Patterns of Composition."

[66] Lawrence McCrea, *The Teleology of Poetics in Medieval Kashmir* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

[67] See, for instance: Lawrence McCrea, "Mahimabhaṭṭa's Analysis of Poetic Flaws," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124, no. 1 (2004): 77–94.

(*navyālaṃkārikas*)—such as Appayya Dīkṣita and Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja—who flourished in the two centuries preceding the ascendancy of European colonialism. Such authors are most often studied to see whether they stand for or against dhvani. Inspite of this, scholars are increasingly elucidating the particular intellectual character and achievements of works from this period.[68] For instance, it is clear that these scholars remain preoccupied with properly characterizing and classifying alamkaras. Still further marginalized are discussions that do not at all (neither affirmatively nor negatively) speak to the rarified realm of *rasa*-centric aesthetics, let alone the question of beauty.

Thus the history of Sanskrit poetics has tended towards the history of ideas in literary aesthetic philosophy / psychology and the philosophy of language, and not unduly so: The topics loom large, and they possess a more immediate relevance to many outside of Indology's narrow domain. But this tendency has led histories of alaṃkāraśāstra to often downplay (or ignore) the other topics that come to be discussed in texts of alamkarasastra.[69] Subsequently, it can be easy to lose sight of the breadth of the alaṃkārikas' interests and the other fields that bear upon the business of making poetry—grammar, metrics, dramaturgy, and music, as well as other knowledge related to performance and composition that is only rarely or incompletely put to the page.[70] The first four of these constitute their own fields of study—*vyākaraṇa*, *chandas*, *rūpakagranthas / nāṭyaśāstra*, and *saṃgītaśāstra* respectively. Still, there are moments when texts on poetics as such—texts that deal with the craft(ing) of literature—engage with topics lingering at the fringes. These moments—when the tension between the core of the discipline and outlying topics is resolved or at least actively engaged—has been shown to be crucial for understanding the development of alaṃkāraśāstra as a discipline. For instance, it has been recognized that in its early period, Sanskrit poetics was alternately engaged and at odds with grammatical science

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[68] See studies stemming from the Sanskrit Knowledge Systems on the Eve of Colonialism (SKSEC) project, especially: Gary Tubb and Yigal Bronner, "*Vastutas tu*: Methodology and the New School of Sanskrit Poetics," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 36 (2008): 619–632; and Yigal Bronner, "Back to the Future: Appayya Dīkṣita's Kuvalayānanda and the Rewriting of Sanskrit Poetics," *Weiner Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens / Vienna Journal of South Asian Studies* 48 (2004): 47–79.

[69] See for instance Edwin Gerow, *Indian Poetics*, ed. Jan Gonda, vol. 5, A History of Indian Literature 3 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977). Gerow's history of Indian poetics covers precisely the story given in brief at the beginning of this section.

[70] For example, Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, which speaks extensively about the (ideal) daily routine of a poet, is the exception that proves the rule.

(*vyākaraṇa*).[71] And, as I have already mentioned, the major paradigm shift in poetics—the dhvani theory—is arrived at both under the influence of Mīmāṃsā and precisely insofar as literary theory continued to reconcile itself with the notion of rasa.

Beyond the drive to explore understudied materials, it is for this reason that I turn to the poetological tradition of Telugu-speaking south India to engage the questions enumerated above. Gaurana's treatises sit to one side of the usual topics of alaṃkāraśāstra. To be sure, poeticians in the Telugu counry—Gaurana among them—considered the standard topics in poetics noted above. But alongside their analyses of the alaṃkāras and the particular semantic and aesthetic operations of poetic language, they also developed a body of knowledge on the metaphysical character of poetry which they deemed indispensable for its composition and performance. They detail the powers of phonemes (*varṇas*) and metremes (*gaṇas*), as well as their occult affinities with social and cultural categories (namely caste) and astrological entities (like planets and constellations). Furthermore, they describe short prosimetrical compositions that contain musical and dramatic elements and, when performed, are understood to have larger metaphysical effects. Beyond these compositional properties, the poeticians also described rituals that must be performed at the beginning of any poetic performance or undertaking. Thus, looking to Gaurana's work and the Andhra tradition of alaṃkāraśāstra—especially as it engages with the forms and genres of poetry—provides an efficient case in which we might bridge the histories of theory and practice in poetry and poetics.

Plan of the dissertation

With these considerations in mind, the central chapters of the dissertation fall roughly into two parts in terms of their textual foundations: one focusing on Gaurana's contributions in Sanskrit to what might be called the Andhra school of poetics, the other directed toward Gaurana's own poetic compositions, which appear to exist only in Telugu. This division is mostly incidental, and the fact that the Sanskrit materials come first is not meant to suggest in any way its priority over those in Telugu. If any thing, the organization and scope of the dissertation is meant to undermine such arguments. As I hope to show, the Sanskrit and Telugu texts mutually inform one another, neither being sufficient for offering an account of the period. However, the Sanskrit materials, though largely unexamined in previous scholarship, are nevertheless more familiar; and they generate a number of problems which are addressed (albeit incompletely) through a study of the Telugu materials.

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[71] Victor D'Avella is currently completing a dissertation that elucidates the interactions between grammar and poetics.

Because of the nature of these works, the first part attends to the questions of "What was literature thought to be, by whom, and why?" In particular, it explores theories of poetic form and practice and their connection to conceptions of the social world. Thus, Chapter 2 analyzes Gaurana's contribution to Sanskrit poetology in what I call his *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* project, evinced by two non-identical works bearing this title, each surviving in only a single manuscript. The relationship between these text artifacts is analyzed in the appendix to the dissertation, which offers an edition and translation of both. The chapter, however, explores the development of Andhra's particular brand of poetics and the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā's* place therein. Scholars have cited the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* to exemplify a particular strand of poetic thinking that emerges in poetological works from regions in Andhra or contiguous to it. As mentioned above, this strand of poetics considers especially two topics: the metaphysical and sorcerous pragmatics of poetry, and the classification of minor genres of praise poetry called *cāṭuprabandha*. The chapter focuses on the first topic—the metaphysical evaulation of poetry—and comprises an essentially philological essay of the work, its sources, and its place in the history of Sanskrit poetics generally. I show here that Gaurana's work constitutes an attempt to revise and reinforce the tradition as it was available to him by linking it to wider Sanskritic traditions of scholarship and ritual, especially in tantra and astrology (*jyotiḥśāstra*). This project, I argue, is meant to support a larger social argument for brahmanical prerogatives in the domain of poetic work.

Chapter 3 follows directly from the insights of the previous chapter and continues to consider Gaurana's *Lakṣaṇadīpikā*. While Chapter 2 focused on Gaurana and the Andhra poeticians' metaphysical researches into poetry, Chapter 3 attends to their study of genre. In so doing, it suggests an avenue toward answering the question with which I end the previous chapter: Against whom, specifically, might Gaurana have been arguing? Taking the work of the Lakṣaṇadīpikā as a launching point, the chapter traces the historical poetics of cāṭuprabandha, the category deployed by Gaurana and other Andhra poeticians to label an increasing heterogeneous set of literary practices. The phrase historical poetics is meant to mark the orientation of the inquiry: It at once tracks this genre as it is defined through the decades. But, considering genre to be not just a formal designation but also bound up in society, the chapter also explores how the theorization of *cāṭuprabandha* was linked to the social life of the poetic practice. While I show through my survey that the genre designates a number of new forms and practices previously unknown to Sanskrit poetics, I also argue two further points: First, I suggest that cāṭuprabandha marked a set of forms particular to southern India if not necessarily Andhra; and second, I claim that the category is marked by an early connection with more socially-inclusive traditions of poetry, the earliest example of which can be found in the Vīramāheśvara Śivakavis around Srisailam. Thus the first part of the dissertation ultimately argues that Gaurana's Sanskrit work in part exemplifies a reaction to transformations in Andhra's literary culture in general and, specifically, constitutes a competitive intervention in that world—an attempt to stake a claim on poetic practice against Srisailam's more open traditions which included both brahman and non-brahman poets.

Where the first part examines how Gaurana intervened in the literary field by advancing a number of theoretical and normative arguments, the second part focuses on Gaurana's work as a poet himself. While these chapters attend to both of Gaurana's Telugu works, they devote most of their attention to his *Navanāthacaritramu*, both for its apparent aesthetic range and because it is more forthcoming about its historical contexts in its metapoetic declarations. As a whole, these chapters consider further the question of how literature (and not just literary theory) relate to the world: Given what we can glean from his theoretical work in Sanskrit, what more (what else, what different) can Gaurana's Telugu poetry say about his ideological and social commitments? Or, to take the obverse, to what extent might social contexts condition his poetic output?

Chapter 4 takes up the first side of this question by studying Gaurana's compositional styling in the

Telugu dvipada form. My approach to style primarily focuses on qualities of diction, syntax, prosody, and thematics. In considering the particularities of Gaurana's style, I focus here on how Gaurana's work both cleaves to and departs from established models of dvipada poetry. The main figures in the early history of dvipada poetry—and, given the insights of the first part of the dissertation, the most important stylistic interlocutors—were the Śivakavis. Thus, the chapter offers a profile of Śivakavi dvipada as represented by its foundational figure, Pālkuriki Somanātha, to establish a baseline against which to measure Gaurana's work. This analysis is not, it should be said, interested in looking at style for psychoanalytical insights: The viability of that orientation is debatable; but, more importantly in this case, there is simply not enough biographical data on Gaurana to consider pursuing that line of inquiry. But what is of interest is how stylistic moves may invoke different poetic traditions and schools and, consequently, have certain ideological shadings. Telugu dvipada, I show, has a relatively low status in the generic system of Andhra's poetics; and, more to the point, it is associated with the Vīramāheśvara / Śivakavi tradition. Despite this, I ultimately argue that in his dvipada Gaurana makes consistent poetic gestures that distance him from the Śivakavi school and link him instead to courtly traditions of kāvya.

Chapter 5 pivots away from the questions of poetic form that unite the other three chapters. Concentrating on Gaurana's *Navanāthacaritramu*, this chapter examines the poem's themes and narratives in an attempt to illuminate the relationships between Gaurana, his text, and the religious and political institutions of Srisailam. Here I first offer a detailed summary of the *Navanāthacaritramu* as a step toward understanding just what the poem is about. But where the earlier chapters in a sense seek to recover less conspicuous historical contexts, in this chapter I show how the work displays and anticipates characteristics linked to the traditions of alchemy and yoga associated with the Nāth Sampradāya, which is most prominent today in northern India. However, I suggest that seeking such correspondences prematurely narrows the analysis, and that the poem may better be understood as not—or not primarily—a Nātha text. Gaurana's poem, I show, focuses less on the celebration of a particular religious tradition and more on the examination of the troublesome relationships that obtain between *siddhas*, possessors of a supernormal capabilities, and possessors of more mundane political powers and ambitions. The text, I argue, is ultimately a rumination on the problems and possibilities of siddha ascetic power in the world. In highlighting this set of issues, the text echoes developments in the political culture of Srisailam and the rising fortunes of Bhikṣāvṛtti maṭha, led by a lineage of increasingly powerful Śaiva ascetics and devotees.

By way of conclusion, I construct a very brief summary of Gaurana's career based on the finds of the central chapters. But more substantially, I work through the implications of this story and the analysis behind it for the greater literary history of southern India and the Deccan. In particular, I work through what can be gained by thinking of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Andhra not as the age of Śrīnātha but as the age of Gaurana. Beyond its significance for literary history in southern India, I also point to how this dissertation's analysis may contribute to more general understandings of the relationships between literature, politics, and religion.

Chapter 2

Authority and Auspiciousness in Gaurana's *Lakṣaṇadīpikā*

Introduction

In the introduction to his *Navanāthacaritramu* (*The Deeds of the Nine Naths*) Gaurana, describing how he came to compose the work, extolls his own virtues. He recounts how the work's patron, monastic potentate Muktiśānta Bhikṣāvṛttirāya, deliberated about whom he should call to compose the Naths' tale. Chief among Muktiśānta's concerns were the poet's qualifications. So, he wondered: Who is "well-practiced . . . in judging the properties of tasteful *rasa*-filled literature" (*sarasasāhityalakṣaṇa-vivekamulan . . . alavaḍḍa vāṁḍu*). Such praise could seem cliché. Through the alliterative *sa-rasa-sāhitya* the poet invokes the concept of *rasa* (essentialized emotion), which had long been deemed an indispensable feature of poetry and which—owing to the influence of Kashmiri poeticians—had helped to constitute the prevailing paradigm in Sanskrit poetics. Who would be a poet whose poetry was not infused with *rasa*?

But more important in this bit of praise, I would suggest, is the word *lakṣaṇa*, which can be taken in the sense of "property" or "characteristic"—and by extension any "rule" or "definition" based on such a property. From this perspective, rasa is just one in a battery of other lakṣaṇas that poetry should have in order to appeal to the discerning literary elite. Scholars of the alaṃkāraśāstra (Sanskritic rhetoric and poetics) had enumerated and posited many such features. The discipline's namesake *alaṃkāras* (rhetorical ornaments or figures of speech) were its founding concern; but thematics, characterology, narrative structure, and generic form were also of great importance. More to the point, being educated in poetics and related linguistic disciplines—especially metrics, dramaturgy, and grammar—was a qualification that few poets would disavow. The few who do disavow such an education (however apparent it may be in their poetry itself) are devotional (or *bhakti*) poets for whom a lack of courtly erudition is a point of pride.[1] Learning, then, was not exceptional but rather to be expected. Referring to such qualifications would only have been to say that Gaurana was a poet worth his salt (or betel, as the convention turns out to be).

Still, stereotyped though it may be, Muktiśānta's commendation points to more tangible traces of Gaurana's erudition and more unexpected senses of *lakṣaṇa*. Not just a poet, Gaurana was also a poetician. As such he authored two Sanskrit treatises, both entitled *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* (*A light on the properties*).[2] The lakṣaṇas that Gaurana illuminates here are not, however, the many definitions of the myriad rhetorical ornaments. Indeed, he is generally unconcerned with the usual subjects of Sanskrit poetics. He barely considers matters of meaning. He does not care to consider what makes poetry poetry; he does not analyze what makes it interesting or beautiful or generally pleasing to the mind and ear. And he does not care to reflect on rasa. The poeticians' lakṣaṇa notwithstanding, his lakṣaṇa often stands much closer to the lakṣaṇa of astrology and divination—that is to say, the tellingly auspicious or inauspicious mark on an animal, object, or person. So, just as an astrologer claims the power to descry a person's fate by reading the marks on the body, Gaurana's work promises to elucidate those characteristics of literary composition that can anticipate and actualize both favorable and unfavorable outcomes for the patrons and performers of poetry.

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[1] In Telugu literary culture, for example, it was a frequent tack of composers of the generally devotional śataka genre. The disavowel is also rife among Tamil bhakti poets. However, as Norman Cutler has demonstrated, these poets were nonetheless well-versed in the conventions of courtly literary cultures. See especially: Norman Cutler, *Songs of Experience: The Poetics of Tamil Devotion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 81.

[2] I had access to only one manuscript of each work: (1) LD1 = D. 1494, GOML Chennai; (2) LD2 = D. 12952, GOML Chennai. Throughout this chapter, however, I will draw on these two works almost indiscriminately. Earlier scholars—chief among them Sarasvati Mohan—have seen them as two discrete albeit similarly themed works; others (as Mohan reports), have found reason to doubt that Gaurana composed both works. My contention, which diverges from both of these perspectives, is that LD2 should be seen as a supplement (part commentary and apology, part revision with additions) to LD1. Thus for the purposes of my argument here I will treat them as being part of a single project, if not a single text. More details on the manuscripts and their relation in the appended edition.

While Gaurana is an early proponent of the analysis of literary auspiciousness, he did not invent it. Gaurana himself testifies this. Rife with quotations, the very texture of the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* (LD) suggests that we are dealing with a derivative work. Many of these quotations are from other poetological works that are early constituents of what David Shulman has dubbed the "Andhra school of alaṃkāraśāstra." From at least the early fourteenth century, the poeticians of this school had begun to delineate the lakṣaṇas of auspicious composition. For one, while Sanskrit ālaṃkārikas typically investigate poetry starting at the level of the word or utterance, the Andhra school poeticians developed rubrics for analyzing the occult properties of poetry's basic components—the phoneme (Sanskrit *varṇa*) and the metreme (Sanskrit *gaṇa*). These linguistic units are understood to have deep affinities with the divine energies that structure reality. Thus in reciting a poem, to utter a word—or even a few unmeaningful sounds—could be to invoke great and potentially perilous powers, especially when beginning a work. Lest danger ensue, a poet must—with the help of the poeticians' descriptions of these more occult lakṣaṇas—be sure that his work's opening sounds are auspicious. Stories abound from at least the fourteenth century of poetry's awesome power. A poet could lay a king and his kingdom low or make the same thrive with a well-placed (or misspoken) syllable in a single verse. It was to these linguistic powers that the Andhra poeticians posed a fine-grained analysis of literary language.

In concert with the auspicious analysis, the poeticians also took a broader view in order to describe a distinct set of literary forms that Gaurana calls *cāṭuprabandha*. These forms were relatively short, multi-stanza, quasi-musical compositions in a mixture of prose (Sanskrit *gadya*) and verse (Sanskrit *padya*). The poeticians invariably stipulate that the subject of such works should be an eminent—if not actually royal—personage. This panegyrical character, it seems, makes auspiciousness of the utmost importance: Not only must the work's opening phonemes' auspiciousness be assessed, but the phonemic goddess (Sanskrit *mātṛkā*) of the patron's *varṇa* (here caste) must also be propitiated before the work can be performed.

Because earlier poeticians had—if his own work is any evidence—already elaborated much of this material, Gaurana's work might appear (at best) to be a useful and, perhaps, usefully condensed collection of earlier works. However, as I will show in what follows, Gaurana has not merely reproduced received opinion in his *Lakṣaṇadīpikā*. He has, to be sure, collated earlier materials. Yet in doing so Gaurana offers a purposeful and novel synthesis wherein he both brings together and hierarchizes a wide range of materials. His sources are primarily literary and poetological, drawn from the produce of the Andhra school. At the same time, Gaurana is not unique for all his quoting, abundant quotation being a pronounced feature of Sanskrit śāstra. Scholars of law and ethics (*dharmaśāstra*) frequently quote earlier authorities; ritual experts quote scripture and each other; and poeticians, too, quote other poeticians and poetic works alongside works on grammar and metrics. But—and by all accounts unlike his poetological predecessors—Gaurana frequently takes recourse to authorities on ritual and astrology.

In what follows, I will analyze how Gaurana synthesizes these materials: What topics are at issue? Contingencies of his library aside, what principles govern his inclusion or exclusion of certain texts? What relationships (such as relative importance, priority, or subordination) does he forge between those sources he does include? What appears to be the logic behind Gaurana's organizing them so? And, ultimately, under what conditions—of his literary culture and wider social world—might Gaurana have thought it important to compose the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* in the first place? And what can this tell us about the wider Andhra school and the conditions of its development? In particular, I will describe the connections that Gaurana forges between a rather variegated body of sources. More specifically, it remains to be seen why Gaurana should offer such a synthesis at the moment he does and why astrological and ritual authorities should end up as the bedrock of his project.

As an opening proposition, I would suggest that as an early member of the Andhra school Gaurana seeks to ground and thus fix what appears to have been an unstable body of poetological knowledge in the Telugu country. Consequently, Gaurana works to resituate the Andhra school's decidedly poetological precepts in a framework that is neither poetological nor linguistic. By implication—and sometimes explicitly as I will show—Gaurana redefines what constitutes poetic knowledge and, thus, what it means to be a poet.

To describe Gaurana's intervention more precisely, the next section will trace the discourse on auspiciousness in alaṃkāraśāstra—including how and when Andhra's peculiar auspicious analysis developed. Through this description, I will also begin to sketch out the ways in which Gaurana departs from the approaches of earlier Sanskrit poeticians and his fellows in the Andhra school. The next section will detail how Gaurana arranges his array of sources to make claims about their authority and construct a coherent system on auspiciousness in poetry. In the final part of the chapter, I will begin to trace how Gaurana's auspicious analysis dovetails with his description of the poetic forms known as *cāṭuprabandha*. This section will show that Gaurana's revision of the auspicious analysis is driven by an almost ritual understanding of literary practice and the prerogative of brahmans in the ritual domain. I will conclude by revealing Gaurana's likely interlocutors and, more generally, the motive forces behind Andhra's peculiar poetics.

Understanding the auspicious analysis

Anxiety about the propriety and power of speech runs deep in the Sanskritic context. This is often noted and unsurprising given that language occupies a privileged place in the performance of and thinking about ritual, whether Vedic or tantric. A widely accepted typology of genres underscores this. Within it scriptural and ritually important texts—like the Veda—are known as *śabdapradhāna* or sound-centered. That is to say, the text works (ritually) due to the precise sequence of its syllables. Thus, a mispronounced mantra in Vedic ritual can prove fatal, as Patañjali's example of Vṛta's improperly accenting a compound attests.[3] On the other end of the spectrum are the meaning-centered or *arthapradhāna* texts. The category comprises texts deemed important for the information they impart—namely science or scholarship (Sanskrit *śāstra*)—as well as historical and legendary narratives (Sanskrit *itihāsa*, *purāṇa*). In this domain, misspeaking may weaken an argument or diminish one's authority.

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[3] Patañjali, *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*, ed. F. Kielhorn, vol. 1 (Bombay: Goverment Central Book Depot, 1880), 2.

Kāvya—poetry—sits in the middle, with sound and sense being equally important (Sanskrit *śabdārthapradhāna*), though to different effect. Often drawing their themes and subjects from the stuff of *arthapradhāna* texts, diction has typically been deemed important insofar as it might be aesthetically pleasing or interesting to the learned reader. So, the poeticians describe effects which are sheerly sonic or merely musical, as well as turns of phrase which are beautiful precisely because of the meanings they impart. Increasingly important—and taken by many literary historians to be the crowning insight of Sanskrit poetics—is the theory of dhvani (poetic suggestion, connotation) made famous by Ānandavardhana and his distinguished commentator Abhinavagupta. According to these poeticians, *dhvani* is the most subtle of the communicative powers of language insofar as it can communicate the sublimated, essentialized emotions of art (*rasa*). Whatever the case, sound's power lies not in its metaphysical or ritual capacities. Conversely, usage may be displeasing, either by trangressing authoritative grammars or by offending the urbane sensibilities of literary connoisseurs. It is, however, unlikely to be fatal.

Auspiciousness in early *alaṃkāraśāstra*

Even so, early works of *alaṃkāraśāstra* do show some interest in auspiciousness, particularly with regard to the beginning of a work. So much is evinced by Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (*The mirror of poetry*), the discipline's seminal and second earliest (extant) text. Early on Daṇḍin stipulates that a work may properly begin with a benediction, an obeisance, or some indication of the subject matter.[4] Many of kāvya's commentators would go on to cite this verse, assigning the subject text's opening verse(s) to one of Daṇḍin's categories. Indeed, from about the twelfth century on, it became standard practice to begin any work—poetic or śāstric—with a *maṅgala* verse.[5] Actually existing poetry, however, sometimes runs counter to this commentarial preference. The early kāvya poets often did not start with a *maṅgala* verse but tended towards the *vastunirdeśa* type, foreshadowing or introducing their themes straightaway.[6]

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[4] *Kāvyādarśa* 1.14cd: *āśīrnamaskriyā vastunirdeśo vāpi tanmukham*

Such divergences from the auspicious path did not go unnoticed, with commentators needing to explain away any apparent deficiency on the part of the great poets. One example of this is the opening of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* (*Arjuna and the Hunter*):

> *śriyaḥ kurūṇām adhipasya pālanīṃ prajāsu vṛttiṃ yam ayuṅkta veditum*
> *sa vārṇiliṅgī viditaḥ samāyayau yudhiṣṭhiraṃ dvaitavane vanecaraḥ*
>
> He'd been employed to ascertain the Kuru lord's operations amongst his people—the safeguarding of his glory;
> so informed and in the guise of a young brahman, the forest-dweller came to Yudhisthira in Dvaita Forest.)

Strictly speaking, the verse best matches the *vastunirdeśa* type. While Bhāravi does not give for the reader a general introduction to the particular Mahābhārata story he retells, the reader is nevertheless thrust into the recognizable world of the epic. All the same, commentators have made every effort to show that Bhāravi's poem, being one of the five great literary works (*pañcamahākāvya*), begins properly. A telling example is comes from the *Śabdārthadīpikā* commentary of Citrabhānu (late fifteenth / early sixteenth century). In his commentary on Bhāravi's first verse, he answers the charge that the poem lacks the requisite maṅgala verse. He argues that the maṅgala verse could be external yet proximate to the text: It could either have been performed by Bhāravi himself before he sat down to compose; or else, it could be inscribed in the manuscript (*grantha*) itself. Should this explanation prove unsatisfactory, he adduces three additional layers of meaning to ground a larger argument for

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[5] Christopher Minkowski, "Why Should We Read the Maṅgala Verses?," chap. 1 in *Śāstrārambha: Inquiries into the Preamble in Sanskrit*, ed. Walter Slaje, vol. 62, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), 10.

[6] Giuliano Boccali, "The Incipits of Classical Sargabandhas," in *Śāstrārambha: Inquiries into the Preamble in Sanskrit*, ed. Walter Slaje, vol. 62, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), 188.

Bhāravi's correctness. At the most superficial level, he grants that this first verse is not exactly a maṅgala verse. However, this is unproblematic for Citrabhānu; such a verse would be unnecessary for Bhāravi's intended audience, for whom—by the grace of Śiva—the obstacles to comprehension have already been removed. Nonetheless, he is still able to identify in the verse words that are explicitly auspicious (for example *śrī*) and words with auspicious connotations (*yudhiṣṭhira*, who is figured as the essence of *dharma*) for readers of lesser and middling intellect.[7] Citrabhānu's analysis exemplifies the common understanding of the maṅgala verse and its purpose, which is to eliminate and forestall any obstacles to the composition or understanding of a work.[8] Furthermore, what auspiciousness there is follows from language's semantic capacities, however subtle these may be.

The ālaṃkārikas quickly move beyond poetic beginnings to expressing a more general anxiety about inauspicious usages in the body of a poem. Vāmana, in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (8th century), seems to be the first to engage with the issue in his section on word-based flaws. Here he includes mentioning something inauspicious or disturbing (*amaṅgalātaṅka*)—such as "He is stilled" (*saṃsthitaḥ*). Along with embarrassing (*vrīḍā*) and revolting (*jugupsā*) turns of phrase, he classes this as an instance of unrefined (*aślīla*) speech.[9] Later discussions elaborate rather than supplant Vāmana's basic type. In his own treatment of faults in diction (*padadoṣa*), Viśveśvara (whom Gaurana frequently cites) gives a more elaborate treatment of this topic in his *Camatkāracandrikā*. He identifies three varieties of inauspicious usage: The first type is (1) direct mention of somthing inauspicious (*amaṅgalārtham*) (for example, using *pari-mṛ*, which plainly means "die"). Second is (2) using a word of which one (but not all) of its meanings are inauspicious (*amaṅgalārthāntaram*). Here, Viśveśvara incorporates Vāmana's prototypical example involving *saṃsthā* and explains that "as if standing firm can also be understood as dying." (Better, he says, would be *utthā*, which lacks the negative connotation.) Finally, there is (3) usage that inadvertantly calls the inauspicious to mind (*amaṅgalasmaraṇahetu*). The problem here comes when an auspicious (or simply neutral) word (in his case *kukṣayaḥ* or "stomachs") contains within it an inauspicious word (*kṣayaḥ* or "destruction").[10] Still, Viśveśvara argues, context may obscure and thus ameliorate the inauspiciousness of such usages.

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[7] Bhāravi, *The Kirâtârjunîya, with the commentary Sabdârthadîpikâ of Citrabhânu*, ed. T. Gaṇapati Śâstri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 63 (Trivandrum), 2-3.

[8] Minkowski, "Maṅgala Verses," 16.

[9] *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti* 2.1.20: *tat traividhyaṃ vrīḍājugupsāmaṅgalātaṅkadāyibhedāt* || *tasyāślīlasya traividhyaṃ bhavati vrīdājugupsāmaṅgalātaṅkadāyinā bhedāt* | *kiṃcit vrīḍādāyi yathā vākkāṭavam iti* | *kiṃcit jugupsādāyi yathā kapardakaḥ iti* | *kiṃcit amaṅgalātaṅkadāyi yathā saṃsthitaḥ iti* |

Thus did Sanskrit poetics generally rule on auspiciousness in poetry: First, the enterprise of poetry should begin with a maṅgala verse so that the poet might complete his work and his audience understand it properly. Secondly, in the body of the work, poets should avoid even inadvertent inauspicious usages, which are basically categorized as a variety of distasteful, offensive language. In both cases poeticians focus on the semantic powers of language—first the power to invoke and communicate with a deity, second the power and problem of accidental reference.

Auspiciousness in the Andhra school

To be sure, the Andhra school shares these same anxieties, as seen above with Viśveśvara's analysis of inauspicious usage. But they go even further, beyond language's capacity to mean. The treatises take their analysis down to the level of the phoneme and metreme. As David Shulman characterizes it, the Andhra school recognizes a "dense grid of sonic waves and energies that, while bearing their own inherently positive or negative charges, interact decisively with one another, with various divine presences, and with context, intention, velocity, density, volume, and other determining factors that shift and transform."[11] Anecdotal evidence of this state of affairs seems to have circulated into twentieth century. References to poets with preternatural powers begin to appear in poetological texts by the middle of the sixteenth century. For example, in his Telugu work *Sulakṣaṇasāramu* (*The Essential Rules of Literature*, ca. 1560), Liṅgamaguṇṭa Timma Kavi exemplifies a rule governing an inauspicious combination by citing a verse attributed to the notorious Dread Poet of Vemulavada (Vemulavāḍa Bhīmakavi). Later literary histories provide a fuller framestory for the verse: After being refused an audience by the Kalinga king Rāja Gaṅgu, Bhīmakavi composed the verse, which caused the king to lose his kingdom to his Veṅgi Cāḷukya rival.

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[10] *Camatkāracandrikā* 1.39-41: *amaṅgalārtham yathā — śrīsiṅgabhūpalajayaprayāṇasannāhanissānaghaṇaṃ kriyābhiḥ | sadyaḥ parisphoṭitasaṃdhivandhāḥ parimriyante paripanthibhūpāḥ || atra parimriyanta iti sākṣād amaṅgalam | nidranti dīrghaṃ paripanthibhūpā iti pāṭho ramaṇīyaḥ | amaṅgalārthāntaraṃ yathā — śrīsiṅgabhūpālacamūsamūhasanāhasannāhavasambhramāṇām | saṃtiṣṭhamāṇaiḥ purato ripūṇāṃ kṛtānu yodhais tv avikatthanāni || atra saṃtiṣṭhamānair ity anena samyak sthitir iva maraṇam api pratīyate | uttiṣṭhamānair iti pāṭho ramaṇīyaḥ | amaṅgalasmaraṇahetur yathā — kātyāyanasutoddeśabalirakṣitakukṣayaḥ | bhavanti medinīnātham anamanto nareśvarāḥ || atra kukṣaya iti pade 'ntyavarṇadvayenāmaṅgalārthasmaraṇaṃ |*

[11] David Shulman, "Notes on Camatkāra," in *Language, Ritual and Poetics in Ancient India and Iran: Studies in Honor of Shaul Migron*, ed. David Shulman (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences & Humanities, 2010), 271.

But, given this anxiety, what does this mode of analysis look like? As Shulman notes, it typically resembles a kind of list. Such lists are given under the rubric of *varṇaviveka* (consideration of the phonemes) or *śubhāśubhaphala* (the auspicious and inauspicious outcomes of phonemes and metremes). Consider Gaurana's presentation:

> The definitions should be like so:
>
> *A* is the deity of everything, red is its color, it has power over everything. *Ā*: Parāśakti, white, attraction. *I*: Viṣṇu, dark (*śyāma*), protection. *Ī*: Mayāśakti, tawny, and control over women. *U*: Vāstu, dark (*kṛṣṇa*), and control over kings. *Ū*: the Earth, dark (śyāma), and control over kings. *Ṛ* : Brahma, yellow, mastery of the celestial objects. *Ṝ*: Śikhaṇḍirūpa, dark, destroys fever. *Ḷ* and *Ḹ*: the Aśvins, white and red, destroy fever. *E*: Vīrabhadra, yellow, grants all aims.[12] *AṂ* (*anusvara*): Maheśa, red, gives contentment. *AḤ* (*visarga*): Kālarudra, red, severs the bonds [of existence?]. *K*: Prajāpati, yellow, livelihood. *KH, G*, and *GH* give Glory, but *Ṅ* infamy. *C* and *CH* give delight and comfort respectively. *J* brings sons. Danger and death come from *JH* and *Ñ*. *Ṭ* and *ṬH* are of hardship and discomfort. Glamor and inglamorousness from *Ḍ* and *ḌH* respectively. Confusion from *Ṇ*. *T* and *TH* make war. *D* and *DH* give comfort. *N* vexes. Danger, comfort, death, difficulty, and vexation: these are the respective products of the labials [*P, PH, B, BH, M*]. *Y* gives glory; *R* gives pain; *L* and *V* bring affliction. *Ś* brings comfort, *Ṣ* hardship, and *S* bestows comfort. *H* causes pain. *Ḷ* bestows affliction. *KṢ* produces prosperity.[13]

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[12] The list quoted above leaves out three of the vowel sounds (O, and the dipthongs AI and AU). However, because Gaurana elsewhere acknowledges sixteen vowels, this seems to be a problem of the manuscript record. It may be that the other complex vowels have simpy been grouped with E, the first of their order. Viśveśvara gives a precedent for this at *Camatkāracandrikā* 1.21cd: "The set of four starting with E give pleasure, speech, liberation, and prosperity" (*ekārādyāś ca catvāraḥ kāmavāṅmokṣabhūtidāḥ*).

[13] *etal lakṣaṇaṃ bhavet | akāraṃ sarvadaivatyaṃ raktaṃ sarvavaśīkaraṃ | ākāraḥ syāt parāśaktiḥ śvetam ākarṣaṇaṃ bhavet | ikāraṃ viṣṇudaivatyaṃ śyāmaṃ rakṣākaraṃ paraṃ | māyāśaktir iti [x]taṃ pītaṃ strīṇāṃ vaśīkaraṃ | ukāro vāstudaivatyaḥ kṛṣṇo rājavaśakara[. . .] | ūkāraṃ bhūmidaivatyaṃ śyāmaṃ rājavaśīkaraṃ | ṛkāraṃ braṃhmaṇo jñeyaṃ pītaṃ grahamīśanaṃ |śikhaṃḍirūpaṃ ṝkāraṃ aṃjanaṃ jvāranāśanaṃ | aśvinībhyāṃ lulū cobhau sitaraktau jvarāpahau | ekāraṃ vīrabhadraṃ syāt pītaṃ sarvārthasiddhidaṃ | aṃkāraṃ tu maheśaṃ syāt raktavarṇaṃ sukhapradaṃ | aḥkāraṃ kālarudraṃ ca raktaṃ pāśanikṛṃtinā | prājāpatyaḥ kakāraḥ syāt pīto vṛttiprādayakaḥ | caturbhyaḥ kādivarṇebhyo lakṣmir apayaśas tu ṅā | prītisaukhye cachau putralābho jo bhayamṛtyudau | jhañau ṭaṭhau khedadukhe śobhāśobhākarau ḍaḍhau | bhramaṇaṃ ṇād api tathau syād yudhyāt sukhadau dadhau | naḥ pratāpī bhītisaukhyamaraṇakleśatāpakṛt | pavargo yas tu lakṣmido ro dāhaṃ vyasanaṃ lavau | śaḥ śukhaṃ tanute ṣas tu khedaṃ sas sukhadāyakaḥ | ho dāhakṛd vyasanado ḷaḥ kṣas sarvasamṛddhikṛt |*

> [And] in the *Crest-jewel of Literature*:
>
> "The sound *A* confers pleasure, unless used in negation (prohibition), when it effects the opposite. *Ā* gives joy; it is not appropriate for contexts of anger and suffering. *I, Ī, U* and *Ū* make for satisfaction and the fulfillment of wishes. *Ṛ, Ṝ, Ḷ* and *Ḹ* block continuity [of the family line]. *E, AI, O,* and *AU* lead to desire, speech, release and wealth, respectively. Velar consonants (*K, KH, G, GH*, and *Ṅ*) generate prosperity. *C* leads to a loss of fame. *CH* and *J* remove disease. *JH* and *Ñ* will kill. *Ṭ* and *ṬH* produce depression; *Ḍ*, however, is auspicious; *ḌH* diminishes beauty (or brightness). *Ṇ* conduces toward achieving what one wants. *T* destroys obstacles. *TH* leads to war. *D* and *DH* produce steadfastness. *N* makes for suffering; but when not used in negation, it can be auspicious. *P* protects. *PH* terrifies. *B* gives health. *BH* is lucky. *M* is disturbing. *Y* gives splendid wealth. *R* burns. *L* makes for dullness. *V* is a mine of eloquence, health and long life. The three sibilants and *H* offer happiness, conflict, prosperity and ultimate joy, respectively; but when one of them is combined with *K* to produce *KṢ*, cruelty results—this cluster, however pleasant (it might sound), should be avoided like poisoned food (at the outset)."[14]
>
> Here and there it conveys what I have said. And the absence of an understanding between them [the two lists]—that can be overlooked, since it [the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*] lacks basis authority.[15]

The most obvious feature of this excerpt is that offers not one but *two* schemas—first Gaurana's and second that of the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*. This doubled presentation is peculiar to Gaurana and his particular project. However, it marks two features of the Andhra school in general. First, to reiterate, the analysis is rather schematic: for each phoneme is stipulated some power or effect. This manner of organizing the material is common to all members of the Andhra school; examples rarely—if ever—punctuate these basic definitions.

Second, the poeticians' schemas do not always agree in their particulars. Gaurana shows this quite clearly, drawing attention to the difference between his list and the other. Such disagreement is not peculiar to Gaurana but is rather pervasive in the school. One poetician might identify a phoneme as being positively charged while another might mark the very same sound as hazardous. As seen above, Gaurana says that *Ṅ* results in infamy, but according to the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* it leads to prosperity.

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[14] Since the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* passage is identical to *Camatkāracandrikā* 1.18-27, I have given here the translation of David Shulman in: Shulman, "Notes on Camatkāra," 267.

[15] *ity anena kvacit kvacit asmaduktārthaḥ pratīyate | tad apy amūlatvāt parasparāvijñānaṃ upekṣaṇīyaṃ |*

Furthermore, Gaurana's treatment of the vowel sounds (Sanskrit *svara*) is all together more robust than what we find in the second passage (and, in fact, anywhere else in the Andhra school): each vowel (and the first consonant, *K*) is given a divinity (Sanskrit *daivatyam*) and color (Sanskrit *varṇa*) in addition to the familiarly stipulated outcome (*phala*). Even more fundamental differences are apparent insofar as the two schemas differ even in the number of phonemes they postulate: Gaurana posits fifty while the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* assumes only forty-nine.

Holding these discrepancies and Gaurana's own analysis in abeyance for a moment, it would be worth examining the second passage to bring out some of the basic features of the the Andhra school's analysis. Though attributed to the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*, the quotation is quite typical (not least because it matches verbatim the phonemic analysis found in the assuredly earlier *Camatkāracandrikā*).[16] Each phoneme has some effect. That said, the rationale for many of the attributions is mysterious. Why, for instance, should *Ñ* be fatal while *Ṇ* is beneficial? On the other hand, some formulations—as Shulman suggests—are more transparent, seemingly explicable through semantics: for example, the protective power of *P* likely comes via the root *pā* (to protect), just as the identification of *DH* with steadfastness reflects the semantic descendents of *dhṛ* (to bear up, hold fast).[17] But etymology cannot explain every case.

Such phoneme lists are always accompanied by an equally schematic presentation of the metremes (Sanskrit *gaṇa*). For his, Gaurana cites the authority of the *Camatkāracandrikā*.

> The *ma*-metreme—all heavy syllabes, the Earth its divinity—gives security.
> The *ya*-metre—light in the first syllable, Water its divinity—makes wealth.
> The *ra*-metreme—light in the middle, the Fire its divinity—bestows prosperity.
> The *sa*-metreme—heavy at the end, the Wind its divinity—causes destruction.
> The *ta*-metrme—light at the end, the Sky its divinity—gives prosperity.
> The *ja*-metreme—heavy in the middle, the Sun its divinity—cause pain.
> The *bha*-metreme—heavy at the beginning, the Moon its divinity—bestows comfort.[18]

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[16] Not having access to *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* and given the vagaries and frequency of quotation amongst these texts, I will not venture to say whether Gaurana incorrectly attributed the passage, whether the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* is here quoting Viśveśvara, or whether Viśveśvara has in fact quoted from the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*.

[17] Shulman, "Notes on Camatkāra," 268.

[18] *kṣemaṃ sarvagurur dhatte magaṇo bhūmidaivataḥ | karoty arthān ādilaghur yagaṇo jaladaivataḥ | (bhūti)dāyī madhyalaghū ragaṇao vaṃhnidaivataḥ | kṣayaṃ karoty aṃtyagurus sagaṇo vāyudaivataḥ | bhū(ti)m aṃtyalaghur dhatte tagaṇo*

Aside from ascribing to them a material consequence, the poeticians grant each metreme an elemental deity. As we saw in the case of the phonemes, the poeticians may disagree about whether a metreme will produce a positive or negative outcome; however, they are always in agreement about the metremes' respective divinities.

In both cases, meaning can modulate an entity's inherent properties, for better or for worse. For one, *A* is positive, unless it is being used in a compound in its negative sense. The same can be said for *Ā* (which can be a plaintive or angry cry) and *N*, the consonantal core of the negative particle *na*. On the other hand, inauspicious sound sequences can become auspicious when they combine to denote something auspicious, such as a deity. Gaurana makes this plain several verses later by citing a short series of maxims from other poetological treatises: "Words denoting deities and other things auspicious—whether written or spoken, they are never to be rejected" (*devatāvācakāḥ śabdā ye ca bhadrādivācakāḥ, te sarve naiva nindyā syur lipito gaṇato 'pi vā*). Gaurana cites this verse from the *Kavikaṇṭhapāśa*, but it can also be found in the *Alaṅkārasaṃgraha*. The same sentiment is also iterated by Viśveśvara: "When referring to auspicious things or mentioning gods, metremes and phonemes—like stones imbued with divinity—cannot be faulted" (*maṅgalārthābhidāne ca devānām aṅkane 'pi vā, gaṇā na duṣyā varṇāś ca devatādhiṣṭhitāśmavat*). That is to say, whatever malefic powers exist in the raw material may be ameliorated if the element comes to manifest the auspicious through its referential powers. Viśveśvara's simile is telling in that it points to the transmutation of a mundane object (here a stone) through certain ritual procedures (*adhiṣṭhāna*), as indicated by the phrase "imbued with divinity" (*devatādhiṣṭhita*). Initial sounds and sound sequences have become here objective facts; but their inherent properties can be subverted precisely through their capacity for meaning.

The system is then predictable in its basic form and interests if not necessarily stable in the particulars. As seen above, Gaurana points to the possibility (and, in fact, the presence) of difference din the discourse by giving both his view and that of the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* / *Camatkāracandrikā*. But more

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vyomadaivataḥ | *rujākaro madhyagurur jagaṇo bhānudaivataḥ* | *ādau gurus saukhyadāyī bhagaṇaś caṃdradaivataḥ* |. Gaurana's citation omits *na*-metreme, even though Viśveśvara does include it: "The *na*-metreme—all light syllables, the sacrifice its divinity—produces wealth." (*dhanaṅkaraḥ sarvalaghur nagaṇo yajñadaivataḥ*) than that, (in a statement admittedly obscure to me) Gaurana seemingly suggests that the analysis is in part problematic because it lacks grounding or is baseless (*amūlatvāt*). Though Gaurana had other—and earlier—works at hand, the authority of these works seems to have been debatable.

A sketch of the so-called Andhra school, 1100-1600 CE

But which poetological works could have been authoritative for Gaurana? What constitutes the Andhra school and when did it start?

There is difficulty in even saying when the so-called Andhra school began. Some evidence points to its being coeval with Telugu literature itself. The first extant work of Telugu poetology is a manual on metrics called *Kavijanāśrayamu* (*The Poets' Saving Grace*). The work was likely composed around 1100 CE, making it more or less contemporaneous with Nannayabhaṭṭa's *Mahābhārata*, considered the *ādikāvya* (first work of literature) in Telugu. In his edition of the text, T. Bhaskara Rao notes that some manuscripts contain a complete auspicious analysis of metremes, with some consideration of the individual phonemes; however—and his philological reasoning is not entirely transparent here—because this section is lacking in most manuscripts, he takes it to be a later interpolation.[19] The second work on Telugu metrics, *Gokarṇachaṃdamu* (*Gokarṇa's Prosody*), has been dated to about 1130 CE. It is not available in full but is known from quotations in three later works: Gaurana's *Lakṣaṇadīpikā*; Kākunūri Appakavi's *Appakavīyamu* (*Appakavi's Grammar*, ca. 1656 CE); and Kastūri Raṅgakavi's seventeenth-century *Ānandaraṅgarāṭchaṃdamu* (*Prosody for the King Ānandaranga*). Gaurana, for one, quotes a line from *Gokarṇachandamu*, seemingly on the auspicious analysis. Thus some of the school's concerns may be traceable to the twelfth century; or else, these earliest works as they were known to Gaurana and the others may have been revised and enlarged in later centuries. Regardless, even if the interest was present, it was not pervasive. It is, for instance, not present in the earliest work on Telugu grammar as such, Mulaghaṭika Ketana's *Āndhrabhāṣabhūṣaṇamu* (*Ornament for the Andhra Language*) which was written in the second half of the thirteenth century.

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[19] Vēmulavāda Bhīmakavi, *Kavijanāśrayamu*, ed. T. Bhāskararāvu (Guntur: Mahatī Granthamāla, 1969), 17.

The auspicious analysis, at least, is evinced more clearly by the late thirteenth century. Two Telugu works on Telugu metrics—*Atharvaṇachandassu* and *Śrīdharachandassu*—appear to have included some auspicious analysis of the metremes. However, like *Gokarṇachandamu*, they are only known from quotations in the later works of Gaurana, Appakavi, and Raṅgakavi. So they are presumably earlier than these three and are commonly considered to be later than *Kavijanāśrayamu* and *Gokarṇachandamu*. Also in this period is the anonymous *Kavikaṇṭhapāśa* (*A Leash for Poets*), which offers an auspicious analysis of the metremes and can frequently be found bundled into manuscripts of Kedarabhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara* (*The Sea of Meters*). The provenance of the work is unclear, but it definitely circulated in the south—in Andhra and as far as Sri Lanka. Whatever the case, it does appear that the metreme analysis is not just more stable (see previous section) but also older than the phoneme analysis. The early character of the metremic analysis—and, potentially, its having a separate genealogy—is corroborated by the *Prākṛtapiṅgala* (*A Founding Father for Prakrit Prosody*). The text, which Andrew Ollett has recently dated to about 1315, offers an auspicious analysis of metremes.[20] The work is nowhere quoted in the Andhra school; but Gaurana does take great pains to pay homage to Piṅgala in his *Lakṣaṇadīpikā*, recognizing his centrality to the discipline of metrics. And, finally, Śārṅgadeva's *Saṃgītaratnākara*—which has been consistently dated to the middle of the thirteenth century—bears witness to the familiar analysis of metremes. Śārṅgadeva also offers an auspicious analysis of the phonemes, which share properties according to their class (*varga*); in this regard, the phonemic analysis diverges from early instances of the Andhra auspicious analysis, which describes the power of each individual phoneme.[21]

Phonemes and metremes aside, the Andhra school is also characteristically concerned with a second matter: the categorization of minor panegyrical genres. This interest is only evinced from the fourteenth century. It first occurs in Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇam* (*An Ornament for the Fame of Pratāparudra*), which was written around 1320.[22] Still, the treatise lacks any trace of the auspicious analysis. It is not until the 1360s that both the classification of genres and auspicious analyses occur together in Viśveśvara's *Camatkāracandrikā* (*Moonbeam on Astonishment*, ca. 1366 CE) and Amṛtānandyogin's *Alaṅkārasaṃgraha* (*Poetics Digest*, ca. 1360 CE). In the absence of a clear root text, these two together are the best candidates for the Andhra school's seminal treatise(s).

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[20] Ollett, *Language of the Snakes*, 186. Further, in tracing the text to northern India, Ollett's work may complicate the seemingly southern origins of the auspicious analysis.

[21] See *Saṃgītaratnākara* 4.57-62.

[22] Part of the typology is prefigured—this time decidedly in Kalinga—in Viśvanātha's *Ekāvaḷi*.

To be sure, the poeticians who followed in their wake would address both topics in the same vein. Gaurana, for one, draws on both works and is among the first to cite Amṛtānandayogin and Viśveśvara. Another early successor is the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* (*The Crest-jewel of Literature*) of king Pĕda Komaṭi Vemā Rĕḍḍi (ca. 1403-1420), whose analysis Gaurana quotes—and whose analysis appears to have some relation to that found in the *Camatkāracandrikā*.[23] Following these, Puruṣottama Kavi's Sanskrit *Kavitāvatāra* (*The Avatar of Poesy*, ca. 1400) records both topics. Other early followers are attested in the region's literary commentaries. The most prominent—if not the earliest—example comes from Kŏlācala Mallinātha, the famous Sanskrit scholar and commentator. In his comments to the first verse of *Kirātārjunīya*, he cites *Alaṅkārasaṃgraha* in his analysis of the poem's initial phoneme and metreme. Around this same time, Telugu poetological treatises begin to treat both issues. Vinnakoṭa Pĕddana's *Kāvyālaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi* (*The Crown-jewel of Literary Ornaments*, ca. 1400-10) and Anantāmātya's *Chandodarpaṇamu* (*Mirror on Prosody*, ca. 1420) are the earliest of these. But the texts that immediately follow them offer more robust presentations. These are: *Kavigajāṅkuśamu* (*The Goad for Monstrous, Elephantine Poets*, ca. 1440?) by Bhairavakavi, Gaurana's son; Kācana Basavana's *Kavisarpagaruḍamu* (*An Eagle to Keep Snake-like Poets in Check*, ca. 1450); Citrakavi Pĕddana's *Lakṣaṇasārasaṃgrahamu* (*The Condensed Essentials of Poetics*, ca. 1550); and Liṅgamaguṇṭa Timmakavi's *Sulakṣaṇasāramu* (*The Very Essence of Poetics*, ca. 1560). These two concerns of the school would be evinced in commentaries and independent treatises well into the nineteenth century.

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[23] Sāyaṇa—the well-known commentator on the Veda—is the other: In his *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi* (*Ambrosial Moon of Rhetoric*) he cites Viśveśvara but only with regard to varieties of intricately patterned *citrakāvya*, which is not specific to the Andhra school.

Gaurana's place in the Andhra school

The foregoing delimits the Andhra school according to a basic chronology. I have tried to detail the works prior to Gaurana comprehensively, but have sketched in only a few after his day. While Gaurana explicitly cites many of these earlier poeticians, he does not treat them as definitive authorities; nor does Gaurana fully model his work on theirs. Though the works constitute a sort of corpus by virtue of their peculiar interests and provenance, individually the works of the Andhra school may be more or less invested in the Andhra school's trademark interests. Gaurana is particularly concerned with these peculiar Andhra topics, but most poeticians cover them only as a matter of course.

The texts of Viśveśvara and Amṛtānandayogin show this clearly, for they both take a comprehensive approach to poetics. They include the auspicious analysis, but it is not their key concern. As attested by his work's very title, Amṛtānandayogin sought to write a digest. And, indeed, the text effectively works as a primer on poetry and poetics (perhaps for his princely patron). The auspicious analysis is included, but only insofar as it is a part of a standard syllabus along with the definitions of rhetorical tropes and the like. Viśveśvara's work is similarly comprehensive. Unlike Amṛtānandayogin, however, he strives to offer a novel synthesis and statement on the very nature of poetry, which he organizes around the concept of *camatkāra* (astonishment or delight). Though he briefly considers the Andhra school's characteristic topics, Viśveśvara is primarily concerned with the communicative powers of poetic language. To this end, he details the functions commonly described in alaṃkāraśāstra—namely, direct denotation (*abhidhā*), figurative meaning (*lakṣaṇā*), and connotation (*vyañjana*). And so, near the outset he speaks of the *prayojana* (purpose) of poetry in this way: "The purpose of poetry is to instruct men in the matters of command and request; and instruction given wondrously will take hold" (*nṛṇāṃ vidhau ca nāthe ca śikṣā kāvyaprayojanam, śikṣā ca sacamatkāraṃ bodhitā sthiratāṃ bhajet*). Poetry in this formulation is a medium, a way of representing and communicating some sort of information.[24] For Viśveśvara, poetry's particular advantage and defining characteristic is that it can be especially astonishing. This astonishment, says Viśveśvara, is that which "brings a flood of joy upon the learned" (*camatkāras tu viduṣām ānandaparivāhakṛt*). Further, it has seven components—*guṇa, rīti, vṛtti, pāka, śayyā, rasa, alaṃkṛti* (special qualities, style, performative mode, maturity, perfection of diction, aestheticized emotion, and rhetorical ornamentation)—which are all based in the representational capacities of literary language. This is especially the case with *rasa, pāka, śayyā, guṇa*, and the section on word-level faults. Word-level faults are those that, by and large, present an obstacle to understanding. These are excused insofar as the superficial incoherence actually contributes to production of *camatkāra* or some lesser pleasure. In all, poetry is meant to instruct, or communicate information, in a striking and ultimately pleasing manner. Viśveśvara's text seeks to analyze the various ways that poetry can do this.

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[24] Compare to *Kāvyaprakāśa* 1.2 and auto-commentary, in which Mammaṭa also describes poetry's *prayojana* as being rooted in its unique communicative capacity.

Thus Viśveśvara and Amṛtānandayogin certainly carry the sign of the Andhra school, as their revision of the alaṃkāraśāstra syllabus shows; but that commitment is not so strong as to pull them away from the mainstream of poetics. This mainstream quality marks many of the aforementioned poetological successors to the *Alaṅkārasaṃgraha* and *Camatkāracandrikā*. This includes Telugu manuals such as *Kāvyālaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi* and *Chandodarpaṇamu*. The former text takes up the concerns of alaṃkāraśāstra, the latter metrics. It also includes Sanskrit works like the *Sāhityacintāmaṇi*, which seems to have taken Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* as its main model and interlocutor.[25] On this point, I differ from Shulman in my reading of Viśveśvara and the Andhra school. For Shulman, the central point of comparison lies in Kashmir, with someone like Abhinavagupta. In Abhinavagupta's case, the metaphysics of phonemic energies and efficacies (as elaborated in the *Tantrāloka*) is seemingly irrelevant to the theories on literature and poetic suggestion, which are rooted in what Shulman calls "metaphysical psychology."[26] In the case of Andhra in general and Viśveśvara in particular, he argues, the metaphysics of phonemes pervades the entire system in a way that transmutes its theory of aesthetic effects. The end result, according to Shulman, is that phonemes' objective magical powers undergird their usual communicative and aesthetic capabilities; and it is this added magical quality that gives Viśveśvara's usage of *camatkāra* a nuance that differentiates it from early usages in Kashmir (by the likes of Kṣemendra and Abhinavagupta). This is by implication true; however, as we have seen above, it is the (aggregate) communicative and referential power of sounds (in the form of words) that can override the more elementary energies. My contention then is that the split Shulman identifies in the Kashmiri case between a (Tantric) metaphysics of sound and a metaphysical psychology is also present in the Andhra school. That is to say, there may be two, more or less discrete approaches to language within the same text. Viśveśvara's express concern for the referential powers in his treatment of *camatkāra* points to this separation. Nonetheless, we must still follow Shulman in seeing this sonic metaphysics as pervasive in the Andhra school and, indeed, novel insofar as it is placed directly under the rubric of poetics.

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[25] P. Sriramamurti, *Contribution of Andhra to Sanskrit Literature* (Waltair: Andhra University, 1972).

[26] Shulman, "Notes on Camatkāra," 260.

But if this metaphysics of sound is not relevant to the traditional communicative and aesthetic problems of poetics, then what problems does it address? Some insight may come from the small set of authors who truly focus on the Andhra school's peculiar subjects. In this they mostly ignore the topics of beauty, pleasure, and the multitude of rhetorical ornaments and metrical variations. The first such text seems to have been the *Kavikaṇṭhapāśa* mentioned above. But Gaurana's *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* stands out over them all, for it offers the most in-depth analysis of auspiciousness in the Andhra school. The peculiar intensity of his focus is apparent in the opening of his work, where he lays out the syllabus for his project:

> (1) The origin of the phonemes, their manifestation, and their number; (2) their planets and core elemental association; (3) their proper and improper usage and the distinction between harsh (*rūkṣa*) and pleasing (*snigdha*) phonemes; (4) precepts about their use and their powers (felicitous and infelicitous); (5) the names of the metremes; (6) their presiding deities, their planets, and their powers; (7) the compatibility and incompatibility of the metremes; (8) their signs according to the sidereal zodiac (*nakṣatra*) and tropical zodiac (*rāśi*); (9) consideration of the ambrosial periods (*amṛtaveḷa*) and the strength of planetary influence (*grahāvasthā*); (10) the method of worshipping the Mother deities (*mātṛkās*); and (11) the characteristics of authors, patrons, literary compositions.[27]

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[27] *varṇānām udbhavaḥ paścād vyaktisaṃkhyātataḥ param | bhūtabījavicāraś ca tato varṇagrahāv api || anarhānahavedhaś ca rūkṣasnigdhavicāraṇā | prayoganirṇayas teṣāṃ śubhāśubhaphalāni ca || gaṇānāṃ cābhidhānāni svarūpāṇy adhidevatāḥ | varṇabhedagrahās tatra śubhāśubhaphalāni ca || mitrāmitravicāraś ca nakṣatrāṇi ca rāśayaḥ | mṛtaveḷāgrahāvasthāmātṛkāpū-*

He seems to have been matched only by his son Bhairavakavi, who writes a similarly concentrated manual in Telugu called *Kavigajāṅkuśamu* (*A goad for elephant-like poets*). This latter text, however, lacks the wealth of citations or argumentative depth found in the father's work.

Recalling the work of Viśveśvara and company throws the peculiarity of Gaurana's project into relief. As the table of contents reveals, Gaurana is almost completely silent about matters of meaning. He speaks not of a composition's being beautiful, interesting, or pleasing; nor does he speak much about language's capacity for communication or representation. Rather, he addresses those powers of language that precede any of the recognized semantic operations. He speaks of the raw, phonetic material in the language as being either fit—that is, pure and auspicious—or unfit. Therefore, he speaks of the *phala* (consequences, or fruits) of poetry. Or else, he delineates the astrological affinities of poetic elements. Presumably he would not oppose the notion that literature should be beautiful; but he simply has other concerns. He intends a different contribution, something distinct from the information usually on offer in poetological treatises. This is clear in his treatment of *rasa*, which comprises a strikingly brief nine verses. Here he communicates the essential information on the rasas—what they are, which are compatibile with which, and which incompatible. Beyond this, he only enumerates their presiding deities (*adhidevatās*) and the colors (*varṇas*) associated with them. Though quoted almost verbatim from Amṛtānandayogin's *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*, this is only a fifth of the information Amṛtānandayogin offers and a small fraction of what one can find on *rasa* elsewhere. Gaurana himself speaks to this explicitly (if only in passing) when he alludes to the many varieties of the rasa of Passion (*śṛṅgāra*). He says these are elaborated elsewhere by those who are learned precisely in the study of rasa (*tacchāstrakovidaiḥ*). Thus, rasa is important, to be sure: However well-made it may be, an utterance without rasa is as tasteless as a dish without salt (*sādhupākam anāsvādyaṃ bhojyaṃ nirlavaṇaṃ yathā tathaiva nīrasaṃ vākyam*). Nevertheless, Gaurana seems to identify the study of things like rasa as a distinct field of knowledge. Such inattention to ordinary aesthetics and its affective and semantic dimensions is typical.

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janakramaḥ || kartuḥ kārayituś caiva prabandhānāṃ ca lakṣaṇam |

Gaurana's treatise is thus not meant to treat the entirety of Sanskrit poetics and explain how to make poetry beautifully. Rather it purports to be a comprehensive manual on composing auspiciously. He insists on this point at the end of his introduction, where he offers a series of four verses (three quotations, one original) that explain the importance of the syllabus he has just set out:

> If a poet should utter a verse without knowing all of this [i.e. the syllabus of topics outlined above],
> Like a monkey up a Ketaka tree he would be all pierced through with thorns.
>
> Similarly, it is said in *The Crown-jewel of Literature*:
>
> He who knows neither all the meters nor their properities, and
> Yet still writes prose and verse–He is the Death of kings.
>
> And in the *Moonlight on Astonishment*:
>
> If even a single fault is seen, a myriad of observances are wasted.
> Such is the innate power of faults. So, what are we to do?
>
> And my very own:
>
> With an intellect adept in the deed of designing amazing poesy
> a wise and ambitious man should avoid faults like poison.[28]

The verses all make the same claim: Understanding literary language's infra-semantic properties and avoiding truly infelicitous usage is critical for the maintanence of life and livelihood. As the first quotation suggests, the poet himself is imperiled by reckless usage. And, as the second quotation and Gaurana's own verse argue, royal personages (presumably insofar as they are the patrons of literature) find their own wealth and well-being imperiled by poets who are untutored in such occult material. One need only recall the tales of Vemulavāḍa's dreaded poet.

This level of concern is a significant departure from the core alaṃkāraśāstra tradition headed by Daṇḍin. The auspicious beginning is no longer an option alongside the narrative incipit; nor is it a matter of propitiating god(s) for the removal of obstacles to the poet's composition and the audience's understanding, as the commentarial tradition would have it. The Andhra school does come to stipulate that all poetic works should be preceded by the propitiation of deities known as the *mātṛkā-s* or Mother deities. This, however, diverges from the wider practice of reciting a maṅgala verse in crucial ways. For one, while the maṅgala verse may be predictable, poets do have a great deal of room for innovation. The Andhra poeticians, on the other hand, stipulate what comes to be a fixed ritual meditation / visualization (Sanskrit *dhyāna*) as part of the worship of these mother deities (Sanskrit *mātṛkāpūjā*). Second, while both practices are expressly for an auspicious beginning, the literary maṅgala verse is also meant to ensure that the work be well-understood and generally well-received in the world. The *mātṛkāpūjā* of the Andhra school, on the other hand, is part of the larger demand to negotiate elemental, potentially perilous powers associated with the elements of language. Poetry then, according to the Andhra school, is a serious business demanding great precision on the part of the poet.

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[28] *etat sarvam avijñāya yadi padyam vadet kaviḥ | ketakārūḍhakapivat bhavet kaṇṭakavedhitaḥ || kiṃ ca sāhityacūḍāmaṇau | anekachandasāṃ samyag ajñātvā lakṣaṇāni ca | karoti gadyapadyāni prabhūṇāṃ mṛtyur eva saḥ || camatkāracandrikāyāṃ | ekasminn api naṣṭaṃ syād dṛṣṭe doṣe vratāyutaṃ | doṣasyaitavatī śaktiḥ sahajā kiṃ nu kurmahe || mamaiva | tasmād vismayakāraṇakavitānirmāṇakarmakuśaladhiyā | sudhiyā viṣavat tyājyo nāyakarājyābhilāṣinā doṣaḥ||*

Sources of authority

It is this demand for precision that seems to condition the structure and scope of Gaurana's work. For most of the Andhra ālaṃkārikas, the analysis stops with the phoneme and metreme lists (items 3-6 in the syllabus above). But if we recall Gaurana's plan for the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā*, we see that his presentation of the phonemes, metremes, and their consequences is but a fraction of the material. The lists are preceded by remedial discussions of what these entities are, and they are followed by a series of more advanced topics that build upon the basic schema. In this, Gaurana may be attempting to ameliorate the problem voiced in the elliptical statement that follows the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* / *Camatkāracandrikā* list excerpted above. In this statement he suggests that one's analysis may lack grounding and authority—that is, may be baseless or *amūla*. I would suggest that, in expanding the scope of the usual analysis, Gaurana seems to be building—or, perhaps more accurately, shoring up—the system from the ground up and working out its implications. Throughout all of his judgments, Gaurana draws on two main sources of authority: *mantraśāstra* and astrology (*jyotiḥśāstra*). The following sections will work through the way that Gaurana uses these as evidence in his argument. In the first, I will show the place of *mantraśāstra* in Gaurana's remedial investigation of the phonemes and how he lays the groundwork for his obligatory list of phonemes and their auspicious and inauspicious outcomes (*śubhāśubhaphala*). Next, I will move up a level to Gaurana's analysis of metremes and their combinations. It is from this perspective that I will work through his use of *jyotiḥśāstra*. Finally, I will attempt to render explicit the basis of their authority, especially as they measure up to the standards of *śruti* and *smṛti* alongside the precedents set by great poets (*mahākaviprayoga*).

The nature of phonemes: *Mantraśāstra* as a model

It is in the remedial discussion of the phonemes that Gaurana first harkens to non-poetological texts. In particular, he references two works—the *Śāradātilaka* (*The Forehead-mark of Śāradā, the Goddess of Language*) of Lakṣmaṇadeśika[29] and the *Prapañcasāra* (*The Essence of the Emanation*) attributed to Śaṅkarācārya.[30] The history of both texts is obscure. Alexis Sanderson has proposed that the works be considered part of the *Āṅgirasakalpa* corpus, which he has connected to communities of Atharvaveda brahmans in Odisha.[31] G. Bühnemann has dated the *Prapañcasāra* (PS) to the tenth or eleventh century and the *Śāradātilaka* (ŚT) to about the twelfth.[32] In any case, it is generally agreed that, in relative terms, the ŚT is the later of the two works, for it rearranges (seemingly for clarity) and elaborates upon the presentation of the PS. With regard to their subject matter, the two texts are exemplars of the subfield of *mantraśāstra*, the study of verbal formulas (Sanskrit *mantra*) used in tantric ritual. On the whole, tantric texts (like those referenced above) elaborate a complex metaphysics where sonic energies emanate from the divine to constitute the fabric of the universe as we (should) know it. The power and critical importance of sound and speech are particularly and predictably apparent in *mantraśāstra*. The field's texts build upon this metaphysics and concern themselves especially with its practical application in constructing mantras for ritual: Here the power of mantra is not semantic—neither does it force, nor does it beseech a deity to act; rather, its power is rooted in the fact that sound pervades through all of reality such that there is no separation between language, the human, and the divine.[33] The proper construction and application of mantras simply makes manifest divine powers inherent in the sound. Thus the digests of mantraśāstra stipulate not just the significance of phonemes and their associations and affinities with various divine powers but also general prerequisities and procedures for using mantras, instructions for particular mantras, and instructions for visualization rituals (*dhyāna*).

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[29] Lakṣamaṇadeśika, *Śāradātilakatantram, with the commentary Pādārthādarśa of Rāghavabhaṭṭa*, ed. Arthur Avalon (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1982).

[30] Aṭalānanda Sarasvatī, ed., *Prapañcasāra Tantra of Śankarācārya, with the Commentary Vivaraṇa by Padmapādācārya and Prayogakramadīpikā—a Vṛtti on the Vivaraṇa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2002 [1935]).

[31] Alexis Sanderson, "Atharvavedins in Tantric Territory: The *Āṅgirasakalpa Texts of the Oriya Paippalādins and their Connection with the Trika and the Kālīkula*," in *The Atharvaveda and its Paippalāda Śākhā: Historical and Philological Papers on a Vedic Tradition*, ed. Arlo Griffiths and Annette Schmiedchen, vol. 11, Geisteskultur Indiens: Texte und Studien (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2007), 195–311.

[32] Gudrun Bühnemann, *Iconography of Hindu Tantric Deities: The pantheon of the Prapañcasāra and the Śāradātilaka*, vol. 2, Gonda indological series 9 (Brill, 2001).

Previous treatments of the Andhra school have noted that the metaphysical orientation of the ālaṃkārikas' analysis echoes the linguistic and sonically-inclined metaphysics of *tantra*. Shulman, as we have seen, has noted so much; thus his using as a point of comparison Abhinavagupta, who lays out a phoneme-by-phoneme list in the *Tantrāloka*. That said, the comparison here is primarily typological. Though a general relation to the tantric mode of thought is presumed, no direct links are posited and, as I have argued, the tantric linguistic metaphysics remains largely separate. Earlier work by Sarasvati Mohan also notes the similarity between the Tantric analysis and the ālaṃkārika analysis, going so far as to present extracts from Andhra poetological treatises (like the one we saw above) side-by-side with extracts from Tantric works like the *Uddhāraṇakośa* [*Dictionary of Mantric Utterance*].[34] More than this, however, Mohan argues for explicit continuities, with Gaurana as an apparent nexus between the usually distinct traditions:

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[33] Patton E. Burchett, "The 'Magical' Language of Mantra," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 76, no. 4 (December 2008): 831. See also André Padoux, *Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras*, trans. Jacques Gontier (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).

[34] See the introduction in Viśveśvara, *The Camatkāracandrikā of Śrī Viśveśvara Kavicandra: Critical Edition and Study*, ed. Sarasvati Mohan (Delhi: Meharchand Lachhmandas, 1972), 71-99. See also: Sarasvati Mohan, "The Mystic Significance of Letters: Their Application to the Art of Poetic Composition," *Adyar Library Bulletin*, 1963, 89–115.

> According to Tantra, all letters from 'A' to 'Kṣa' are auspicious and each of them is said to have some intrinsic value or potency. . . . Particular syllables or letters are associated with particular deities and certain Vibhūtis or aspects of those deities are said to be inherent in those Varṇas or letters. . . . [Still] some of them [i.e. letters] are considered as having more potency....Thus it is the Tantric school that had systematically recognized the mystic significance of letters and made ubiquitous use of it. This fact is clearly borne out by the references of Gauranārya in his Lakṣaṇadīpikā and Padārthadīpikā to many of the Tantric texts such as Śāradātilaka, Prapañcasāra and Mantradarpaṇa."[35]

Mohan's proposition here—that the system of the Andhra school is, as Gaurana's work shows, indebted to the researches of the Tantric school—requires qualification. Gaurana does draw upon the mantraśāstra texts. Yet, despite these texts having rather robust schemas for the powers of phonemes from *A*-to-*KṢA*, Gaurana does not reference these sections in his auspicious analysis proper. Rather, he draws upon *mantraśāstra* in the sections leading up the auspicious analysis.

Gaurana here executes his first move in reinforcing the system: defining the phoneme, the fundamental element of language and literature. Where do these phonemes come from? What are they made of? How many are there? Before giving his version of the standard phonemic analysis, Gaurana spends almost twenty verses outlining the nature of the phonemes and how they come to be. The explanation describes how sound is physically produced; but, in greater detail, it describes their metaphysical character. For Gaurana, mantraśāstra's comprehensive and systematic treatment of the matter offers a well-wrought foundation for the ālaṃkārika analysis.

Such recourse to mantraśāstra is borne out by Gaurana's first two points—on the phonemes' origin (*varṇodbhava*) and manifestation (*varṇavyakti*). Initially, however, poetological texts seem to have some standing insofar as their linguistics assumes the metaphysics of tantra. Indeed, Gaurana's first source on the origin of the phonemes is the above-cited *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*. Based on this work, we are told that the phonemes have a divine derivation, with the "cause of their birth being Śiva—the divine god who is the *bindu*—joined with his female counterpart" (*vadanti vibudhās sarve varṇāṇāṃ janmakāraṇam śivayā saha divyaṃ taṃ devaṃ bindvātmakaṃ śivam*). The references to Śiva, the *bindu* ("singularity" or "drop"), Śiva's female counterpart (*Śivā*), and the phonemes' coming from these are as good as the

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35. Viśveśvara, *Camatkāracandrikā*, 72-3.

trademarked language of a tantric linguistic metaphysics. According to the basic cosmogony presented in *Śāradātilaka* (as translated by Padoux), from Śiva, "the supreme Lord, . . . was born the [phonic] energy [śakti]. Out of that came the nāda and out of nāda, bindu, which is a manifestation of the supreme energy, and which itself divides into three;" from the tripartite bindu (viz. *bindu, nāda, bīja*) comes *śabdabrahman*, which takes the shape of the *kuṇḍalinī* (coiled serpent); thence come the phonemes, then speech; then the gods, the elements, and the whole phenomenal world.[36] The only difference seems to be the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*'s reference to Śivā where the ŚT speaks of *śakti* or Śiva's "[phonic] energy," which is grammatically and conceptually figured as female.

Gaurana ultimately accepts the view of the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*. Nevertheless, he appears to find it wanting precisely because its language diverges from the standard description. Gaurana follows the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* excerpt with a half-line of verse taken from the *Śāradātilaka* 1.113: "the phonemes are born from the *bindu*, which consists of Śiva and Śakti" (*jātā varṇā yato bindoḥ śivaśaktimayād ataḥ*). Here he effectively glosses the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi's* "female counterpart" with Śakti, the female manifestation of the god Śiva's generative power. Further, Gaurana's citing of the *Śāradātilaka* could be seen not just as a clarifying gloss but as a correction. The *bindu*—which, as Padoux glosses it is the "'drop' of energy . . . concentrated upon itself, and therefore endowed with special potency" (to precipate the manifestation of all reality)—is not, strictly speaking, made up of Śiva alone (*bindvātmakaṃ śivaṃ*).[37] To be more precise, as the Śāradātilaka has it, the *bindu* is that stage of the emanation constituted by Śiva who is still conjoined with Śakti; it is only in later stages that the two divide (and thus unleash the previously latent *śakti*).[38]

Even so, the turn to mantraśāstra is not absolute; when it proves imprecise or elliptical Gaurana will turn to properly linguistic texts. For example, on the basic matter of how the phonemes are spoken, the intial citation comes from the *Prapañcasāra*: "Blown by the wind, expelled through the opening of the *suṣumnā*, touching some place (such as the throat), they are manifested on the mouth"

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[36] Padoux, *Vāc*, 87. Padoux is here translating from the first chapter of ŚT. The Kashmiri Śaivas, especially of the Trika, present a different view. For this theory of phonic emanation see chapters 4 through 6 in *Vāc*.

[37] ibid., 105.

[38] ibid., 106.

(*samīritāḥ samīreṇa suṣumnārandhranirgatāḥ vyaktiṃ prayānti vadane kaṇṭhādisthānaghaṭṭitāḥ*). The passage touches on the production and movement of breath through the body and to the mouth, the organ of speech. The places of articulation (*sthāna*) are given in an abbreviated form, *kaṇṭhādi* (the throat, etc.). Thus Gaurana adduces a decidedly grammatical text, *Rūpāvatāra*, to specify all eight places for the articulating phonemes (viz. chest, throat, head, root of the tongue, teeth, nose, lips, and palate) (*aṣṭau sthānāni varṇānāṃ uraḥ kaṃṭhaḥ śiras tathā jiṃhvāmūlaṃ ca daṃttaś ca nāsikoṣṭhau ca tālu ca*). But, unlike the case above, this is only because the PS leaves the matter unelaborated—not because it has gotten something wrong. Ultimately, though he dispenses with both points quickly, Gaurana disregards neither set of sources. His primary aim seems to be precision and the precise documentation of sources for each point.

Still, the status of these authorities becomes clearer as Gaurana settles the question of the number of actually existing phonemes (*varṇasaṃkhyā*). The controversy begins with what seem to be competing accounts from his two mantraśāstra authorities. The opinion of the ŚT—that the phonemes are fifty-one—is the first to be adduced.[39] Next come poetological and linguistic opinions: the number forty-nine from Camatkāracandrika; sixty-three or sixty-four (from Śaṃbu by way of a *Tribhāṣyaratnākara*).[40] These are offered but summarily ignored. In the end, Gaurana must bring the authority of the PS to bear on the issue. His judgment revolves around the status of the retroflex *Ḷ* and the conjunct *KṢA*. On the first account, the difference between the dental *L* and the retroflex *Ḷ* is dissolved: He argues that they must have been born of the same phonemic deity (*mātṛkā*), since the retroflex is not said to have one of its own (*laḷayor abhedaḥ antarmātṛkāyāṃ ḷakārasyānuktatvāc ca*). Nonetheless, he admits the retroflex *Ḷ* by acknowledging that there are fifty-one *akṣaras* or graphemes, but only fifty metaphysically significant *varṇas* or phonemes.[41] On the other hand, some remove the conjunct

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[39] ŚT 2.3cd, 2.4cd: *svarāḥ ṣoḍaśavikhyātāḥ sparśās te pañcaviṃśatiḥ | [. . .] vyāpakāḥ daśa te kāmadhanadharmapradāyinaḥ.*

[40] Camatkāracandrikā omits the retroflex *Ḷ*. The augmented number of 63 (or numerologically significant 64) presumably comes from the addition of *jihvāmūlīya*, *upadhmānīya*, and a number of transitional or weakly articulated forms. See: Padoux, *Vāc*, 161-2.

[41] The use of *akṣara* in the sense of "grapheme" is common in Kannaḍa materials from the tenth century on. See: Pollock, *Language of the Gods*, 307-9.

KṢA from the count since it can be divided into its constituent parts, *KA* and *ṢA*. Yet Gaurana does not relinquish it as a discrete phoneme because it is universally recognized by his mantraśāstra authorities. Namely, the PS recognizes *KṢA* as a conjunct, but ascribes to it its own, appropriately conjunct deity—the man-lion avatar of Viṣṇu (*kṣakāras tena saṃjāto nṛsiṃhas tasya devatā*). Having given this pronouncement, Gaurana also cites two other works that agree with his decision: one work on mantra (*Mantradarpaṇa*).[42] and one poetological (*Kavikaṇṭhapāśa*). Thus Gaurana explains the view of the poetological / linguistic texts, which are shown to have some purchase regarding the conventions of grammatical analysis and the realities of writing practice. Yet he also shows the authority of mantraśāstra, which turns out to be decisive in the ultimately metaphysical rudiments of the system. Still, there is a hierarchy amongst even the tantric texts, seemingly based in the relative authority of their authors. Aside from the argument grounded in the number of *mātṛkā* phonemic deities, Gaurana argues further that the Prapañcasāra's number fifty is to be accepted precisely because the teaching comes from Śaṅkarācārya (*śaṅkarācāryena pārthakyenoktatvāt tasmād varṇāḥ pañcāśad eva*).

The recourse to mantraśāstra for the analysis of phonemic powers more or less ends there. The ŚT and PS are further adduced to give three other classifications of the phonemes: according to whether they are *mahāprāṇa* (of great breath) or *alpaprāṇa* (of weak breath); according to whether they are pleasing (*snigdha*) or harsh (*rūkṣa*); and according to their elemental affinities. This last system classifies the phonemes into five groups of ten, with each group corresponding to one of the five elements (*pañcabhūta*)—wind, fire, earth, water, sky. These all appear in Telugu poetological treatises from the late fifteenth century on.[43] So, despite harkening explicitly to a mantraśāstra metaphysics, Gaurana does present literary works on the whole as *mantras*. Where a tantric literary analysis might target an extended passage or text,[44] the Telugu poeticians are concerned only with the opening of the poem

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[42] This is the only time Gaurana cites *Mantradarpaṇa*. And his using it this way suggests that it is at least less authoritative than the ŚT and PS.

[43] These are: Bhairavakavi's *Kavigajāṃkuśamu*, the *Appakavīyamu*, and Citrakavi Pĕddana's *Lakṣaṇasārasaṃgrahamu*. These sections have been extracted in: Mohan, "Mystic Significance."

[44] A striking example of this is are the tantric commentaries of the *Saundaryalahari* illuminated in David Shulman, "How to Bring a Goddess into Being through Visible Sound," in *The Poetics of Grammar and the Metaphysics of Sound and Sign*, ed. S. La Porta and David Shulman, vol. 6, Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 323-339.

(*kāvyamukhe*, *kāvyādau*), which comprises at most the first six syllables. Thus, the only linguistic units that matter are the phoneme, the metreme, and only occasionally the lexeme.

That said, Gaurana does not merely appeal to the authority of mantraśāstra. He also tries to emulate it. Thus, his own analysis of the phonemes tends toward the form of the mantraśāstra analysis. Thence, I would argue, comes Gaurana's peculiarly robust analysis of the vowels wherein he stipulates the color, power, and divinity of each vowel sound. On the whole, mantraśāstra more fully explicates the qualities of each *varṇa*, describing more than just the fruit of their use. As we have seen in the case of the conjunct consonant *KṢ*, the PS will stipulate a deity (*devatā*) for an syllable. What is more, as the fourth chapter of the PS details, syllables may each be individually connected to celestial bodies, an explicitly feminine generative power / goddess (*śakti*), and have some color (*varṇa*). In this case, I would argue that we should not see mantraśāstra as the source of the auspicious analysis insofar as I have not been able to find any direct source for Gaurana's description of the vowels in the PS, ŚT, or elsewhere. Rather, for Gaurana mantraśāstra stands as a model for the depth of its analysis. Having documented (with appropriate citations) the metaphysical presuppositions of a systematic phonemic analysis, his analysis should appear to have the same rigor as the mantraśāstra analysis even if does not actually agree in its particulars.

A similar orientation is also borne out by the references to texts of mantraśāstra in later sections on the worship of the Mother deities (*mātṛkāpūjana*), ritual procedures that are to be carried out before the recitation of a literary work. The core of this procedure appears to be *dhyāna* or ritual visualization of a *mātṛkā*, which should correspond to the caste of the literary work's patron. Sources for these *dhyānas* are not forthcoming. Some are ascribed to the *Nidhipradīpikā*, but the identity of this work is unclear.[45] The *mātṛkās* to be worshipped do not correspond to any of the common lists of eight *mātṛkās* or names of the goddess. Nor do they correspond to the *mātṛkās* named in the PS

See also reference to tantric readings of Śrīharṣa's celebrated Naiṣadhacarita discussed in Deven M. Patel, *Text to Tradition: The* Naiṣadhīyacarita *and Literary Community in South Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 140-151.

[45] It does not match identically titled work on hunting treasure-hordes published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Other possible titles (if there has been some orthographical mistake has been transmitted) could be: *Vidhipradīpikā* or *Si[d]dhipradīpikā*.

or ŚT. The *dhyānas* offered by Gaurana are only to be found in later poetological works. Gaurana offers four elaborate *gadya* passages to for the visualization of the *mātṛkās* of *brahmans*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, and *śūdras* respectively. The same *dhyāna* passages are found later in Telugu poetological manuals, namely the *Sulakṣaṇasāramu* and *Lakṣaṇaśiromaṇi*. The citations in these two texts are from *Nidhipradīpikā* with no reference to Gaurana's work. While Gaurana cites earlier works and contemporaries (*Sāhityacandrodaya*, *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*, and *Sāhityaratnākara*) that declare the necessity of propitiating the *mātṛkās*, it is not clear whether or not they prescribed specific procedures for doing so. And even Gaurana does not give these poetological *dhyānas* in his initial *Lakṣaṇadīpikā*.

Instead he turns again to *mantraśāstra*. Citing ŚT 6.12-15, he describes the basic procedures for honoring a *mātṛkā*—namely that such a deity should be borne on a throne whose base is the "lotus of phonemes" (*varṇābjenāsanaṃ dadhyād mūrtiṃ mūlena kalpayet āvāhya pūjayet tasyāṃ devīm āvaraṇais saha*). Gaurana then goes further and draws on the PS to specify the exact dimensions and formation of this phonemic lotus.[46] To worship the mātṛkās without taking into account these basic procedures, he says, amounts to a fault (*evam akaraṇe doṣaḥ*). While poetological texts dictated the necessity for the auspicious analysis, it is *mantraśāstra* that provides the theoretical framework for actually doing so.

Astrological authorities in the analysis of metremes

The dictates of *mantraśāstra* carry less weight, however, when Gaurana shifts his analysis to the metreme. For one, from Gaurana's presentation, it appears that from the beginning the poetological tradition provided more robust dictates and resources for the auspicious analysis of metremes. This may not be a surprise. More than the phoneme, the metreme is a unit particular to poetic literature. In line with this, Gaurana recognizes that the formal names and definitions of the metremes were set long ago by Piṅgala in the *Chandaḥśāstra* (second century BCE).[47] Further—as we saw above—even the earliest analysis posited a deity for each metreme in addition to some favorable or unfavorable consequence. And on this point, after setting out the basic form of the metremes, Gaurana cites another poetological text—this time the *Sāhityaratnākara*, a work of the Andhra school. From this reference, we learn that the deities of the metremes are forms of Śiva (*gaṇadevatā sāhityaratnākare – bhūjalāgnimarudvyomasūryasomātkasaṃjñikāḥ mūrtayaḥ* ***śaṅkarasy****āṣṭau gaṇānāṃ devatāḥ smṛtāḥ*). On this point, poetology seems to be sufficient. What is more, Gaurana's immediate poetological predecessors—*Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi, Sāhityaratnākara, and Sāhityacandrodaya*—attribute further associations to the metremes, namely colors (*varṇa*), planets (*graha*), and sidereal and tropical zodiac signs (*nakṣatra, rāśi*) for each metreme.

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[46] *varṇābje lakṣaṇaṃ prapañcasāre [7.7] 'bhihitam | vyomāviḥsacaturdaśasvaravisargāntasphuratkarṇikaṃ kiñjalkālikhitasvaraṃ pratidalaṃ prārabdhavargāṣṭakam | kṣmābimbena ca saptamārṇavayujāsrāśāsu saṃveṣṭitaṃ | varṇābjaṃ śirasi smṛtaṃ viṣagadapradhvaṃsi mṛtyuñjayam | evam akaraṇe doṣaḥ |*

[47] *gaṇābhidhānāni chandasi | mayarasatajabhanalagaṃ sammatam | bhramati vāṅmayaṃ jagati yasyeti gaṇasvarūpāṇi |*

Yet the presentation of these other attributes belies the apparent precedence of the poetological *śāstra*: Poetology does not always determine the logic that governs these advanced associations. The question Gaurana poses to introduce the topic of the metremes' colors alludes to the possibility that other frameworks might be operative here. He does not begin by asking, "*What* are the colors of the metremes?" (*gaṇānāṃ ke varṇāḥ*) but rather "The metremes have the color *of which things*?" (*keṣāṃ varṇāḥ*). The question reveals that before specifying the colors of the metremes it is necessary to specify the grounds on which these colors are to be specified. To this point Gaurana cites the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*, which declares that the colors of the metremes are just the colors of their presiding deities (*svasvādhidevatānāṃ ye varṇās te ceti viśrutā*). In this case, poetology has stipulated a framework for generating further attributes. But Gaurana shows that the rules for applying this framework often reside under the jurisdiction of non-poetological texts. So, even though he offers an elaborate verse of his own composition to specify the colors of the deities and metremes, he immediately cites the PS and ŚT to corroborate his statement.

But the turn to mantraśāstra is brief. Colors and deities aside, the other properties have a distinctly astrological character, with the metremes subsisting under the influence of planetary and zodiacal bodies. For this reason, Gaurana turns to both astrology and poetology, albeit to different ends. To open up the discussion of the metremes' planets, Gaurana does have at his disposal a poetological text—

this time the *Sāhityaratnākara*: "Intelligent men say that the metremes of Fire, Earth, Sky, Water, and Wind correspond to the list of planets starting with Mars" (*vahnikṣmākhāmbumarutāṃ vadanti manīṣiṇaḥ gaṇān bhaumādikān tattatgaṇānāṃ ca yathākramam*). As we saw in the case of mantraśāstra and the phonemes, Gaurana here uses astrology to reinforce the poetological statement. In this case, he uses the *Bṛhajjātaka* (*The Big Book on Nativities*), a seminal work on astrology by Varāhamihira (fourth century CE): "As [it says] in the *Bṛhajjātaka*: 'For the groups associated with Fire, Earth, Sky, Water, and Wind, the lords are, in order, [the planets] beginning with Mars'" (*śikhibhūkhapayomarutganāṇāṃ adhipā bhūmisutādayaḥ*). The *Bṛhajjātaka* reference here grounds the equivalencies set out in the *Sāhityaratnākara*. The reference to an older attestation of the two sets (elemental and planetary) serves to make the implicit framework explicit. Nonetheless, an ellipsis remains. The list of elemental deities omits the Sun and the Moon, which preside over the *ja*-metreme and *bha*-metreme respectively. Gaurana notes this explicitly and explains that the *ja*-metreme and *bha*-metreme are omitted because they already have planetary overlords in their deities—the Sun and the Moon (*jagaṇabhagaṇau [. . .] nijādhidevatāgrahau*). This time, however, he cites the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*, which gives the list of planets—Sun and Moon inclusive—to go along with the metremes. Here the reference fulfills the need for clarity regarding the particulars (similar to the case of the *Rūpāvatāra*'s filling in an ellipsis in the PS). The *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*, however, could not have been used alone since the ordering of its list is basically poetological. Its metreme list starts—as most metreme list are wont to do—with the *ma*-metreme,[48] which has Earth as its divinity and Mercury as its planet (*mayarasatajabhagaṇānāṃ budhakavikujasaurijīvaravicandrāḥ*). Subsequently, even though its list of planets covers more than that of the *Bṛhajjātaka*, its manner of sequencing—and thus establishing correspondences—does not fully adhere to astrological precedent.

But when it comes to resolving true discrepancies, it is precisely the proof provided by astrology's system that becomes most consequential. So much is borne out when Gaurana elaborates upon the implications of using metremes in various contexts. His base text for considering the metremes is the *Camatkāracandrikā*. Yet Gaurana here considers each metreme in turn, with an eye toward the neutralization of inherently inauspicious metremes and the evaluation of conflicting poetological assertions. The most problematic case in this regard is the *bha*-metreme, which has the Moon as its presiding deity and planet. Viśveśvara describes the *bha*-metreme as bestowing comfort (*saukhyadāyī*). But Gaurana finds a dissenting opinion from the *Sāhityaratnākara*, which claims that: "When a dim-witted poet uses it at the start of piece of prose or verse, the *bha*-metreme—black on account of the Moon—spells the end for the poem's patron" (*kavinā gadyapadyādau prayukto mūḍhacetasā kṛtānto bhagaṇo bhartuḥ kṛṣṇavarṇiniśākare*). This view from the *Sāhityaratnākara* is completely recast as Gaurana explains that the Moon's qualities are inherently mutable:

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[48] See, for instance, Gaurana's citation of *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*, which itself follows Kedara's *Vṛttaratnākara* 1.6ab.

> Tradition has it that Moon is dark in color; but it has been well-established that it consists of water. As Varāhamihira says: 'While the Moon, which is made of water [. . .].' [And] water is actually transparent in color. . . . As a crystal is red in the presence of the China Rose, so does the Moon's color depend on the influence of this-or-that conditioning factor. As it is said in the *Saṃhitāsāra*: 'The Moon's color depends on the influence of this-or-that conditioning factor. Red, yellow, white, and dark: these are the four colors of the Moon. The colors of the Moon are produced by the colors of the [other] planets.' Therefore, the Moon's being black in color is actually possible; [and] a black Moon is fatal. Even this statement is made according to the very same text [i.e. *Saṃhitāsāra*]: 'When there's a red Moon, war. When it's dark, death—no doubt. When it's yellow, there's good fortune. When it's white, the most auspicious circumstances.' Thus does the Moon-governed *bha*-metreme bestow fruit in accordance to its color.[49]

The discussion is concluded by reference to the *Sāhityaratnākara* (unfortunately damaged in the manuscript), which seems to explain that given the reflective character of the Moon relative to the other planets, the *bha*-metreme also takes on properties of the metreme that follows it. While Gaurana employs the poetological text to render his conclusion absolutely clear, he relies upon exposition from Varāhamihira and the *Saṃhitāsāra*[50] to make his case—for a case he must make. Gaurana presents two conflicting but equally traditional pieces of wisdom regarding the Moon's properties. On the one hand, he labels the *Sāhityaratnākara*'s view as traditional wisdom or *aitihya*; while on the other hand, he notes an equally well-established or *prasiddha* view that the Moon consists of water. Because these two views seem to be equally valid, Gaurana must in the end resort to a more rigorous method.

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[49] *nanu candraḥ kṛṣṇavarṇa ity aitihyāṃ | salilātmaka iti prasiddhaḥ | tathā varāhamihiraḥ | salilamaye śaśini [. . .] | salilasya śuklarūpatvam eva | [. . .] tathā | japākusumāsāṃnidhyāt sphaṭikasya raktateti | śaśini ca tattadupādhivaśāt tattadrupatā vidyata eva | tathā saṃhitāsāre | śanaiścaraḥ tattadupādhivaśāt tattadrūpatā vidyata eva | raktaṃ pītaṃ sitaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ candravarṇacatuṣṭayaṃ | grahavarṇena varṇāś ca śaśāṅkasya prajāyate | tasmāc candrakṛṣṇavarṇatvaṃ saṃbhavaty eva kṛṣṇacandro mṛtyukṛt | etad apy uktaṃ yathā tasminn eva | raktacandre bhaved yuddhaṃ kṛṣṇe mṛtyur na saṃśaya | pīte śubhaṃ vijāniyāt śvete śubhataraṃ bhavet | iti candrādhiṣṭhito bhagaṇaḥ tattadvarṇānurūpaphalaṃ dadāti ||*

[50] The identity of this text is not clear to me. As the quotation is not in Prakrit (and elsewhere Gaurana leaves non-

By citing Varāhamihira and the *Saṃhitāsāra*, Gaurana reproduces the work that these texts do in order to establish the basic properties of the Moon as well as any further attributes that would be entailed. In this case, Gaurana does not throw out what he identifies as the traditional view, but he does show it to be incomplete insofar as it lacks the requisite background of astrological research. And while the Moon's reflective color makes it and the *bha*-metreme special cases, it nonetheless exemplifies a general principle: The celestial bodies can all come under the influence of one another and stand in relationships of affinity (*maitri*) and enmity (*śātrava, śatrutā*). Therefore, the metremes do, too. Gaurana makes this point explicitly elsewhere in the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā*: "The best sages reckon the affinity and enmity between the metremes according to the affinities and enmities of their presiding planets"(*gaṇānāṃ śatrutāmaitrī vijñeyau munipuṃgavaiḥ tadīśānāṃ grahāṇāṃ ca śatrutvān maitryā sadā*). Thus astrology becomes the fundamental resource for analyzing the metremes precisely because it has already described and established the properties of the astrological entities that condition the metremes.[51]

The criteria of authority

While Gaurana is obviously concerned with the validity of sources and their opinions, we should note that he does not explicitly offer any criteria of authority. So far, we have seen only *that* Gaurana holds works to be authoritative—some more than others. Poetological treatises can hold valid opinions

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Sanskrit quotations untranslated), it does not appear to be identical with the work of the same name by Śaṅkuka. Dating might preclude its being the *Saṃhitāsāra* of Kṛṣṇa, which Pingree identifies as a slightly later revision of the fifteenth century *Jyotirnibandha* of Śūramahāṭha Śivadāsa. (David Pingree, *Jyotiḥśāstra: Astral and Mathematical Literature*, vol. 4, 4 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981), 115-6)

[51] See, for instance, the *grahamaitriprakāra*, where Gaurana refers only to a passage from Gārgya (whose text is mostly lost, but, according to David Pingree, is cited by Varāhamihira and others) to establish the relationships between the planets but does not then dwell on spelling out the metremic relationships, which simply follow the astrological pattern.

and may even be authoritative in decidedly poetological matters (such as the technical terms for the metremes and the very necessity of analyzing poetry's auspiciousness). However, when it touches topics that are not strictly literary, authority may shift elsewhere. From the analysis above, it would seem that Gaurana ultimately privileges works that offer a particularly systematic and comprehensive treatment of some subject—*mantraśāstra* when it comes to the metaphysics of phonemes, *jyotiḥśāstra* in the astrological properties borne by the metremes. Gaurana demonstrates this ethic of comprehensiveness in composing his own work. The syllabus he describes at the start of the work; his analysis of the phonemes; and his citation practices themselves suggest that comprehensiveness and systematicity are among the criteria of authority. Further, this comprehensiveness and systematicity always serve Gaurana's arguments for consistency between poetological axioms and the precepts handed down in any knowledge system that might be relevant. Ultimately, in arguing for his kind of consistency Gaurana places poetology under the aegis of not just traditional knowledge systems but, more precisely, brahmanical systems of knowledge.

To be sure, Gaurana nowhere identifies his mantraśāstra and jyotiḥśāstra sources as belonging to the transcendentally authoritative classes of *śruti* and *smṛti* that undergird the brahmanical śāstras.[52] To be sure, he does explicitly cite from *śruti* and *smṛti* separately, but only three times—two of which are in the abstract. In the first case, the reference is explicitly used to validate another source. Here Gaurana adduces a statement allegedly from *śruti*, in support of opinions given by Manu (in this case on the auspiciousness of Fire).[53] In the second case, śruti and smṛti directly speak to the matter at hand. Here Gaurana considers the *ja*-metreme, whose planet is the Sun. Against the standard poetological view (that the *ja*-metreme causes disease), Gaurana offers a verse describing how the poet Mayūra was cured of leprosy after praising the Sun with his *Sūryaśataka*. To corroborate this tale of the Sun's curative powers, Gaurana then adduces two adages from śruti and smṛti.[54] Here Gaurana conceives of the two as a generic pair without referring to a particular textual instantiation.[55] The third reference comes as Gaurana asserts that only a brahman should be a poet:

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[52] Sheldon Pollock, "The 'Revelation' of 'Tradition': *Śruti*, *Smṛti*, and the Sanskrit Discourse of Power," in *Lex et Litterae: Studies in Honour of Professor Oscar Botto*, ed. Siegfried Lienhard and Irma Piovano (Torino: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1997), 409.

[53] "See also Manu: 'One should seek glory from (Fire who) eats the sacrifice.' And what is said by Manu . . . is trustworthy. Śruti says: 'And what is more, whatever Manu says is a balm indeed!' (*tathā manuḥ | śriyam iccheddhutāśanāt | manunā yad uktaṃ [. . .] grāhyam eva | yad vai kiṃ ca manur avadat tad bheṣajam iti śrutiḥ |*)

> The word *pure* used at the beginning of the verse means "brahman." As Śruti says: "Pure is the brahman, pure is the poet." Thus a poet is simply a brahman and not śūdra, et cetera. Never a śūdra nor a vaiśya nor even kṣatriya, only a brahman is poet. Surely, Śruti is the exemplar here. [As it is said] in the Yajurveda: "Pure is the poet."[56]

As opposed to the other references, this reference points to a specific Veda in the course of explicating and grounding the initial claim. In each case, the Śruti-Smṛti dyad would seem to be of the highest authority insofar as it certifies not just literary but also śāstric statements. So much is to be expected. As Pollock has argued, the Veda may be conceived of as the supreme śāstra—the paramount source of knowledge of the world; moreover, according to the tradition, it has transcendental authority (being eternal, authorless, and infallible).[57] Śruti and smṛti are the particular manifestations of this supreme knowlege: Śruti is Veda directly perceived (verbatim, in its current recitation), Smṛti is Veda remembered (heard upon a time).[58] Insofar as it was increasingly imagined after the fashion of smṛti, śāstra came to have a similar authority: That is to say, the theory that mandates practice—and even sets its ambit of possibility.[59] This suggests one reason for Gaurana's silence: He understands the *Prapañcasāra, Śāradātilaka, Amarakośa, Saṃhitāsāra,* the works of Varāhamihira (*Bṛhajjātaka, Bṛhatsamhitā*), and any works they cite (e.g. Gārgyasaṃhitā in *Bṛhatsamhitā*) as being self-evidently authoritative.

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[54] "And on this point, Śruti and Smṛti: 'Sun—destroy my heart disease and jaundice.' 'One should seek health from the shining Sun.'" [*atra ca śrutiḥ smṛtiś ca | hṛdrogaṃ mama sūryo harimāṇaṃ ca nāśaya | ārogyaṃ bhāskārād icched iti*]

[55] Indeed, a textual source for either statement is not forthcoming. The explicit validation of Manu—the author of a smṛti text—in śruti is unexpected to say the least. The second citation on the Sun has a parallel in Rāmacandrakavi's commentary on Mayūra's Sūryaśataka. Here it occurs in the course of Rāmacandrakavi's telling of the śataka's frame narrative. (George Payan Quakenbos, ed., *The Sanskrit poems of Mayūra*, vol. 9, Indo-Iraninan Series (New York: Columbia University Press, 1917), 358).

[56] *asya padyasyādau prayuktena śuciśabdena vipra ucyate | tathā śrutiḥ | śucir vipraś śuciḥ kavir iti | tasmād vipra eva kaviḥ | na tu śūdrādayaḥ | tathā hi | na śūdro na ca vaiśyas tu na narendraḥ kadācana | vipra eva kavir nūnam atrodāharaṇaṃ śrutiḥ | yajuṣi | śuciḥ kavir iti ||*

[57] Sheldon Pollock, "The Theory of Practice and the Practice of Theory in Indian Intellectual History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105, no. 3 (1985): 519.

[58] Pollock, "'Revelation' of 'Tradition'," 406.

[59] Pollock, "Theory of Practice," 515.

On the other hand, what is neither self-evident nor unassailable is the validity of poetological śāstra. As we have seen so far, when poetological theory touches a subject that is not strictly poetological, its precepts must be reckoned and revised in the light of śāstra that has already theorized the subject in question. But still more, Gaurana argues that poetological theory must conform to its object—the actual practice of poets. Nevertheless, not all poetic practice is authoritative; were it so, there would be no need for Gaurana's work, nor his son's *Goad*, nor the other antagonistically titled treatises like them. Thus Gaurana appeals more specifically to the practice of great poets (*mahākaviprayoga*). He does so as a way of corroborating precepts certified by śāstra. But, more strikingly, the practice of great poets can be a precedent in itself. Gaurana's discussion of the *ta*-metreme bears this out in the supplement:

> The [particularities] of the *ta*-metreme [are given] in the *Sāhityaratnākara*:
> Whenever followed by the *bha*-metreme, the ta-metreme
> whose divinity is the Sky, grants every desire for the author and patron.
>
> For example, it is said in Amaru's poetry: "*jyākṛṣṭibaddhakhaṭakāmukha*." Now, one might say: No—the ta-metreme is intrinsically harmful; so how could it engender any benefit? The reply would be that it would bestow good fortune if it is linked with an auspicious metre, just as an onion gains a pleasant fragrance through contact with sandal. Yet—it has been said that there is a flaw in using the the ta-metreme: "*Ta*: the Sky [its divinity], a light syllable at the end, destruction." And: "For the Sky, Void." But even so, great poets who know the standards of speech have accepted it at the beginning of treatises and among the literary ornaments. Therefore, the ta-metreme can only be auspicious. For example: "astyuttarasyām" in the Kumārasaṃbhava. And Śaṅkarācārya: "oṃkārapañjaraśukhīm." Furthermore, the treatises also say that the ta-metreme is auspicious. In the *Camatkāracandrikā*: "The ta-metreme: Sovereignty is its fruit, a light syllable at the end, the Sky its god." And in the Sāhityacandrodaya: "The ta-metreme always bestows every blessing."[60]

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[60] *taganasya sāhityaratnākare | nityaṃ bhagaṇasānnidhyāt sarvābhiṣṭhaphalapradaḥ | kartuḥ kārayituś caiva tagaṇo vyomadaivataḥ | tathā coktam amarukāvye | jyākṛṣṭibaddhakhaṭakāmukheti |maivaṃ | prakṛtyā hānidas tagaṇaḥ | kathaṃ śreyaḥ kariṣyati | yadi śubhagaṇayukta[ś] śubhado bhaved iti cet | yathā palāṇḍuḥ śrīkhaṇḍayogena kịṃ sugandhī bhavet | kịṃca tagaṇaprayoge doṣam āha | to dyaur antyalaghuḥ kṣayam iti | gagane śūnyam iti | evaṃ saty api vā vākyapramāṇajñair mahākavibhis tarkagranthādau nānālaṃkāreṣu cāṃgīkṛtatvāt tagaṇa[ś] śubhada eva | tathā kumārasaṃbhave | astyuttarasyām iti | [parimaḷakṛṣṇavijaye dhauyādaparvatasya puṃsa?] iti | mantramahārṇave | oṃkārapañjaraśukhim iti | śaṃkarācāryaḥ | kịṃca lakṣaṇagraṃtheṣv api tagaṇaś śubha ity ucyate | camatkāracaṃdrikāyāṃ | īśatvam antyalaghukas tagaṇo vyomadaivata iti | sāhityacandrodaye | tagaṇas sarvasaubhāgyadāyakas sarvadā bhavet iti |*

What Gaurana points to here is a disagreement within the Andhra school. The Sāhityaratnākara holds that the *ta*-metreme is permissable so long as it is followed by the *bha*-metreme. The objection, however, takes issue with the notion that a malefic metreme can be made positive, adducing two statements from other poetological treatises (the first from the *Kavikaṇṭhapāśa*, the second apparently from the *Sāhityaratnākara* itself). Unexepectedly (given what we have seen so far) Gaurana does not turn to jyotiḥśāstra. It may be that that science is useless here. The firmament as such has little significance for the astrologer; it is primarily the medium in which celestial signs are manifested. Because it was unaddressed, the Andhra poeticians were free to take up the problem and define some of the Sky's properties at their own discretion. (Further, I would suggest that the Andhra school's conception of the Sky as a discrete entity is another indication that the poetological analysis does not descend directly from the non-artistic knowledge systems Gaurana claims.) And, as the foregoing analysis has shown, Gaurana believes that poetology lacks a solid śāstric foundation (save, perhaps, in the specialized area of metrics as set out by Piṅgala). For this reason he looks to what "great poets" have done. They are imagined to "know the standards of speech."

Gaurana's appeal parallels the grammarians' taking recourse to a speech community of the *śiṣṭa* or "learned" who can certify usages not explicitly legislated in available grammars. Such folk are deemed authoritative insofar as they are irreproachable brahmans who are observed to be masters of the available grammatical knowledge. Through some higher sagacious insight, they are thought to have access to some more complete body of grammatical knowledge.[61] Such a view thus preserves the priority of theory over practice even while recognizing the inevitable fissure between the two. In the case of Gaurana's appeal, the source of the great poets' knowledge is not specified; but, whatever it may be, it is independent of the teachings propagated by poeticians. Poetology can corroborate poetic usage, but Gaurana does not think it solid enough to legislate usage on its own. In this regard, he mirrors the tack of a commentator like Mallinātha, who defends poets against the criticisms leveled by poeticians. As McCrea has shown, Mallinātha often works to close the gap between theory and practice by showing an allegedly flawed usage to be justifiable by some other śāstric authority.[62] In so doing, Mallinātha preserves the precedence of even this śāstra. Still, Gaurana finds available poetological śāstra to be fundamentally wanting. In this regard he stands closer to the regional language poeticians described by Pollock: They maintain in principle the centrality of śāstra; but, because they are not treating a language imbued with transcendent authority (that is to say, Sanskrit), they are "paradoxically dependent on antecedent literary practices that have achieved some kind of canonicity."[63] In the same way, Gaurana turns to the usage of great poets given the unstable and seemingly inchoate character of this poetological knowledge.

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[61] Pollock, "Theory of Practice," 505.

Despite this affinity with the regional poetics' perspective, Gaurana does not invoke some canon of Sanskrit poets from Andhra. Rather, most of the great poets to whom Gaurana appeals are claimed by Sanskrit literary culture at large. Among them, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, Śrīharṣa stand out. These four are (in chronological order) the authors of the works that fill out the *pañcamahākāvya* or five great literary works of the Sanskrit literary canon: *Kumārasaṃbhava* and *Raghuvaṃśa*; *Kirātārjunīya*; *Śiśupālavadha*; *Naiṣadhacarita*. The grouping, Deven Patel conjectures, emerged in the fourteenth century, and it was likely reinforced by commentators (like Mallinātha) who worked as teachers in contexts where these five were accepted as great works in need of proper professional explication.[64] Aside from these major four, Gaurana also cites Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Subandhu, who are frequently included in other lists of great poets and are noteworthy for having set the template for major works of prose poetry (*gadyakāvya*). There is nothing exceptional in Gaurana's referring to their works, which likely constituted the major part of the literary curriculum.

But, as Gaurana's excursus on the *ta*-metreme shows, his class of great poets is more expansive. For one, he includes Śaṅkarācārya among this class. Such a move is (perhaps) unexpected but not unreasonable; Śaṅkara is often celebrated not just as a philosopher but also as a hymnist with many compositions ascribed to his name. In this regard, we might see Gaurana's including Śaṅkara as foreshadowing the image of the teacher that emerges later, among the Tamil Śrīvidyā intellectuals described by Elaine Fisher. For example, in Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita's *Śaṅkarābhyudaya* (sixteenth century), over and above his philosophical and contemplative work, it is Śaṅkara's mastery of Sanskrit poetic traditions that gains him his apotheosis, the throne of wisdom.[65] Other citations are, however, more surprising. Between the opening words of the *Kirātārjunīya* and those of the *Naiṣadhīya*, Gaurana also adduces the maṅgala verse of a philosophical treatise, the *Nyāyasāra* (*Essence of Logic*), in suppport of using the *ja*-metreme.[66] The move is striking for few would label the work a kāvya—let alone a major kāvya. Nonetheless, alaṃkāraśāstra and allied disciplines would have no problem describing its form (a free-standing verse (*muktaka*) in praise of Śiva in the meter *vaṃśastha*). To put it another way—the task of the author, the Kashmiri Pāśupata Bhāsarvajña, is primarily one of philosophical explanation (as the quoted verse itself attests). Nevertheless—and if only for a moment—the philosopher is still engaged in the work of the poet. Though they are not exactly a part of the kāvya commentators' canon, neither figure is exactly unknown in the history of Sanskrit literary culture. To say this—especially with regard to Śaṅkarācārya—is an understatement. Like the canonical poets, these other figures could very well have been encountered in a pedagogical environment.

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[62] Lawrence McCrea, "Poetry in Chains: Commentary and Control in the Sanskrit Poetic Tradition," in *Language, Ritual and Poetics in Ancient India and Iran: Studies in Honor of Shaul Migron*, ed. David Shulman (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences & Humanities, 2010), 240-7.

[63] Pollock, *Language of the Gods*, 366.

[64] Patel, *Text to Tradition*, 60-62.

This literary and pedagogical connection is underwritten, it seems to me, by these figures' brahmanical character. This—more than some standard of literary accomplishment—unites Gaurana's great poets. Gaurana's insistence that only brahmans should be poets makes his brahmanical sympathies no secret. Beyond this, however, Gaurana's *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* mainly works to ground—and thus to embed—poetological knowledge in more established systems of knowledge. And each śāstra he cites bears the mark of brahmanical tradition. Gaurana's reliance on the *Śāradātilaka* and *Prapañcasāra* underscores this. For one, as Alexis Sanderson has argued, these texts appear to have been digests for brahman ritualists edging their way into the field of tantric ritual. Moreover (if more tenuously), as

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65. Elaine M. Fisher, "'Just Like Kālidāsa': The Śākta Intellectuals of Seventeenth-century South India," *The Journal of Hindu Studies*, 2012, 15-16.

66. *mahākaviprayogaḥ | bhāravikāvye śriyaḥ kurūṇām iti | nyāyasāre praṇamya śaṃbhuṃ jagataḥ patim iti | naiṣadhakāvye nipīya yasya kṣitirakṣina iti |*

we have seen Gaurana emphasizes the authority of the *Prapañcasāra's* presumed author Śaṅkarācārya ("because Śaṅkarācārya taught [them] as separate"). In so doing, he exhibits some similarities with the (proto) Smārtas studied by Fisher. As she has described them, they are brahman Śaivas who espoused a Vedic orthodoxy and looked back to Śaṅkarācārya as progenitor of their community. That notwithstanding, unlike the Tamil country intellectuals Fisher describes, Gaurana does not espouse a Śrīvidyā theology nor does he explicitly associate himself with an intellectual lineage descending from Śaṅkara. Little more can be said about Gaurana's theological affiliations based on his poetological work alone; he does not argue for the pre-eminence of particular theological positions, nor does he seek to prove the validity of certain scriptures. He is instead arguing about the proper foundation of poetological knowledge and, thus, the proper training and background for the poet himself. So, that the sources may have been part of a particular curriculum holds; but, whatever that curriculum may have been, it seems to have been a brahmanical one.

While this brahmanical brand of knowledge is necessary, it is not in itself sufficient. The poet himself must have a certain character. In this, education and breeding are key. Yet, despite his eventual stipulation that a poet must be a brahman, Gaurana's basic description does not include the caste requirement. He quotes from the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*: "A man who is pure, clever, calm; who is praised by respectable folk, trained in the arts, learned; who is sweet voiced and expert in poetry; who knows what to do; who knows omens; who is kind, born of a noble clan; whose body is auspicious and who knows the properties of the metremes—such a man is a poet" (*kavilakṣaṇaṃ sāhi[tya]cū[ḍāmaṇau] śucir dakṣaḥ śāntas sujanavinutaḥ [. . .] kaḷāvedī vidvān kalamṛduvadaḥ kāvyacaturaḥ kṛtajño daivajñas sadayas satkulabhavaḥ śubhākaraś chandogaṇaguṇavivekī sa hi kaviḥ*). Excepting extraordinary charisma, martial or romantic prowess, the poet so described here resembles the heroic subject (*nāyaka*) prescribed for poetry and drama.[67] The qualities the manual demands are primarily virtues acquired by rearing;

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[67] Compare the core qualities of the *nāyaka* described in a text likely known to Gaurana, Siṅgabhūpāla's *Rasārṇavasudhākara* (Full Moon Over the Ocean of Rasa) 1.61-63: ". . . The hero is male and full of good qualities. His qualities are: magnanimity, nobility, steadfastness, cleverness, radiant, and righteousness; further, he is well born, well-spoken, grateful, modest, pure, composed, charismatic, artistic, and pleasing to people. The learned have taught that these are the universal qualities of the hero" (. . . *nāyako guṇavān pumān | tadguṇās tu mahābhāgyam audāryaṃ sthairya-dakṣate*

traits gained through education (an acquaintence with omens, knowledge of the arts, poetry, and the metremes in particular) shade into qualities conducive to noble comportment, such as the ability to speak in a pleasing manner. Others, like being born of good family, are ineluctably congenital. Nonetheless, "being born in a good family" could be interpreted variously. In the dramaturgical domain, though the nāyaka is most often a kṣatriya, some subtypes are open to vaiśyas and brahmans. So, according to the initial definition, the poet could also come from a vaiśya or kṣatriya line.

Further, given the increasing recognition of *sat* ("good" or "noble") śūdra lineages by Gaurana's day, the poet could even be from such a clan based on the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi's* definition alone. Among such groups are the Recĕrla kings (who retained Gaurana's uncle and father as ministers) as well as their rivals to the east, the Rĕḍḍis. While these kings do not necessarily emerge as poets in their own right, they are active participants in the literary culture of the period as authors of theoretical and critical works. So, Recĕrla Siṅgabhūpāla composes the dramaturgical manual *Rasārṇavasudhākara* (*A Moon for the Ocean of Rasa*) and Rĕḍḍi king Pĕda Komaṭi Vemā composes the musicological *Saṃgītacintāmaṇi* (*A Wishing-jewel for Music*), commentaries on the *Amaruśataka* and selections from Hāla's *Sattasaī*, and the poetological *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* (which Gaurana cites). These works are cited as authorities in premodern commentaries and other poetological works. So, poeticians on the whole seem to accept these works on scholastic grounds. Furthermore, poets and poeticians seem to accept such śūdra lineages as patrons and subjects of literature. By the fourteenth century at least, poets had developed a repertoire of poetic conventions and mythological standards of comparison for proudly proclaiming the śūdra identity of these kings.[68]

Gaurana, however, would not go too far with these accommodations. He limits the class of poetry's creators by singling out the poet's being "pure" as his key characteristic. As we saw above, he argues:

|| *aujjvalyaṃ dhārmikatvaṃ ca kulīnatvaṃ ca vāgmitā | kṛtajñatvaṃ nayajñatvaṃ śucitā mānaśālitā || tejasvitā kalāvattvaṃ prajārañjakatādayaḥ | ete sādhāraṇāḥ proktāḥ nāyakasya guṇā budhaiḥ* ||).

[68] See, for instance, the opening of the *Vemabhūpālacarita* (p. 3), where the poet Vāmana Bhaṭṭabāṇa describes the line of Rĕḍḍi kings as *śūdras* descended from the divine feet of Viṣṇu. The image is employed elsewhere in the Rĕḍḍi inscriptional corpus. This expansion is not limited to poetry alone. Theodore Benke has begun to track the accomodation of sat-śūdras in premodern legal and ritual manuals. See: Theodore Benke, "The Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa: A 16th Century Manual of Dharma for Śūdras" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2010).

"The word *pure* used at the beginning of the verse means 'brahman.' As Śruti says: 'Pure is the brahman, pure is the poet.' Thus a poet is simply a brahman and not a śūdra, et cetera. . . . Surely, Śruti is the exemplar here. [As it is said] in the Yajurveda: 'Pure is the poet.'" Thus purity (*śucitā*) is made synonymous with brahmanism. Circular as it may be, Gaurana's argument seems to be this: Poetry must be auspicious and unsullied. Purity is the basis of auspiciousness here. The parameters of purity and auspiciousness have been detailed by brahmanical śāstra. Only a poet learned in these traditions can produce a sufficiently pure piece of poetry. More than this, the poet's own purity (or lack thereof) inheres in the poet's work. Only a brahman, it would seem, is vested with the requisite purity; brahmanical knowledge, rooted as it is in Vedic tradition, says so. Thus Gaurana's final citation on the caste identity of poets and their poetry: the poetry of non-brahmans—of śūdras and their like—is impure and to be considered repulsive, just like milk from a dog (*śunidugdhaṃ yathā tyājyaṃ padyaṃ śūdrakṛtaṃ budhaiḥ gavām iva payo tathā kāvyaṃ vipreṇa nirmitaṃ*). In the end, just as the stuff of language has powers that transcend its semantic capabilities, so, too, does the poet have a certain metaphysical constitution. Yet, where the properties of phonemes and metremes may be attenuated or exacerbated, it is not so for the would-be poet. According to Gaurana, there is simply no procedure whereby poets can control the consequences of their caste.

Of course, such a pronouncement makes the most sense only if we imagine that Gaurana faced non-brahman poets and not just the kingly connoisseur-poeticians cited above. However much Gaurana attempts to naturalize the co-incidence of poethood with brahmanism and purity, the statement is not so much descriptive ("All poets *are* brahmans.") as prescriptive ("All poets *should be* brahmans" or "All *real* poets are brahmans"). He begins with the recognition that poetic practice is not so tightly regulated, and that it is precisely this lack of regulation that necessitates his work. His ending here suggests that neither is the class of poets regulated, let alone monopolized by practitioners of a single caste. His declaration that all poets be brahmans is then better understood as the culmination of an argument: Poetological knowledge regarding auspiciousness should be made consistent with other knowledge on auspiciousness. Such knowledge is, at least implicitly, aligned with brahmanical tradition. Therefore, poetic practice overall should be a brahmanical enterprise.

This more studied argumentation goes hand-in-hand here with a frame that could be characterized as alarmist. As noted above, Gaurana introduces his text by saying that such knowledge is a matter of prosperity or destitution—even life or death. In this light Gaurana's work in the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* is driven by an anxiety about the power of poetry and thus poets themselves. The titles of other poetological works from this period echo the concern and the consequent need to keep poets in check. Thus, they label poets as beasts to be reined in with the anonymous *Leash* (*Kavikaṇṭhapāśa*), or wild elephants to be prodded and tamed with Gaurana's son's *Goad* (*Kavigajāṅkuśamu*), or an invasive species of serpents to be kept in check by their raptorial natural predator (*Kavisarpagaruḍamu*).

In being fashioned to counter poetic dangers, these texts resonate with stories of medieval south Indian poets and the havoc they wrought. I have noted above the dreaded poet Vemulavāḍa Bhīmakavi. The archetype of the period's sorcerous poet, he looms large in stories framing the orally-circulated *cāṭu* verses. Known for cursing kings who dare scorn him, he mirrors—as Narayana Rao and Shulman have argued—the wrathful sage or the powerful Vedic *ṛṣi*.[69] But I would add that part and parcel of Bhīmakavi's origin story—and thus his fearsome figure—is his vexed social status. In stories of his early life, Bhīmakavi is depicted as the son of a brahman widow who bore him some time after her husband had died.[70] He was ridiculed and abused by the community because of his apparent illegitimacy. Eventually he insisted that his mother reveal his parentage. She, in turn, told him that his birth was the result of a blessing received at Daksharama and that his father was none other than the temple's deity, Bhīmeśvara Śiva. Upon learning this, he went to the temple straightaway and, brandishing a rock at the massive stone linga there, demanded that the god confirm his mother's story. Thus threatened, Bhīmeśvara confirmed the story and granted his namesake the ability to bless and curse at will. Though the power would mostly manifest in poetry recited at court, Bhīmakavi first uses this power as a boy. When a group of brahmans banishes him from a feast, Bhīmakavi—now enlightened and enraged—curses the brahmans, transmuting their rice to lime, their cakes to frogs, and the brahmans themselves to logs. While Bhīmakavi is ultimately proven to be of superlative stock—son of Śiva himself—he nevertheless sits on the fringes of society, respectability, and auspiciousness. That he is a kind of outcast to kings and other brahmans is because he is a figure to be feared; but that he is a figure to feared is also a product of his first being outcast. In legend and in the work of poeticians like Gaurana, fear of the poet's power descends in part from a fear that such power could be in hands that might not heed (or might not have to heed) the institutions of brahmanical authority.

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[69] David Shulman and Velcheru Narayana Rao, *A Poem at the Right Moment: Remembered Verses from South India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 157.

[70] Velcheru Narayana Rao, "Multiple Lives of a Text: The *Sumati Śatakamu* in Colonial Andhra," in *Ritual, Caste, and Religion in Colonial South India* (Halle: Franckesce Stiftungen, 2010), 353-4.

Conclusions

In large part, Gaurana and the Andhra school's anxiety over auspiciousness may have been rooted in the forms of poetry that occupied their attention. In particular, they describe forms of poetry that Gaurana calls *cāṭuprabandha*. The term *cāṭu* is most widely known in south Indian literary culture as referring to verses that circulate orally and are usually accompanied by a story that explains the circumstances under which a poet uttered the verse. Gaurana, for his part, offers no gloss on the designation.[71] However, it seems that these *cāṭus* and Gaurana's *cāṭuprabandha* are distinct. Especially following the foregoing essay on the auspicious analysis and the rationale with which Gaurana opens his work, the panegyrical character of cāṭuprabandha becomes clear quite quickly. Even at a superficial reading, we can in part understand Gaurana's designation *cāṭuprabandha* (attested earlier in Amṛtānandayogin's work) as speaking to the encomiastic character of these works: The compound's first word *cāṭu* is often taken in the meaning of "sweet" or "pleasing." In an extended sense—particularly when the adjective modifies speech—the word can refer to "flattery." This may highlight the genre's panegyrical function and, ultimately, a courtly orientation. The consequences enumerated by the auspicious analysis already suggest a concern for distinguished persons. So much is said explicitly in the opening statement to the section on *cāṭuprabandha*: "Poetry should give results such as fame; thus it should be free of stain"

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[71] On these *cāṭus*, see especially: Shulman and Narayana Rao, *A Poem at the Right Moment*.

(*kāvyaṃ kīrtyādiphaladaṃ syāt tato doṣavarjitam*). And, indeed, at a glance the phonemic effects are particularly consequential to people of consequence: To be sure, the majority of the phonemes are of a common interest, impacting bodily welfare (for example: *CH, J, JH, Ñ, P, B, N, R, V*) and general happiness and prosperity (*A, Ā, I, Ī, U, Ū, E, O*, the velars, the cerebrals, *T, PH, BH, M, Y, L, H, KṢ*). Yet others are less general and touch specifically on the concerns of political life: the need to be well-spoken (*AI, V*); anxiety about personal fame and prestige (*C*); concern for one's lineage and legacy (*Ṛ, Ṝ, Ḷ, Ḹ*); and war (*TH*). Even those that touch on the body and, in particular, its beauty and desirability (*E, Ḍ, ḌH*) point toward the concerns of political life and the court. The point is merely driven home when Gaurana stipulates (following the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*) the proper subjects of these compositions. They should be such persons as gods, anti-gods, brahmans, gurus, kings, vassals, and ministers (*bhaveyur yatra netāraḥ surāsuramahīsurāḥ guravaḥ kṣoṇipālāś ca sāmantās sacivādayaḥ*).

Moreover, as Gaurana and the other Andhra poeticians describe it, the archetypal form of the genre is the *udāharaṇa*, which is centered on the praise of an explicitly named patron. In a move that draws on mainstream alaṃkāraśāstra's stylistic analysis, he remarks that "it should be in the Gauḍa style [the bombastic style, replete with nominal compounds and sound-based figuration] . . . it should contain words of an energetic quality that blaze with the subject's virtues" (*syād yatra gauḍarīti . . . ojaḥpradhānāḥ śabdās syur yatra netṛgunojjvalāḥ*). Thus the form and the content of the work are wholly oriented towards representing an eminent—if not royal—subject.

More to the point, the udāharaṇa aligns quite closely with the functions and powers of poetry elaborated in the Andhra school's auspicious analysis. Formally speaking, it consists of eight sections. Each section consists of a single verse (Gaurana stipulates that it be a *śakvarī* meter, but other poeticians offer alternatives), which verse is followed by a eight lines of *kaḷikā* prose which are in turn followed by eight lines of *utkaḷikā* prose. More to the point, however, each section comprises a string of noun phrases in praise of the poem's subject, who may be human or divine. Gaurana stipulates that each verse in the composition must include the name of its subject (*atra sarvāṇi padyāni netṛnāmānkitāni ca padye padye kramopetanetṛnāmavibhaktiyuk*). Each section is focused on a particular grammatical declension. Thus, the compounds describing the subject in the first section are all declined in the first case (the nominative), in the second section the second case (accusative), and so on; the ninth section is called the *sārvavibhaktika* verse and has a noun phrase declined in each of the seven cases. Finally, the work includes a tenth verse, which identifies the poet.[72] With this structure, the work is understood to propitiate the goddesses that preside over the seven grammatical declensions [*vibhaktidevatā*]. Exalting / exemplifying the grammatico-divine entities in this way is understood to be auspicious for the similarly exemplified / exalted subject. According to Amṛtānandayogin, who is not cited by Gaurana on this point, "the divinities that preside over the declensions—whom the wise call *Virājantī* (Radiance), *Kīrtimatī* (Fame), *Subhāgā* (Prosperity), *Bhogamālinī* (She who wears the garland of pleasure), *Kalāvatī* (Artistry), *Kāntimatī* (Glamour), Kamalā (Wealth), *Jayavatī* (Victory)—give a gift that corresponds to their name when pleased by this praise."[73] Therefore, the udāharaṇa is precisely the kind of charged panegyric that, as the Andhra poeticians caution us, can have truly magical consequences.[74]

Thus, the central force behind the Andhra school's development may have been the poeticians' anxiety over and drive to describe poetry's power, especially when it is used to express royal power in a courtly context. Jennifer Clare emphasizes the courtly cause in her study of Tamil *pāṭṭiyal* treatises, which share many of the Andhra school's concerns. The earliest of these texts—*Paṉṉiru Pāṭṭiyal* and *Veṇpā Pāṭṭiyal*—are likely to have been composed around the twelfth and thirteenth centuries respectively. As such they may predate the earliest works of the Andhra school; however, no pāṭṭiyal is explicitly referenced by Andhra school poeticians. That said, the similarities between the pāṭṭiyal works and Andhra poetology are striking. According to Jennifer Clare's description, a central task of the works is to describe the rules governing *poruttam*, the affinity between things.[75] To begin, the rules stipulate the words that can serve as the first, necessarily auspicious word (*maṅkala col*) of a poem. These must either mean auspicious or beautiful (for example, *tiru*, the usual translation for Sanskrit *śrī*) or refer to something auspicious (such as an elephant).[76] Even further, this complex system of *poruttams* stipulates such things as the astrological sign, gender, and age associations of the the first syllable (Tamil *varuṇam*, Sanskrit *varṇa*), which must correlate with that of the patron.[77] The pāṭṭiyals' *poruttam* system, like that of the Telugu country texts, delineates these correspondences as essential knowledge for practitioners of the poetic arts. Delineating *poruttam* aside, pāṭṭiyals also spend much time detailing panegyrical genres of *pirapantam* (Sanskrit *prabandha*).

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[72] *athodāharaṇādinām uddiṣṭānāṃ yathā kramaṃ | lakṣaṇaṃ kriyate saṃyak pūrvācāryyānusārataḥ || vibhaktiḥ prathamā paścāt evaṃ saṃbodhanāntimā | dvitīyāpramukhās sapta[. . .] syur vibhaktitaḥ || śakvaryādimahāchandonibanddho yatra dṛśyate | padye padye kramopetanetṛnāmavibhaktiyuk || jayetyādipadopetaṃ mālinīvṛttam ādimaṃ | kịṃcādyā vāpi cāntyā vā kalikāṣṭadaḷā smṛtā || kalikā to [. . .] mātrā vā kịṃcid ūnāpi so jvalā | vibhaktyābhyāsasaṃyuktā caturdhā vā suśobhanā || bhaved utkalikāvete pūrvoktānkāsya te ubhe | ojaḥpradhānāḥ śabdā[s] syur yatra netṛgunojvalāḥ || syād yatra gauḍarītir yā yatra bandho[. . .] dhuraḥ | bhaveyur yatra netāraḥ surāsuramahīsurāḥ || guravaḥ kṣoṇipālāś ca sāmaṃttās sacivādayaḥ | yatra syād rasasaṃpūrtis tadudāharaṇaṃ bhavet ||*

[73] *virājantī kīrtimatī subhāgā bhogamālinī | kalāvatī kāntimatī kamalā jayavatyapi || etā vibhaktyadhiṣṭhātryo devatāḥ kathitā budhaiḥ | dadatyetāḥ stutiprītāḥ svasvanāmasamaṃ phalam ||* (AS 11.13-14).

[74] That these magical genres were often termed *cāṭuprabandha* may provide some insight into the eventual use of *cāṭu* to refer to the oral verses described by Narayana Rao and Shulman. They say: "Verses praising a given donor (*birudu*-gadyas, for example, which list the patron's titles and honors) are *not cāṭus* unless they become integrated into the whole cāṭu system, in which case their import changes radically. The image of the patron becomes inflated to an enormous degree, and the poet's image also fits the cāṭu milieu" (Shulman and Narayana Rao, *A Poem at the Right Moment*, 136). However, it is precisely the set of short encomiastic forms that, are first called *cāṭu* in the literary culture of Andhra. As I will argue in the next chapter, these forms were likely the major activity of the working premodern poet. Further, they are definitionally occasional, composed for some patron and, as the repeated concern about the astrological conditions belies, to be peformed at a specific time. The possibility of silent or private reading notwithstanding, these are decidedly works to be performed aloud in a social—or else systematic and ritual—setting, for the patron. The erotic verses aside, it is in just such a social context that the majority of the stray *cāṭu* verses are situated in premodern sources.

Despite these similarities, I would hesitate to follow the pāṭṭiyal parallel too closely, let alone declare it a direct ancestor of the Andhra analysis. At root, the two rubrics do not appear to be identical. To start, they do not enumerate the same panegyrical genres. Moving to the auspicious analysis, the Andhra system does not place an explicit emphasis on the first word's having an auspicious meaning (though presumably all the better if it does). Furthermore, aside from astrological affinities the pāṭṭiyals address properties (e.g., life stage—Tamil *tāṉam* or Sanskrit *sthānam*) that do not concern Andhra poetology. The metreme analysis—seemingly the earliest topic for the Andhra school—does not feature in the pāṭṭiyals; still, metrical issues are addressed with regard to the properties of words

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[75] Jennifer Steele Clare, "Canons, Conventions, and Creativity: Defining Literary Tradition in Premodern Tamil South India" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011), 72. The term, Clare explains, has a range of meanings. Significantly, in its modern usage, the word refers to the agreement of the horoscopes of two people being matched for marriage.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., 74.

(*col poruttam*) insofar as the first word is not to be split between metrical feet.[78] Finally—and perhaps fundamentally—the two systems diverge when they come to the place of the patron. For the pāṭṭiyals, the linguistic entities correspond—by way of astrological properties and the like—to the patron specifically; and it is both the attainment of these correspondence and the avoidance of inauspicious words that ensure the felicitousness of the poet's enterprise. To be sure, later works in Andhra poetology (such as in the *Kavigajāṅkuśamu*) of Gaurana's son Bhairavakavi, or the prominent seventeenth century manual by Kākunūri Appakavi) stipulate that the patron and initial sound(s) should correspond in their caste. Nonetheless, while the Andhra system is at root concerned with outcomes for the patron—and while nothing in the Andhra system precludes or repudiates the auspiciousness of affinities between linguistic entities and patrons—the poet of the Andhra school need not harmonize the linguistic work's metaphysical properties with those of the patron in order to make it auspiciousness.

Still, Clare's analysis is suggestive insofar as she draws attention to the complete coevality of the discussion of the occult affinities of words and letters and the description of specifically Tamil genres of panegyric. Against the backdrop of earlier Tamil poetics, that these two subjects should coincide in the *pāṭṭiyal* suggests that the function of Tamil poetry had become reoriented towards the praise of royal patron. Thus, the concern with the sorcerous pragmatics of poetic language is in part a product of the larger concern with literary practices of praise and political representation in the royal court.[79] Further, she aligns the rise of the *pāṭṭiyals* with the rise of vernacular literary cultures as described by Sheldon Pollock. In this regard, she understands the pāṭṭiyals as a project aimed at demonstrating Tamil's capacity to express royal power, while at the same time harkening to forms and models that are decidedly more vernacular than courtly and cosmopolitan.[80]

Yet, if we imagine that the authors of these treatises (Tamil and Andhra alike) were primarily trying to constitute their regional language as an entity fit for a courtly, praise-oriented literary culture, we only account for part of the picture. For one, by using the appellation "the Andhra school," I mean to signal that the matter at hand is not bound to the literature of a single language but to a geographical space. (And even this regional delimitation will likely need to be revised since the relationship between the *pāṭṭiyals* and Andhra poetics remains to be seen.) As I have sketched it, the first texts to witness the complete Andhra school are Sanskrit language texts that discuss other Sanskrit language texts; and, while the earliest Telugu manuals on poetics proper—*Kāvyālaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi* and *Chandodarpaṇamu*—include a discussion of minor genres, the phonemic analysis does not appear. More to the point, through his concern over the retroflex *Ḷ* and his reference to Telugu metrics, Gaurana himself shows us that the Andhra poetological project spans linguistic boundaries. Subsequently, in thinking through the development of the Andhra school, I would shift the level of analysis away from a particular language (that is, Sanskrit or Telugu) to a certain set of literary forms and practices that are, at best, specific to a region (Andhra). Just as the genres described in the pāṭṭiyals are limited to the Tamil country, the forms described by the Telugu poeticians are, as we will see in the next chapter, decidedly limited to Andhra.

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[78] Clare, "Canons, Conventions, and Creativity," 73.
[79] Ibid., 82-3.
[80] Ibid., 79.

Second, Sanskrit has long been understood as a potent and transcendentally powerful language, one that is fit (to say the least) for fulfilling panegyrical functions. Indeed, as Pollock has shown, one of kāvya's core genres was panegyric. Poetry was always wrapped up in praise, especially the praise of a royal patron. However, discussions of panegyric as such are almost completely absent in poetics: Praśasti is only referenced once (by Rudraṭa in his *Kāvyālaṃkāra*) before the turn of the second millennium. The most extensive discussion outside of the Andhra school comes in thirteenth century from Viśvanātha in neighboring Kaliṅga. So, given the practical centrality of panegyric but its modest presence in the theoretical literature before the rise of the Andhra school, the question becomes: What has changed about praise poetry? Or, at least, what does the Andhra school find worth defining?

The Andhra school's interest may have been born in connection to an explicitly sorcerous or ritualized literary panegyric, to be sure. But, following the legendary *cāṭu* material and Gaurana's pronouncements, I would also argue that this formal interest proceeded in tandem with concerns about a new class of poets. While I take seriously Mundoli Narayanan's warning against reading too much religion and ritual into artistic activities and would not say that poetry in Gaurana's time *was* a ritual activity,[81] I think that we must still account for Gaurana's lack of interest in theorizing literature with the wealth of tools available from alaṃkāraśāstra, nāṭyaśāstra, saṃgītaśāstra, and the allied disciplines of verbal art. To this end, I would argue that Gaurana's work in the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* is primarly to re-describe the practice of literature—particularly as it applies to regional, panegyrical literary forms. In this, Gaurana's *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* project quite conconsciously harkens back beyond the classical kāvya culture to Vedic visions of poetic authority. The role of *kavi*—verbal expert associated with royal power—had since the early centuries of the common era been associated with members of the brahmanical estate.[82] Thus, Gaurana (and other courtly brahman poets) likely found that new groups of poets were encroaching upon their professional domain. Thence comes the fearsome, unruly poet of *cāṭu* legend. Moreover, thence come Gaurana's explicit denunciations of śūdra, vaiśya, and kṣatriya poets and his invocation of Vedic concepts of the *kavi*. By consistently grounding the Andhra analysis in astrological and ritual śāstra, Gaurana recasts the poet's work as a ritual practice that only an elite brahman few are competent to perform.

That said, I would recall that Gaurana seeks to limit only the class of poetic practitioners but not necessarily the set of acceptable literary forms. Thus, the next chapter will explicate Gaurana's discussion of genre—especially *cāṭuprabandha*—and map out more fully the field of literary activity into which he would intervene as a poet.

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[81] Mundoli Narayanan, "Over-Ritualization of Performance: Western Discourse on Kutiyattam," *TDR: The Dance Review* 50, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 136–153.

[82] Stephanie Jamison, "Poetry: kauuvi, kavi, kāvya," in *Le ṛgveda entre deux mondes: quatre conférences au collège de France en mai 2004* (Collège de France, 2007).

Chapter 3

Gaurana and the Historical Poetics of *Cāṭuprabandha*

Introduction

As we saw in the previous chapter, Gaurana grounds Andhra's novel poetics of auspiciousness in brahmanical systems of knowledge. He does so by examining the axioms of the earlier Andhra poeticians and making their elaborations of poetry's occult properties consistent with well-established authorities in astrology and tantras on the metaphysics of ritual speech. Not just the pursuit of more perfect knowledge, Gaurana's researches serve a claim, I have argued, for poetry's being the professional prerogative of brahmans: Just as brahmanical sciences set the standard for knowledge on auspiciousness, he asserts, brahmans possess a metaphysical constitution of the purest and most auspicious sort. Thus, only brahmans, Gaurana argues, are true poets (*kavis*) and certainly the only poets that an aspiring potentate should accept. Thus, according to Gaurana, any śūdra, vaiśya, or kṣatriya should be excluded from poetic activity. To be sure, this could be a large and nebulous class. But could Gaurana's claim—leveled as it was through the eternalist and naturalizing language of *varṇa*—have had a more concrete target?

The content of Gaurana's claim here is familiar to later Telugu literature. It is, however, typically quoted from the *Appakavīyamu*, which was composed over two centuries after Gaurana. Here poetry composed by a śūdra is compared to rice pudding touched by a crow.[1] Both items, the verse explains, are impure. As an object of critique from modern Telugu poets from lower castes, the sentiment has been become a common place, imagined as a fixture of premodern literary theory.[2] However, while the Sanskrit dramaturgical tradition regularly offered characterological guidelines for representing different castes and classes, the alaṃkāraśāstra rarely theorized the social aspects of textual production and reception in any explicit way, leaving this "social aesthetic" implicit.[3]

Consequently, it is hard to come by sociological reflections on poets and patrons in Sanskritic poetics. Poets and poeticians have, to be sure, often defined the poet but, on the whole, without much reference to social class let alone the discourse on varṇa or caste purity. Outside of the Andhra school, alaṃkāraśāstra rarely considers the poet as such. Before Gaurana, only Rājaśekhara in the ninth century explores the subject in any depth. He offers an uncommonly rich picture of the literary life wherein the social and economic class is clearly prescribed (thus the poet is ideally an urban(e) man of means), but there are no explicit stipulations regarding varṇa or caste. Rājaśekhara comes closest when he investigates the types of poets. His concern here, however, is only the source of the poet's talents. While these may be a quality of birth (the result of refinements achieved in a past life), or else achieved through undertakings in a present life (through rites that eliminate trace impurities or certain magic spells that Rājaśekhara promises but does not deliver), he nowhere brings to bear questions of purity in terms of caste.[4] Thus the position expressed by the likes of Gaurana and Appakavi does not primarily come down through any core alaṃkāraśāstra discourse.

Neither is the view actually endemic to Andhra. One of Gaurana's main sources, Amṛtānandayogin's *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*, offers a seven-fold typology of poets. This schema, however, lays out stylistic tendencies rather than social affiliations.[5] Vinnakoṭa Pĕddana, author of the Andhra school's first Telugu manual (*Kāvyālaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi*), reproduces Amṛtānandayogin's stylistic typology, again without adding a sociological dimension.[6] Only a handful of texts broach the social as such, and Gaurana seems to cite them all. Yet even these do not all go as far as Gaurana. For example, Peda Komaṭi Vemā Rĕḍḍi's *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* (which Gaurana draws upon for the bulk of his definition) does not even list brahman-ness as a requisite quality. According to this text, in terms of birth and social standing, a poet need only be born into a good family (*satkulabhava*). As noted earlier, this stipulation need not exclude members of the other three varṇas. But in making his most narrow argument for the prerogative of brahman poets, Gaurana cites only the concurring opinions from two texts, the likely contemporaneous *Kavirājagajāṅkuśa* and *Sāhityacandrodaya*.

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[1] *Appakavīyamu* 1.25.

[2] See, for example, the Dalit poet Śikhāmaṇi's "Pardon" (*Kṣamāpaṇa*): "Pardon us, O Dalit! Pardon ...our beloved Appakavi who said that poetry by a Śudra is just like crow-touched *pāyasam*!" For this reference, I am indebted to Sravanthi Kollu of the University of Minnesota.

[3] Pollock, "Social Aesthetic"

[4] Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, ed. C. D. Dalal and R. Anantakrishna Shastry, Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Baroda: Central Library, 1916), 14-15.

Thus, as in his larger work on the auspicious analysis, Gaurana has not simply reiterated a claim handed down by his scholarly tradition. He has done something different—uncommon but not unique. So, I open this chapter with the question: Why did Gaurana make this argument when he did and how he did it?

Answers lie, I would suggest, in the genres that Gaurana described. In large part, the concerns about the purity and auspiciousness of poetic practitioners were driven by concerns about panegyric rather than poetry as such. Gaurana's metaphysical and social prejudices proceed in lockstep with his recognizing, along with the rest of the Andhra school, an expansive and expanding system of poetic forms—a system particular to the Telugu country and much richer than that described in earlier alaṃkāraśāstra. Chief among these forms was the udāharaṇa. From this perspective, it is unsurprising that an interest in the sorcerous pragmatics of poetic language should emerge together with an interest in new panegyrical genres. These are genres that engender magical effects not just through their opening syllables but through the metaphysical power of the whole work. As such they are powerful tools for celebrating potentates in both the court and the temple. Stories of the period relate the exploits of poets and their fraught relations with other poets and kings; in so doing the tales register an anxiety about such powerful poetry being in untutored hands.

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[5] *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* 2.1-6ab: "Thus, a poet is one skilled at deliberating on the implications of phonemes and metremes, and who possesses the set of poetic ability's sources. The Whimsical, the Wordy, the Meaningful, the Artisan, the Mellifluous, the Discerning, and the Ornamentalist—these are the seven types of poets. The Whimsical composes—throwing in and taking out—at his pleasure; the Wordy makes great fanfare of the words alone. The Meaningful aims at a flashy meaning; the Artisan makes a picture of sound. The poet that looks to mellifluousness of word and meaning is Mellifluous. He who knows the virtues and flaws and words, and follows the precedent of great poets; who refines according to poetics and science—he is the Discerning, the best of poets. The wise call the poet who is dependent on ornaments the Ornamentalist" (*evaṃ varṇagaṇavyāptivicāraṇavicakṣaṇaḥ | kavitvakāraṇastomasaṃpannaḥ kavirucyate || rauciko vācikaścārthaḥ śilpiko mārdavānugaḥ | vivekī bhūṣaṇārthī ca kavayaḥ sapta kīrtitāḥ || āvāpoddhārakṛdyāvanmanaso rucirātmanaḥ | rauciko vācikaḥ śuddhavāgāḍambarakārakaḥ || ārtho 'bhideyacitrārthī śilpikaḥ śabdacitrakṛt | śabdārthamārdavāpekṣī kaviḥ syānmārdavānugaḥ || śabdārthaguṇadoṣajño mahākavimatānugaḥ | śāstrālaṃkārasaṃskārī vivekī kavipuṃgavaḥ || alaṃkāraikanighno yo bhūṣaṇārthī budhairmataḥ | śaktirnidānaṃ kāvyasya kathyate kāvyavedibhiḥ || śabdacchando 'bhidhānādiśāstralokāvalokanam |*).

[6] *Kāvyālaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi* 3.80-88.

These forms, which Gaurana calls *cāṭuprabandha*, and the anxieties they induced may have driven the rise of the auspicious analysis in the Andhra school. But, as I have noted, only Gaurana and a few others go beyond regulating poetic practice to regulating its practitioners. Consequently, recognizing the seeming panegyrical reorganization of Andhra's literary culture is not sufficient for explaining these exclusionary claims. It is not enough to know the function of this new poetry. There must be a deeper understanding of not just these new practices but, more importantly, the poetic practitioners who performed them.

In what follows, I will sketch a history for cāṭuprabandha that moves between the history of the very term itself and a history of the production of the forms so called. Surveying the history of cāṭuprabandha—other poetological definitions, occurrences of the term itself, and extant works fitting the poetological description—can help measure the vector and force of Gaurana's claim. On the basis of such a survey, I will argue that more menacing to Gaurana than Andhra's princely śūdra poeticians were the *Śivakavis*. Modern historians and literary scholars have used this term broadly to designate all those poets who praised Śiva or told his stories. However, the Śivakavis' own declarations from the periods under consideration, they were members of the Vīramāheśvara (heroic devotees of the Great Lord) community now known as Vīraśaivas (heroic Śaivas) or Lingayats. A revolutionary religious movement espousing egalitarianism and militant devotion to Śiva, these Vīramāheśvaras began from Kalyāṇa (in present-day Karnataka) in the twelfth century and, by the thirteenth, spread into Andhra, where they found an institutional stronghold at Srisailam. In line with their populist ethic, the Vīraśaivas also championed non-elite poetic practices aligned with oral and vernacular traditions rather than the literary traditions of the court. Among these practices, I will demonstrate, are the genres that come to be called cāṭuprabandhas. Beyond a set of evolving formal and performance criteria, I will argue that the category is also implicitly shaped by its vernacular and non-elite genealogies, one of which is rooted in the Vīramāheśvara school of poetry.

In his move to Srisailam, Gaurana is likely to have considered (or reconsidered) these cāṭu forms primarily through his encounter with Vīramāheśvara poets. And so, the discursive history of cāṭuprabandha can ultimately provide a poetic and social context for reading Gaurana's Telugu dvipada works. In particular, I will suggest that dvipada was a part of generic ecology from the Andhra school poeticians extracted the smaller cāṭuprabandha class. Subsequently, if the Vīraśaiva poetic practices constitute a revolt against a courtly tradition of Sanskrit and Sanskritic poetry, then subsequent periods in Andhra's literary history are in part marked by the reaction from the courtly and brahmanical sector. At times, the reaction of courtly brahmans poets bordered on counterrevolution. Gaurana exemplifies this in the extreme: While he appropriated to the courtly tradition genres previously associated with more inclusive (and less elite) poetic schools, he nonetheless rejected the poetic authority of those poets who may have first championed them.

What we talk about when we talk about *cāṭu-*

It would be wise at this point to define the scope of cāṭuprabandha. Since the significance of Gaurana's work is the immediate end of the inquiry, I will use Gaurana's discussion of kāvya and cāṭuprabandha to set out the diagnostic features of the family beyond the term cāṭu- itself.

Though it proves itself a particularly important form for a magical-minded poetology, the udāharaṇa and its variants do not exhaust the poetic possibilities available to Gaurana. We know so much from Gaurana himself and hear echoes in the other Andhra poeticians. For one, in invoking the authority of "great poets" (*mahākavis*), Gaurana points directly to forms other than the udāharaṇa: the long Sanskrit novels in prose (Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*), the great poems (*mahākāvya*) in verse (Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* and *Raghuvaṃśa*; Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*; Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhīya*), as well as works belonging to the formally amorphous category of *stotra* (the verse attributed to Śaṅkarācārya). The varied nature of these works implies a concept of poetry more capacious than the focus on the panegyrically important auspicious analysis might suggest. Second, Gaurana and the Andhra school acknowledge that the need to perform the auspicious analysis may be less important for some kinds of poetry. Viśveśvara explicitly recognizes this, noting that some poeticians only prescribe the auspicious analysis for poems that have a living (*vartamāna*) subject who could reap the work's consequences. The stipulation is certainly apt for panegyrical works like the udāharaṇa with a royal subject. However, other Andhra poeticians—Gaurana and Viśveśvara among them—pronounce the importance of the auspicious analysis for all kinds of poetry: Though the patron/subject may be the most obvious recipient of a poem's produce, even if he or she is no more, poeticians recognize that the poet, the reciter (when different from the poet), and the audience are all subject to the work's power.[7] Still, in so deliberating, the Andhra poeticians recognize that not all poetry is panegyric for some present moment.

Yet Gaurana frames poetry as an enterprise that is first and foremost relevant to those who long for power. For such individuals, the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* and its auspicious analytical method are essential to avoiding the poetic flaws that could jeopardize this pursuit. He says: "[. . .] the sensible man who is adept at the act of fashioning astonishing poetry should avoid [poetic] flaws like poison if he longs for power over leaders" (*tasmād vismayakāraṇakavitānirmāṇakarmakuśaladhiyā sudhiyā viṣavat tyājyo nāyakarājyābhilāṣiṇā doṣaḥ*). Further, because Gaurana places his whole discussion of literary forms under the rubric of these panegyrical (*atha cāṭuprabandhāḥ*, he begins), he would seem to level the functional differences between panegyric and the wider set of poetic forms he surely knew.

Still, Gaurana ultimately situates cāṭuprabandhas into a wider system of genres. For this, he re-

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[7] See *Camatkāracandrikā* 1.47-51.

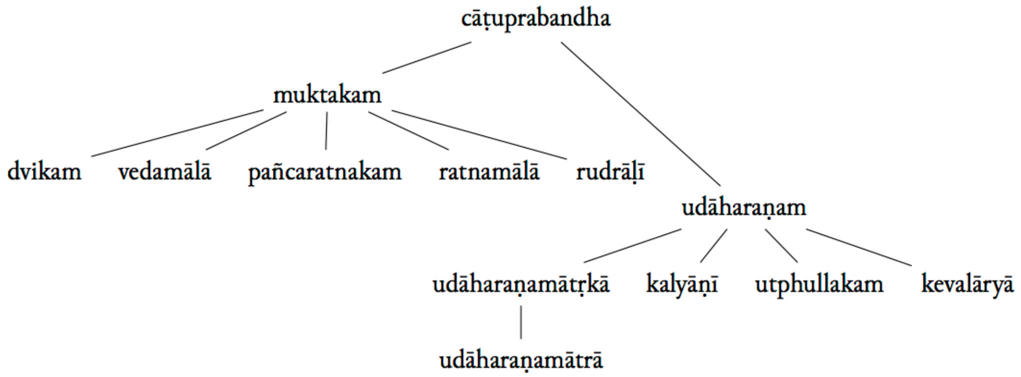

Figure 3.1: The cāṭuprabandhas according to Gaurana's *Lakṣaṇadīpikā*, Chapter Three.

lies on the pre-existing work of the wider alaṃkāraśāstra tradition. This description will occupy us further below. For now, however, I would simply delineate the forms that Gaurana includes in the cāṭuprabandha category.

Gaurana in effect offers two sets of cāṭu genres. The first set, described in only three verses, includes twelve simple types, all of which consist of a fixed number of verses (padyas) in the same meter. These include: the single verse composition (*muktaka* or "pearl"), the two-verse composition (*yugaḷam* or "pair"), the three-versed composition (*trayī* or "trio"), the four-versed (*vedamālā* or "garland of Vedas"), the five-versed (*pañcaratnakam* or "five jewels"), the six-versed, the seven-versed (*rāgāvaḷi* or "the modic garland"), the eight-versed (*gajamālā* or "elephant garland"), the nine-versed (*ratnamālā* or "garland of gems"), the ten-versed, the eleven-versed (*rudrāḷi* or "rosary"), and the twelve-versed.

The second set, described over the course of two-and-a-half sections (twenty-eight verses), involves more complex forms that mix metrical verse and a quasi-metered prose. The first type is the already mentioned udāharaṇa, which consists of eight sections composed of a verse and two prose passages called kalikā and utkalikā respectively. Gaurana defines it in this way: The remaining five types—*udāharaṇamātṛkā*, *udāharaṇamātrā*, *kalyāṇī*, *utphullakam*, and *kevalārya*—are variations on the basic udāharaṇa type that substitute or eliminate part or all of a section.

Central to the definition of these types are the relative prevalence of these prose passages kalikā and utkalikā. These forms are listed as types of prose (gadya) but have a more defined metrical shape. Specifically, they come in sets of two lines that consist of a number of metrical feet or *daḷas* (anywhere from four to multiples of four up to thirty-two). Further, these prose lines should be set to a defined musical rhythm or *tāḷa*. Aside from the udāharaṇa variations, Gaurana devotes a considerable number of verses (fourteen) to detailing these prose forms.

Thus, Gaurana's primary theoretical concern when it came to cāṭuprbandhas was the udāharaṇa type. Second to this, he took great pains to define the kalikā/utkalikā type of prose contained within the udāharaṇa. Going forward, then, aside from the *cāṭu-* designation itself, udāharaṇa and *kalikā-* will be the main indices for the cāṭuprabandha category.

When *cāṭuprabandha* becomes *cāṭuprabandha*, 1300-1370 CE

On the basis of these terms, the history of cāṭuprabandha before Gaurana describes an arc wherein a set of new poetic forms move from minor poetry to a proper theoretical object in Andhra poetology. At the beginning of this arc, cāṭuprabandha is not even known by its own name. By the end—likely two or three decades before Gaurana was active—cāṭuprabandhas were clearly understood as relatively short panegyrical poems in a mix of prose and verse that could be composed in a variety of Sanskritic and regional languages.

Making a minor genre in Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇam*, ca. 1320 CE

The first traces of cāṭuprabandha come in the early fourteenth century from Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇam*, albeit not by the cāṭu- name. Instead, using the heading *kṣudraprabandha* (minor composition), Vidyānātha lists five forms—the udāharaṇa, along with the *cakravālaka, bhogāvalī, birudāvalī, tārāvalī*. This is the first articulation of the set that later Andhra poeticians (starting with Amṛtānandayogin and Gaurana) call cāṭuprabandha. The first to be defined is the udāharaṇa:"It is called udāharaṇa when its composed of prose and verse with some *tāla* or another; it opens with the word 'Victory!'; the first verse is in *Mālinī* or some other meter and is prettied with alliteration; and when it is focused on all eight cases."[8] The remaining receive little more attention and take on the appearance of variations: The *cakravālaka* has more verses and makes greater use of the vocative case. The *bhogāvalī* is fit for a deity or a king; further, each of its sections should have a different stylistic texture (*rīti*) and should begin with the word *deva* (lord, god). The *birudāvalī* (chain of exploits) is noteworthy for its verbal pyrotechnics and the sheer number of *birudas* (titles, exploits) it lists. The *tārāvalī* (chain of stars) should have as many verses as there are constellations (that is, twenty-seven).

Aside from enumerating these forms, Vidyānātha offers no generalized definition—no lakṣaṇa as such—to unite the *kṣudraprabandha* class. According to the brief individual definitions, these could all be classified as panegyrical compositions. The udāharaṇa's encomiastic character has already been discussed and is indexed by the required exclamation of *jaya* (Victory!). The others seem to be in the same vein. The cakravālaka is by definition a variation on the udāharaṇa. The bhogāvalī should explicitly address a divine or mortal potentate. The birudāvalī is constituted by the military achievements of kings. Of them all, the tārāvalī is the outlier, with Vidyānātha giving no indication of its themes.

Consequently, the only comprehensive conceptual cue lies in the category name itself. By using the label kṣudraprabandha, Vidyānātha places these genres in a larger network of compositional genres, which are generally called prabandha. Drawing on a typology that goes back to the earliest works of alaṃkāraśāstra,[9] Vidyānātha explains that poetry (kāvya) has three basic types—*gadya* (prose), *padya* (metrical verse), and *campū* (a mix of the two).

However, Vidyānātha divides prabandha (compositional genres as such) into two main branches. For the first branch, the mahākāvya is the paradigmatic form. For his definition, Vidyānātha follows Daṇḍin's seminal description of the *sargabandha* (chaptered composition) but centers his definition only on the descriptive topoi such a work should include:

> Where there are descriptions of cities, oceans, mountains, the seasons, moon- and sunrises, parks, water play, drinking parties, sexual escapades, longing and marriage, and descriptions of the ascent of princes, as well as counsels, messengers, travel, battles, and

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[8] *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇam* 2.75.

[9] See *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 1.16 and *Kāvyādarśa* 1.11

> the successes of heroes—such a work is a great poem (and even if some of these eighteen [topoi] are lacking).[10]

Beyond the mahākāvya / sargabandha, Vidyānātha notes a related category, which he calls *asargabandha* (not-a-sargabandha). Exemplified by (presumably Mayūra's) *Sūryaśataka* (*A Century to the Sun*), it would seem to encapsulate forms longer than a few verses but still relatively short—about the size of one canto in a mahākāvya. Despite designating the *asargabandha* as the etymological opposite of the mahākāvya form, Vidyānātha does not actually present the *asargabandha* as the exact opposite of the major form. Instead he notes that it has also been termed *upakāvya* (shorter poetry), suggesting that the form is a member of the same family as the mahākāvya.

In classifying shorter works like śataka in this way, Vidyānātha follows the earlier ālaṃkārikas who tended to see these forms simply as pieces of a mahākāvya. Daṇḍin, for his part, mentions some few short forms of composition—a single verse (*muktaka*), a string of four or more (*kulaka*), the anthology (kośa), a string of verses in the same meter (*saṃghāta*). These forms are, to be sure, not-mahākāvya. But in the end, Daṇḍin describes them as being mere parts of the totalizing project of the mahākāvya.[11] In this early conceptualization of poetic genre, shorter forms are recognized and, theoretically, a poet could compose a short work, perhaps taking up a single topos. Ānandavardhana speaks to the possibility explicitly. But in this case, rather than thinking of shorter forms as parts of a whole, the paradigmatic form is the independent stanza: All forms of poetry—including the mahākāvya—should aspire to the aesthetic, sentimental unification exemplified in the well-wrought

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[10] *Pratāparūdrayaśobhūṣaṇam* 2.69-71. Compare with *Kāvyādarśa* 1.14-20: "The chaptered-composition [*sargabandha*] is called a great poem [*mahākāvya*]. Its characteristics: At beginning it has either a benediction, paying obeisance, or an indication of the theme; it is based in good source material (from either itihāsa, tales, or somewhere else); it adheres to four ends of man; it has a skilled and noble hero; it is adorned with descriptions of cities, oceans, mountains, the seasons, moon- and sun- rises, parks, water play, drinking parties, sexual escapades, longing and marriage, and descriptions of the ascent of princes, as well as counsels, messengers, travel, battles, and the successes of heroes; it is not too short but is replete with rasa and feeling; it should have well-connected chapters that are not to diffuse, use pleasant meters, and which end in different meters. Such a poem delights the world, and well-adorned, will live on into later ages. Though lacking some of these parts, a poem is still pleasing to those in the know if it succeeds in doing what it sets out to do." Beyond the topoi, Daṇḍin offers guidelines for beginning a poem, the sources of mahākāvya, its moral content, and notes on the use of meters within and between chapters.

[11] *Kāvyādarśa* 1.13: *muktakaṃ kulakaṃ kośaḥ saṃghāta iti tādṛśaḥ | sargabandhāṃśarūpatvād anuktaḥ padyavistaraḥ* ||

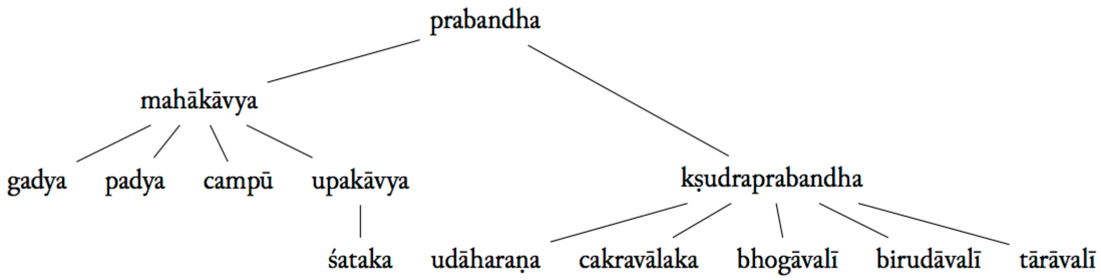

Figure 3.2: The poetic genres according to Vidyānātha's *Prātāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇam* 2.69-80.

muktaka.[12] Thus, early alaṃkāraśāstra sees little in these forms that might occasion a label that refers to anything other than the number of verses they contain.[13] Thus, in being a member of this family, the *upakāvya / asargabandha* is still valuable—it is still poetry (*kāvya*).

As such, upakāvya would appear to be distinct from and even superior to *kṣudraprabandha*, the second branch of prabandha. While kṣudra- may be translated simply as "short," given the presence of the upakāvya in his typology, I would suggest that Vidyānātha is referring to more than the relative size of the kṣudraprabandhas. His terminology suggests a difference in both aesthetic form and in aesthetic value. At the extreme, the kṣudraprabandha label may suggest that these forms are not so much kāvya (the work of a Poet) as they are mere compositions (*prabandha*)—and lesser (*kṣudra*) ones at that. In so doing, Vidyānātha may be distancing these panegyrical works from works in higher art forms already known to Sanskrit alaṃkāraśāstra, which he classes as mahā- and upa- kāvya.[14]

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[12] See *Dhvanyāloka* 3.7. The exception here is the *kathā* (story). But even this should be focused on the delivery of its single narrative.

[13] There are exceptions. For instance, the early kāvya commentator Vallabhadeva labels Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* a *krīḍākāvya* (playful poem). In Daṇḍin's terminology, it would be a *saṃghāta*. Later on, Bhoja, for his part, calls it a *khaṇḍakāvya* (short poem). Bhoja is generally exceptional. In his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* he offers a typology of many genres differentiated according to both verbal form and subject matter. Yet, despite the obvious existence of a distinct genre of *dūtakāvya* (messenger poetry) inspired by Kālidāsa's work, it is mostly unrecognized by poetological scholarship before the twentieth century. Also, on the whole, dramatic theory has consistently offered extensive genre typologies.

[14] This distinction could be especially important with regard to Vidyānātha's own treatise, which is aptly labelled an "ornament for the fame" (*yaśobhūṣaṇam*): Every example verse in the work praises the text's patron, Pratāparudra II (r. 1289-1323 CE), in addition to exemplifying some poetological principle or another. Thus, one motivation for Vidyānātha's typology may have been to distinguish his work—informed as it is by a better known model (the scholastic treatise)—from lesser panegyrical forms.

Formal equality in Viśveśvara's *Camatkāracandrikā*, ca. 1360-1370 CE

The next signs of cāṭuprabandha come toward the end of the fourteenth century from Viśveśvara's *Camatkāracandrikā*. Here Viśveśvara avoids the Vidyānātha's trivializing schema and proposes a more precisely articulated typology organized around the linguistic and metrical shape of poetic forms. Rather than subordinating the gadya/padya/campū trichotomy to the overarching mahākāvya, Viśveśvara posits these metrical distinctions as the parent categories. In so doing, he maintains Vidyānātha's two-fold schema of kāvya but reverses its semantic polarity. Giving the name *akṣudrakāvya* (not-short poetry) to the sargabandha and *kṣudrakāvya* (short poetry) to the *asargabandha* type (which includes the śataka and other short compositions in verse), Viśveśvara undermines (if only slightly) the conceptual priority of the mahākāvya / sargabandha. He casts the shorter form as the main point of reference and, in the process, attenuates the deprecating connotation (or, at least, the analytic laxity) of Vidyānātha's use of *kṣudra-*.

What Vidyānātha called kṣudraprabandha, Viśveśvara calls *upacampū* (minor prosimetrum). These are comprised by mixed prose and verse poetry, which has the most subtypes. First, it can be visual or aural—a distinction seen already in Daṇḍin. The visual form refers to drama (and is thus elaborated in other treatises). The aural (*śrāvya*) forms, on the other hand, are the province of poetology. Here we have *campū*—prosimetric poetry. Following Vidyānātha's typology, the forms eventually known as cāṭuprabandha could be included here simply, being as they are "made of prose and verse" (*gadyapadyasamanvitam*). However, as the literary corpus bears out and Viśveśvara corroborates, the appellation *campū* had ceased to be a simple, descriptive term for poetry in prose and verse. Instead it was largely reserved for prosimetric poetry on the mahākāvya scale, such as the king Bhoja's *Rāmāyaṇacampū*. Thus Viśveśvara uses the term *upacampū* instead. This move dovetails with his reallocation of the *kṣudra-* label, placing these new, not yet cāṭu- forms squarely within the realm of respectable poetry.

In line with his efforts at a conceptual rehabilitation of these forms, Viśveśvara defines a unifying thread—in this case, a basic unit—for the *upacampū*. This unit is the *bhadram*, which is defined

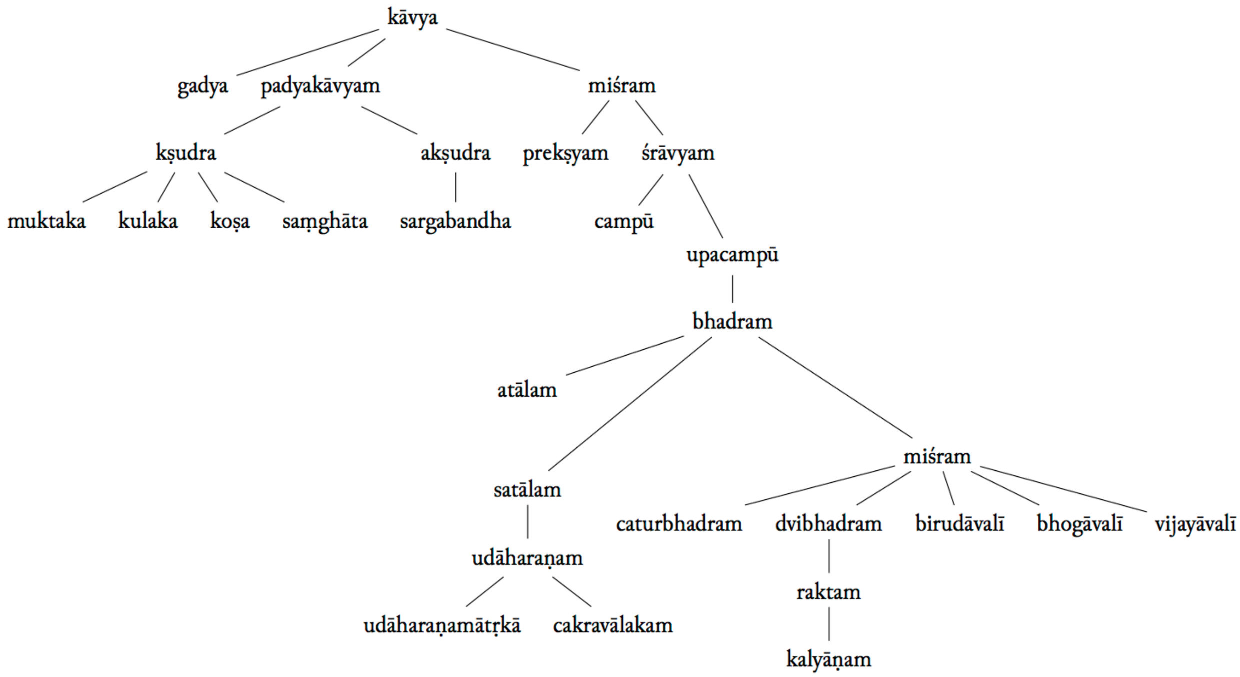
kāvya
gadya
padyakāvyam
miśram
kṣudra
akṣudra
prekṣyam
śrāvyam
muktaka
kulaka
koṣa
saṃghāta
sargabandha
campū
upacampū
bhadram
atālam
satālam
miśram
udāharaṇam
caturbhadram
dvibhadram
birudāvalī
bhogāvalī
vijayāvalī
udāharaṇamātṛkā
cakravālakam
raktam
kalyāṇam

Figure 3.3: The poetic genres according to Viśveśvara's *Camatkāracandrikā* 3.41-73.

as a verse followed by an even number of lines of prose.[15] These *bhadrams* constitute the larger upacampū forms that Viśveśvara goes on to name: *dvibhadram, caturbhadra, birudāvalī, bhogāvalī, vijayāvalī* (subtype of *caturbhadram*), *udāharaṇa*, and *cakravālaka* (as a subtype of udāharaṇa).

The forms Viśveśvara calls *upacampū* are all panegyrically oriented. So much is confirmed by the themes he describes for them and the stipulation that the upacampū's final verse be a kind of colophon that marks the name of the poet, the work, and the work's subject-patron. However, this panegyrical component does not seem to be their defining feature. Indeed, following his formal fastidiousness, Viśveśvara highlights characteristics that would distinguish the *upacampū* forms from any categories handed down from earlier alaṃkāraśāstra. In particular, *upacampū* are generally composed with fixed, musical rhythms. There is a hint of this already in the *Pratāparudrīya*, where Vidyānātha notes that *kṣudraprabandhas* are set to "some musical rhythm (*tāla*) or another."[16] From Viśveśvara on, the poeticians are more precise: It is the prose in the forms that is fixed with musical rhythm. For

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[15] *Camatkāracandrikā* 3.56

[16] *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇam* 2.74.

Viśveśvara, the degree to which tāla is present distinguishes the various upacampū forms from one another. Therefore he offers three types of his upacampū element *bhadram*—that with tāla (*satāla*), without tāla (*atāla*), and a *bhadram* that mixes *satāla* and *atāla* prose. Tellingly, however, he does not describe any forms that lack tāla completely.

The paradigmatic form of *upacampū* with *tāla* is the udāharaṇa. To define the udāharaṇa and its *satāla* elements, Viśveśvara introduces the *kalikā*, which he describes as a metrically regimented form of prose. Viśveśvara is the first Andhra school poetician to use the term kalikā but not the first ālaṃkārika to do so. The term *kalikā* first appears in Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkara* (late eighth century). In Vāmana's usage, *kalikā* refers to a dense, heavily alliterative kind of prose. Vāmana sets the kalikā next to two other varieties of prose. One, *cūrṇakam*, is prose in a simple style devoid of nominal compounding or alliteration. The other variety, *vṛttagandhi*, is literally prose "with a whiff of meter."[17] As such, it is the only form in this schema to have any rhythmic regimentation. Still, the incidence of such a rhythm is irregular: The metrical perfume is applied only as the poet fancies. Vāmana's kalikā thus stands at quite a distance from Gaurana's.

On the other hand, Viśveśvara's kalikā is the more likely progenitor of the type Gaurana defines. He defines it this way: "Kalikās come in pairs that are strung together beautifully with beginning and end rhyme" (*dvayordvayorādyantānuprāsasundaramākalanīyāḥ kalikāḥ*). Gaurana's guidelines for daḷas (metrical segments) are lacking here, but the rhythmicality is nonetheless given through tāla.

Beyond the defining the category's metrical textures, Viśveśvara further distinguishes the category by occasionally alluding to the upacampūs' linguistic content and context. In particular, the poetic forms he describes may be composed in regional (*deśya*) languages. After defining the *dvibhadram*, for instance, Viśveśvara names variations that descend from the varying linguistic bases: If there is more than one language present, it is called *raktam*; if it is, specifically, a combination of Sanskrit and the regional language, *kalyāṇam*. Furthermore, the *birudāvalī* also lends itself to the *deśya*, which may be used for rhetorical effect.[18]. Viśveśvara makes this point in his section on word-based flaws. While the poet should generally avoid pure *deśya* words (that is, by implication, words from another *deśa*) because they are difficult to comprehend, *deśya* words are acceptable—and even beautiful—when it comes to a patron's *birudas*, since these index the geographical extent of the patron's power. Furthermore, as he concludes the upacampū section, Viśveśvara makes an oblique reference to Prakrit (and, perhaps even, Telugu) metrical forms, refering to a class of works that includes *dvipatī*. The name is obscure but resembles *dvipadī*, which refers to a Prakrit meter possibly related to the Telugu meter *dvipada*.[19] Thus, though he does not explicitly theorize this aspect, Viśveśvara nevertheless marks upacampūs as forms permeable and permeated by regional language and literature.

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[17] *Kāvyālaṅkāra* 1.3.23-25.

[18] *Camatkāracandrikā* 1.27

Consequently, Viśveśvara departs from Vidyānātha by fully integrating the imminently cāṭu forms into the ālaṃkārika system by reconfiguring the extant generic typology. He also provides these upacampūs with more robust formal definitions. He offers the first definition of the kalikā, isolates the bhadram as the upacampūs' foundational element, and provides more satisfactory formal glosses on certain generic designations (such as the recursive structure that gives the *cakravālaka*, or "the round," its name). However, because the upacampū by definition mixes prose and verse, Viśveśvara must omit one of Vidyānātha's kṣudraprabandha—the *tārāvalī* (poem in twenty-seven verses)—even as he doubles the category's members. Nonetheless, his category is also marked as different in that it explicitly accommodates the regional.

Introducing *cāṭuprabandha* in Amṛtānandayogin's *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*, ca. 1360-1370 CE

Amṛtānandayogin seems to be the first poetician to use the term cāṭuprabandha. With the arrival of this proper designation in the final chapter of his *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* (roughly contemporary to *Camatkāracandrikā*), the category appears quite the same; but it also comes much changed, cutting across the generic boundaries found elsewhere. For one, Amṛtānandayogin differs from both Vidyānātha and Viśveśvara by not integrating—even by proximity—cāṭuprabandha and kāvya in general. While the

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[19] *Camatkāracandrikā* 3.73: "In this way, others coming from this class may be known, but we consider them to be included in the minor [compositions] like *dvipatī*, etc. (*itthamanyadapi jñeyametajjātisamudbhavam* | *dvipatīpramukhānāṃ tu kṣudreṣvantargatirmatā* | *yeṣāṃ lakṣyaṃ budhairūhyaṃ vayaṃ vistarabhīravaḥ*).

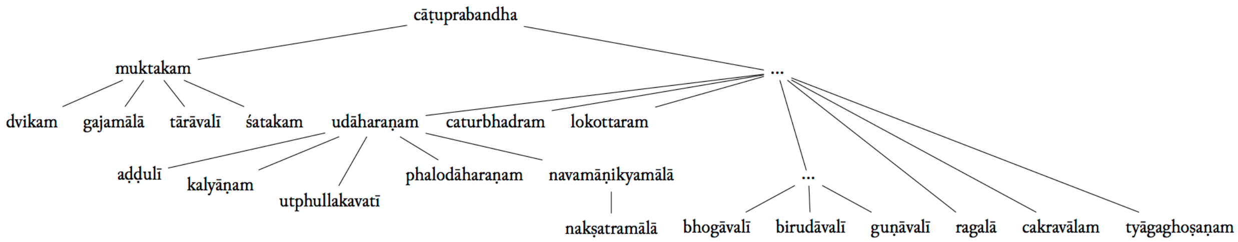
cāṭuprabandha
muktakam
...
dvikam
gajamālā
tārāvalī
śatakam
udāharaṇam
caturbhadram
lokottaram
aḍḍulī
kalyāṇam
utphullakavatī
phalodāharaṇam
navamāṇikyamālā
...
nakṣatramālā
bhogāvalī
birudāvalī
guṇāvalī
ragalā
cakravālam
tyāgaghoṣaṇam

Figure 3.4: The cāṭuprabandhas according to Amṛtānandayogin's *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*, Chapter 11.

general and by now familiar discussion of kāvya (especially the mahākāvya / sargabandha) comes in the first chapter of his manual,[20] Amṛtānandayogin allots a separate chapter and many more verses to describing cāṭuprabandha. In this, his discussion echoes that of Vidyānātha, who seemed to count the kṣudraprabandhas / cāṭuprabandhas as a class apart from the genres attest in the older ālaṃkārika literature. But, like Viśveśvara, Amṛtānandayogin evinces nothing of Vidyānātha's diminishing idiom.

Amṛtānandayogin ultimately presents a formally diverse class that breaks down the categories established by earlier poeticians. Here he echoes and revises both Vidyānātha and Viśveśvara's works. Cāṭuprabandhas, according to the Alaṃkārasaṃgraha's presentation, seem to be of two kinds. The first includes shorter verse works—what Vidyānātha called *asargabandha* or *upakāvya*, and Viśveśvara called *kṣudrakāvya*. With this set, Amṛtānandayogin is able to recuperate the *tārāvalī* (which was lost in Viśveśvara's revision of Vidyānātha) while massively expanding the category to include well-established types like the muktaka (independent verse) and śataka (century). He further recasts some of these basic genres—for instance, the aṣṭaka or composition in eight verses—by including more suggestive names—in this case, gajamālā (garland of elephants, in reference to the eight elephants that uphold the eight corners of the earth). The tārāvalī might then have been the core of this group: compositions with a precise number of verses, named either by the number directly or indirectly through metonymy.

The second cāṭuprabandha variety includes forms like the udāharaṇa and largely mirrors what Viśveśvara called *upacampū*. Though Amṛtānandayogin does not mark the *bhadram* as the basic unit of prosimetrum, he nonetheless describes a series of panegyrical forms in a quasi-musical mixed prose and verse. Furthermore, like Viśveśvara, Amṛtānandayogin describes some of the forms as precisely being open to regional markers—whether in linguistic matter or themes. In a new development, the udāharaṇa can be composed in either Sanskrit, Prakrit, a mix of Sanskrit and Prakrit, or a regional (*deśi*) language.[21] The *guṇāvalī* (list of virtues) may includes two, four, five, or even six different languages.[22]

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[20] *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* 1.11cd-20.

Aside from enumerating some new forms (*ragalā, aḍḍalī, phalodāharaṇam, utphullakavatī, tyāgaghoṣaṇam*) and redefining pre-existing terms (*kalyāṇī*), Amṛtānandayogin's major innovation is that he stipulates the goddess who preside over each of the grammatical declensions and, by extension, each of the udāharaṇa's eight sections. He thus underscores the genres' panegyrical enterprise. And, moreover, he draws this enterprise closer to the Andhra school's larger magical and ritual concerns, which both he and his contemporary Viśveśvara evince in their auspicious analyses.

Gaurana on *cāṭuprabandha*

By the time Gaurana comes to compose his *Lakṣaṇadīpikā*, cāṭuprabandha was firmly a poetological object and Gaurana does not hide his familiarity with his predecessors. His discussion of the udāharaṇa and similar forms mirrors Amṛtānandayogin's. Like Amṛtānandayogin's, Gaurana's category can be divided into two sets—the verse-garland and the udāharaṇa-types—and he does not introduce any new types.

Still, just as Gaurana did not simply regurgitate earlier auspicious analyses, neither does he simply reproduce his predecessors' generic typologies. Instead, Gaurana, in a move analogous to Viśveśvara's invention of the upacampū, augments these earlier discussions by integrating the cāṭuprabandha category with two more fundamental schemas from alaṃkāraśāstra. On the first account, Gaurana bridges the gap Amṛtānandayogin made and realigns the cāṭuprabandha type with mahākāvya form. On the second, Gaurana refines the description of *kalikā* and situates it in a larger universe of poetic prose. In both cases, Gaurana essentially continues the explicatory refinement that characterized his auspicious analysis.

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[21] *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* 11.16.
[22] *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* 11.35-36.

Cāṭuprabandha and aesthetic value

Regarding the first matter, Gaurana does not seem to dwell on the aesthetic value or beauty of poetic works. As I have argued above, he is not necessarily averse to beauty in poetry, but he is also not much interested in its whence or wherefore. Even so, in discussing the types of poetry, he does reference a three-tiered ranking of poetry as inferior, middling, or superior (*adhamam, madhyamam, uttamam*). The reference—unexplicated and made in passing—is nonetheless familiar from earlier works of alaṃkāraśāstra like Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*. In Mammaṭa's work, the schema is precisely a ranking of aesthetic quality, which is to be determined by the relative predominance in a poem of the lauded *dhvani*: If it is not at all oriented towards dhvani (as *citrakāvya* or "diagrammatic poetry" tends to be), a poem is inferior; if primarily oriented towards dhvani, superior.[23] Other poeticians echo the schema, albeit inflecting as their own theoretical concerns demand (for example, Viśveśvara's three levels of *camatkāra*). So, just as in the case of *rasa*, Gaurana heeds the prevailing poetic paradigms. But it is not his main interest and he offers nothing by way of real instruction. He does not even mention dhvani, the crux of the ranking. Thus at first blush cāṭuprabandhas are not immediately set apart from other kinds of kāvya as better or worse.

Aesthetic evaluation aside, Gaurana nonetheless investigates—and thoroughly—the aesthetic forms of poetry. Indeed, it is precisely after he pays lip-service to the hegemonic poetics of dhvani that Gaurana reveals his true interests: "Now, it has been taught elsewhere that there are three kinds of poetry [*kāvya*]—namely superior, middling, and inferior; and that each of these has three subtypes. But compositions [*prabandha*] are of two kinds, namely long [*mahat*] and short [*laghu*]."[24] Here he shifts his focus from the possible aesthetic value of poetry (Which kinds of kāvya are best? Which are the worst?) to poetry as *prabandha* or composition. The question thus turns away from whether the poem is good or bad or beautiful to what its size and shape might be. This move is quite consistent with how Gaurana actually begins his cāṭuprabandha section. Following a common trend, he opens his discussion of poetic genres by classifying poetry into three types, namely *gadya* (prose), *padya* (verse), or an amalgam of the two (*saṃmiśra*). This trichotomy is familiar from the work of Daṇḍin.[25] Verse, he goes on to say, can be divided into two subtypes: *vṛtta* meters structured according to syllabic feet (*gaṇa*) and *jāti* meters defined according to moraic feet (*mātrā*). As an opening move this classification is quite standard—practically unremarkable. Still, his description of prose and its seven subtypes is less familiar. I will return to it later. But suffice it to say for now that in his discussion of genre, Gaurana is focused on form.

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[23] See Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* 1.4-5: *idam uttamam atiśayini vyaṅgye vācyād dhvanir budhaiḥ kathitaḥ | atādṛśi guṇībhūtavyaṅgyaṃ vyaṅgye tu madhyamam | śabdacitraṃ vācyacitram avyaṅgyaṃ tv avaraṃ smṛtaṃ ||*

[24] *kāvyaṃ tu trividhaṃ proktam uttamaṃ madhyamaṃ tathā | adhamaṃ ceti tatsarvam anyatra triprakārakaṃ | adhamaṃ*

At root, the two classes of composition that Gaurana proposes are distinguished only by their size and how much they contain. The *mahat* form, as its name declares, is large. Consequently, it is also more inclusive. It should involve all the ends of man, every *rasa*, and include every descriptive *topos* (*te mahānttaś caturvargaphalam yeṣv abhidhīyate sphuranti te rasās sarve nagarādisthalāni ca*). Gaurana's definition here is clear but so abbreviated that it strains to do justice to the supposedly massive object it aims to describe. Nonetheless, the definition is familiar: What Gaurana offers here is a condensed version of Daṇḍin's seminal definition of the mahākāvya (seen above). Daṇḍin's detailed list is here collapsed in Gaurana's half-verse "*topoi* like cities, etc." (*nagarādisthalāni ca*). On the other points, Gaurana is either silent (source material, metrical change at a chapter's conclusion), agrees by implication (nobility of the hero), or offers a refinement (the initial syllables must be auspicious regardless of the specific opening speech act). Though Daṇḍin later offers some suggestions for increasing narrative tension, they are just that—suggestions. He and those who follow him—Gaurana and his Andhra school predecessors—offer little else in the way of requirements or direction. Poets appear to have free

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ceti tatsarvam anyatra triprakārakaṃ | prabandhās tu dvi[dhā]s santti mahāntt[o] laghavas tathā |

[25] *Kāvyādarśa* 1.11ab. Bhāmaha does not give the mixed form its own billing, though it is an implicit possibility (*Kāvyālaṅkāra* 1.16ab).

rein in the details of a mahākāvya's poetic design, so long as they make it comprehensive. If anything, Gaurana is more demanding than Daṇḍin. He does not even suggest that the large-form poem might omit a trope and yet succeed.

The *laghu* or short composition is just that—shorter. Gaurana defines it in this way: "In short compositions, only one of the four aims of life is promoted; and it can be focused on a single rasa or many of them" (*laghavas te caturvargeṣv eka eva prakīrtitaḥ | samagraikaraso 'pi ca cānekarasāśritāḥ* |). So defined, the category of the laghu-prabandha is less familiar. And, in contrast to Gaurana's definition of the *mahat* form (so brief yet immediately recognizable due to his forebears' clear characterization), the *laghu* label has its antecedents in more amorphous categories described only in passing. To start simply, *laghu-prabandha* is the opposite term to *mahat-prabandha*: It is not a *sargabandha* / mahākāvya. Yet, while ālaṃkārikas in general show little interest in generic forms beyond the individual verse or the mahākāvya, they elaborate in-between forms of non-mahākāvya even less frequently. As the preceding discussion has shown, poeticians often imagined shorter forms as components of the long poem.

It could be said then that Gaurana's notion of the laghu-prabandha is as vaguely articulated as the earlier ālaṃkārikas' conception of the terrain between the *muktaka* and mahākāvya. Gaurana's definition of the short form does suggest that thematic unity might be desirable; but thematic comprehensiveness is an equally viable option. The large form, on the other hand, is more recognizable and—amorphous as it is—captures most of the major works of the major poets Gaurana quotes (and whom Sanskrit literary culture as a whole esteems). Similarly, the mahatprabandha also has a clear aesthetic value. Gaurana then, despite reinstituting Vidyānātha's strict dichotomy between major and minor, does nothing to suggest that the laghu-prabandha is of lesser value.

More to the point, the cāṭuprabandhas that he goes on to describe would fall squarely in the laghu category on aesthetic grounds. As described, udāharaṇas and the like are primarily focused on heroic or erotic themes (the domain of the *vīra-* and *śṛṅgāra-* rasas respectively), often to the exclusion of others. They would presumably feature descriptive *topoi* that are suitable to those sentiments and, consequently, demonstrate the laghuprabandha's limited thematic range. While Gaurana does not explicitly designate cāṭuprabandhas as laghuprabandhas, he does highlight the panegyrical aspect of poetic work (the need to give the name of the poet and patron, the necessity of purity in poetry, and poetry's ability to propogate the poet and patron's fame). Ultimately, then, Gaurana follows and yet moves away from Viśveśvara and Amṛtānandayogin. Like these earlier poeticians, Gaurana appreciates the cāṭuprabandhas as a formally distinguished class in terms of their metrical textures. All the same, by articulating the mahat/laghu schema, Gaurana redescribes cāṭuprabandhas in order to realign them with larger aesthetic and ideological aims of kāvya and alaṃkāraśāstra.

Cāṭuprabandha and the redefinition of prose

From its beginnings in the *Pratāparudrīya*, the thinking of the Andhra school describes an arc wherein cāṭuprabandha eventually comprises poetics forms that prominently feature the kalikā or forms analogous to it. While Viśveśvara and Amṛtānandayogin define *kalikā* within the udāharaṇa forms, Gaurana goes further: He defines kalikā and, in the process, expands the general definition of prose.

While his attention span for *topoi* and aesthetic sentiments is brief, Gaurana allots a significant amount of time to elaborating the rhythmic and syntactic shapes that poetry can take. Thus he gives a robust account of the varieties of prose, offering no less than seven subtypes, each distinguished by its prosodic and syntactic peculiarities. Of the seven subtypes—*cūrṇakam, kalikā, utkalikā, citra, gadyapadyam, lalitam, khaṇḍam*—only three (*cūrṇakam, kalikā,* and *gadyapadyam* as a synonym for *vṛttagandhi*?) are mentioned by earlier poeticians. Gaurana does not offer an explicit definition for *cūrṇaka* (perhaps because it is well-established) or for *citra* (which would also well-established if the label is an abbreviated reference to *citrabandha* or "diagrammatic poetry"). Overall, however, what Gaurana proposes here is a spectrum of prose ranging from the syntactically simple (*cūrṇakam*) to the highly compounded and rhythmically regulated (kalikā, *utkalikā*).

Gaurana ultimately directs most of his attention to describing variations on the kalikā and its truncated subtype, the *utkalikā*. Indeed, he defines it twice—once in his general description of prose types, and then again when defining the udāharaṇa, where kalikā is key. The kalikā, Gaurana tells

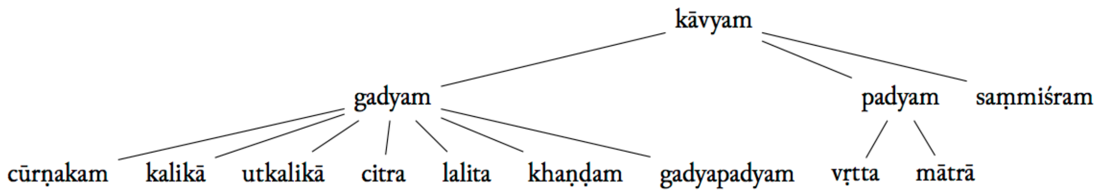

Figure 3.5: Gaurana's typology of the poetic elements.

us, is apportioned into line segments called *daḷas*, which always come in pairs. The kalikā can vary in size, containg four, six, eight, sixteen, or thirty-two such lines. In the udāharaṇa, it is eight daḷas long. Gaurana's definition gives the typical shape: "A kalikā is a poem that has eight *daḷas* which are measured in morae (*mātrā*), have tāla, caesuras, and pairs of *daḷas* that are prettied by alliteration (*anuprāsa*) in the beginning and end [of the line]." The *utkalikā* is defined as being half or a little less than half the length of a kalikā but is otherwise beholden to the same stipulations for alliteration, rhythm, and rhyme. Having defined the basic structure of udāharaṇa, kalikā, and utkalikā, Gaurana more or less ends his work by describing variants of the udāharaṇa which are differentiated not in terms of their subject matter or themes but rather on the basis of their kalikā portions. For instance, a *kalyāṇī* is an udāharaṇa that lacks the utkalikā sections.

Thus, Gaurana's integrative work moved in two directions. Where his mahat/laghu typology affirmed cāṭuprabandha's place in kāvya's aesthetic enterprise broadly conceived, Gaurana's new prose typology reaches down to redescribe cāṭuprabandha's elements. Viśveśvara cleared the path for this move when he named the udāharaṇa-cāṭuprabandhas upacampū. But, despite picking up the name kalikā, he did not reconceptualize the more fundamental element gadya. Though the earlier Andhra poeticians called the kalikā gadya, this gadya of theirs—as noted above—was like no gadya seen before. By setting out a typology of prose that includes Andhra's novel kalikā, Gaurana constructs a theoretical infrastructure for the formal texture of cāṭuprabandhas.

After Gaurana: *Cāṭuprabandha* as Telugu Literature

Around the time of Gaurana, the Andhra school's first Telugu manuals emerge. These early treatises are comprehensive works that tend to focus on matters of meter and compositional form. However, they also take up issues of grammar, in addition to defining the poetic figures of the alaṃkāraśāstra. On the whole, the first two manuals—Vinnakoṭa Pĕddana's *Kāvyālaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi* (ca. 1404-1430) and Anantāmātyuḍu's *Chandodarpaṇamu* (or *Anantunichandhassu*, ca. 1436)—offer no major theoretical revisions to the systems so far explored. In their use of the *cāṭu-* designation and the genres it comprised as well as in their naming of the declensions' deities, both works appear to have known and followed *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha*. Beyond this, while Anantuḍu's discussion is quite brief, Pĕddana catalogues a much richer array of cāṭu forms, some of which are familiar from Amṛtānandayogin.

Both Anantuḍu's and Pĕddana's discussions do, however, highlight cāṭuprabandha's entanglement with a regional poetics. In the *Chandodarpaṇamu*, Anantāmātyuḍu does this by classifying cāṭuprabandhas with the *jāti* (quantitative, morae-based) meters. The move is curious but bespeaks the place of cāṭuprabandhas in the conceptual universe of Andhra poetology. Because Anantuḍu's is a treatise on meter, knowledge of which is most important for making poetry, it does not broach the question of compositional genres in the broad manner seen so far from the ālaṃkārikas. Instead the *Chandodarpaṇamu* elaborates poetry's formal elements. Anantuḍu's treatise divides this matter into three chapters. The first addresses phonemic elements of poetic language and establishes the technical language on which his later definitions are built. (Consequently, it is here that his auspicious analysis of the metremes can be found.) The second chapter treats syllabic meters mostly known from Sanskrit prosody. The third and final chapter is, ostensibly, on the aforementioned *jāti* meters. The first of these, the *ārya* meters, are familiar from Sanskrit prosody and, integral to poetry in the literary Prakrits. However, as the chapter goes on, the Prakrit orientation gives way to the vernacular, and the focus shifts to defining meters of some prominence in Telugu literature—*kandamu*, *taruvoju*, *sīsa*, and *ragaḍa* to name a few. The chapter's final sections discuss some elements of Telugu grammar. In between, Anantuḍu defines the udāharaṇa—and precisely as the mixed form that it is. By placing the

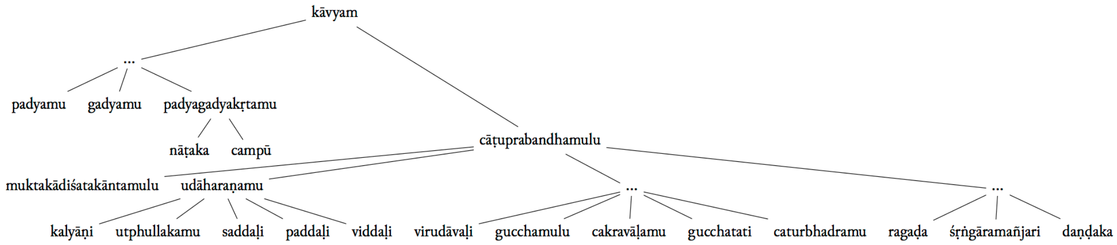
kāvyam
...
padyamu
gadyamu
padyagadyakṛtamu
nāṭaka
campū
cāṭuprabandhamulu
muktakādiśatakāntamulu
udāharaṇamu
...
...
kalyāṇi
utphullakamu
saddaḷi
paddaḷi
viddaḷi
virudāvaḷi
gucchamulu
cakravāḷamu
gucchatati
caturbhadramu
ragaḍa
śṛṅgāramañjari
daṇḍaka

Figure 3.6: The poetic genres according to Vinnakoṭa Pĕddana's *Kāvyālaṃkāracūḍāmani* 4.1-44

udāharaṇa in this context without comment, Anantuḍu implicitly signals that this poetic genre is of a piece with the vernacular metrical forms that surround it.

Pĕddana similarly signals cāṭuprabandha's vernacular associations. However, where Anantāmātyuḍu embeds cāṭu forms in a larger vernacular frame, Pĕddana expands the cāṭuprabandha category and embeds vernacular forms within it. The typology found in the *Kāvyālaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi* is familiar, its overall shape mirroring the *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha's* schema. But in addition to the *padyacāṭuprabandhas* (muktakas, etc.) and the *campūcāṭuprabandhas* (udāharaṇa, etc.), Pĕddana adds a subset the like of which had not yet been discussed in the Andhra school: *ragaḍa*, *mañjari*, and *daṇḍaka*. These forms have been defined elsewhere in by Telugu prosody. Śṛṅgāramañjari is a couplet form with a shorter line than the ragaḍa and which has an explicitly orientation to passionate or erotic themes. The daṇḍaka is a work in prose lines that have a set metrical shape and are heavily alliterated. Unlike the first two, daṇḍaka is known to Sanskrit literature, but it achieved a certain prevalence in southern India. In Pĕddana's hands, the cāṭuprabandha category is aligned with the regional precisely because it includes forms thitherto only known to vernacular prosody.

Kākunūri Appakavi provides the next major poetological intervention on cāṭuprabandha in his *Appakavīyamu* of 1656 CE. He both reconceives the category of cāṭuprabandha and, simultaneously, the broader typology of genres. He states:

> Kāvya has two main types, namely prabandha and cāṭuprabandha. Having *sargas* in Sanskrit or *āśvāsas* in Telugu, the one called the prabandha is the best, O Krishna! [...] My lotus-eyed God, when you consider the opinions of earlier poets, cāṭuprabandhas are thought to be of two kinds—those with a set number of stanzas and those with no such

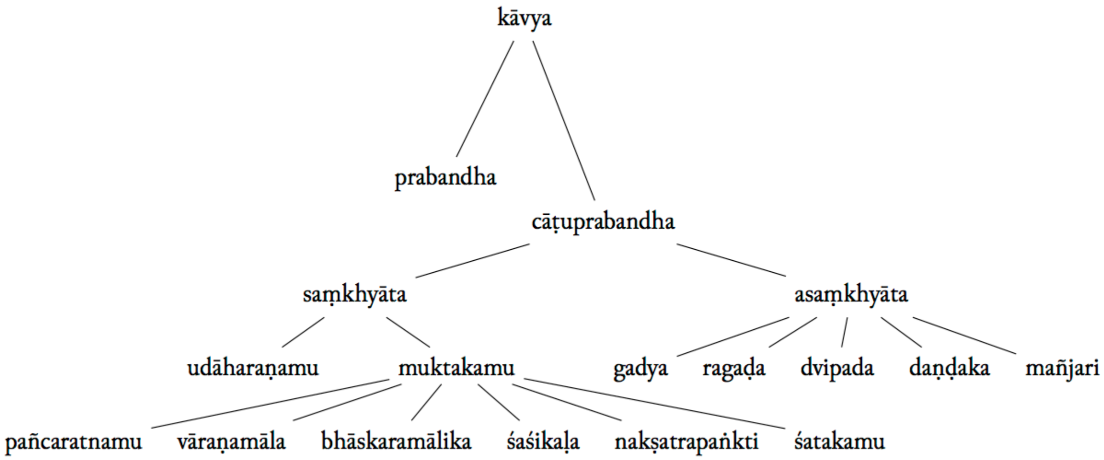
kāvya
prabandha
cāṭuprabandha
saṃkhyāta
asaṃkhyāta
udāharaṇamu
muktakamu
gadya
ragaḍa
dvipada
daṇḍaka
mañjari
pañcaratnamu
vāraṇamāla
bhāskaramālika
śaśikaḷa
nakṣatrapaṅkti
śatakamu

Figure 3.7: The poetic genres according to *Appakavīyamu* 1.27-29.

> limitations. The four types of *udāharaṇa* and the fifteen types beginning with the *muktaka* [i.e. a single stanza, pair of stanzas, a set of five stanzas, and so forth up through the hundred-stanza *śataka*] have a fixed length. Prose [*gadya*], ragaḍa, dvipada, daṇḍaka, and mañjari have no such limits, O Man-Lion![26]

Here Appakavi explicitly separates cāṭuprabandha from the prabandha simplex, which is essentially figured as the mahākāvya of old. The unqualified prabandha is equated here with the Sanskrit long poem where sections are called *sargas* and the Telugu long poem wherein the sections are called *āśvāsas*. Its characteristics (the length and wide-ranging subject matter) are duly elaborated but here they only echo Daṇḍin's description. So described, the prabandha label would apply to any number of works that were written in accordance with the canons of classical Sanskrit poetry found throughout southern Asia.

Cāṭuprabandha, on the other hand, emerges as the opposite term in the binary. Yet, despite positing this stark binary, Appakavi explicitly designates no unifying feature for the cāṭuprabandha class. In fact, he splits the category into two. However, the divide does not run along the same lines that shifted in the early Andhra school, between the verse and mixed-form cāṭuprabandhas. This ambiguity was apparently resolved with Amṛtānandayogin and Gaurana. Consequently, Appakavi's first set, the *saṃkhyātabaddha cāṭuprabandhas* (cāṭuprabandhas with a fixed number of verses), is equivalent to Amṛtānandayogin and Gaurana's category.

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[26] *Appakavīyamu* 1.27-29: *aṭṭi kāvyaṃbu dvividhamai yatiśayilluṁ baruvadiṁ prabaṃdha cāṭuprabaṃdhamulana | sargamula saṃskṛtamunan āśvāsamulanu dĕnuṁgunaṁ brabaṃdhamanu naditanaruṁ gṛṣṇa || [. . .] kanuṁgŏna saṃkhyābaddhaṃbun asaṃkhyākaṃbu nāṁga bhuvin irudĕṟaṁ gai | tanarāruṁ būrvakavimatamunan ā cāṭuprabaṃdhamulu jalajākṣā || nālgudĕ gala yudāharaṇamulu muktakādipaṃcādaśamunu saṃkhyānvitamulu | gadyaragaḍadvipadadaṃdakamulu maṃjarulunu saṃkhyārahitacāṭuvulu nṛsiṃha ||*

A divide does emerge, however, as Appakavi categorizes the unambiguously vernacular cāṭuprabandhas. While Vinnakoṭa Pĕddana was the first to describe known Telugu forms (ragaḍa, mañjari) as *cāṭu*, he neither stated their vernacular association nor that they constituted a distinct formal class. While Appakavi similiarly avoids the deśi question, he does create a second class—*asaṃkhyāta cāṭuprabandha* (cāṭuprabandhas without a fixed number of verses). This group includes the forms added by Vinnakoṭa Pĕddana (ragaḍa, daṇḍaka, mañjari), to which Appakavi adds one more, *dvipada*. Despite drawing cāṭuprabandhas and explicitly vernacular poetic forms ever closer in their typologies, the Telugu poeticians never directly theorize this generic kinship. Nevertheless, each in their own way, the three poeticians associate cāṭuprabandhas with south Indian forms that are defined in moraic measures fit for song.

Going further, as Nidudavolu Venkatarao has shown, this conceptual proximity edges on to a deeper coincidence in the case of the ragaḍa. First employed and defined in early works of Kannaḍa (as *ragaḷĕ*) and then later in Telugu metrics, the ragaḍa is a clear ancestor if not overarching type to the kalikā defined in elsewhere in the Andhra school's manuals. Anantāmātyuḍu defines the basic structure of ragaḍa in this way: "When there is alliteration at the beginning and the end; and the lines are put together beautifully in pairs; and are held together by bold caesura—such a verse they call ragaḍa."[27] The key features so far seen in kalikā—the coupling of the lines, the presence of *yati* and rhyme—are there, and tāla regulations appear in the subsequent verses that detail the subtypes of ragaḍa.

Venkatarao, the only the scholar to survey the udāharaṇa, sees this equivalence between the ragaḍa and kalikā as central to the history of the form and its place in the history of Telugu language and literature:

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[27] Anantāmātyuḍu, *Chandodarpaṇamu* 3.52-61.

> Typically ragaḍas are used for describing religious devotion or flower-picking. These are located in verse [i.e. literary] compositions. Here is one peculiar quality. Ragaḍas feature tāḷa and aṅga prominently; and even though these belong to music, they do not appear in yakṣagānas. The reason for this is that in udāharaṇas ragaḍas are used along with syllabic meters like *campaka*, *utapalamālikā*, etc. Given that udāharaṇas are simply poetry, ragaḍas are only used in poetic compositions. That is to say, they are prominent in works of literature—not music. It is this matter alone that clarifies the essential connection between music and literature (that is song-poetry and stanzaic poetry) in the Telugu language.[28]

Thus, according to Venkatarao, *ragaḍa* is a quasi-musical but nonetheless literary form. Such a conception of the ragaḍa could be extented to cāṭuprabandha as a whole: What the category—with udāharaṇa and kalikā as its paradigmatic forms—comes to represent are precisely quasi-musical literary compositions. As such, it might exclude forms that could be labelled quasi-literary but nonetheless musical: for example, fully sung padams in the tradition headed by Tirupati's famed poet-singer Annammācārya and continued by Kṣetrayya and Tyāgarāja; or the *yakṣagāṇa*, an operatic dance-play that became a popular form in the Telugu Nāyaka courts of the Tamil country.

From this perspective, the quasi-musical character of cāṭuprabandha may even be captured by the word *cāṭu* itself. With a core sense of "sweet" or "pleasing", the word is also used to mean "flattery." As such, it could point to the panegyrical function of the forms defined. Nonetheless, ālaṃkārika labels often refer to more basic formal structures and, as we have seen, even in the Telugu school (not to mention the larger field of Sanskritic poetics) panegyric is rarely theorized directly. Thus an oblique reference to the panegyrical character may still stand. But *cāṭu* may just as well be an index of the pleasingly rhythmic, musical aspects of the forms described.

Furthermore, we can align the category with wider currents in the literary culture of Andhra. Indeed, by all appearance the category of cāṭuprabandha may map directly on to the category of *mad-*

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[28] *"prāyakamugā ragaḍalu bhaktiprapattikŏṟaku puṣpāpacayamukŏṟaku prayuktamulainavi. ivi padyaprabaṃdhamula yaṃde yuṃḍunu. iccaṭa nŏka viśeṣamunnadi. ragaḍalu tāḷāṃga pradhānamulai saṃgītamunakanuvainanu nivi yakṣagānamulalo kanupaṭṭavu. dīniki̮ kāraṇamu ragaḍal udāharaṇamulalo kakṣaragaṇayuktamulagu caṃpakotpalamālikādivṛttamulatopāṭu prayuktamulainavi. udāharaṇamu kāvyame gāvuna kāvyaprabaṃdhamulalone ragaḍalu prayuktamulainavi. anaṁgā vāniki̮ saṃgītakṛtulalo prādhānyamu leka, sāhityakṛtulalo nunnadani yarthamu. ī viṣayamŏkkaṭiye saṃgītasāhityamulaku padapadyakavitalaku tĕluṁgubhāṣalo gala yavinābhāvasaṃbaṃdhamunu viśadamu ceyucunnadi."* (Niḍudavolu Veṅkaṭarāvu, *Udāharaṇa vaṅmaya caritra [A history of udāharaṇa literature]* (Madras: Madras University, 1950), 92)

hurakavitva. The term, meaning "sweet poetry," is used by a few late Telugu poeticians. But, more prominently, it appears at the very beginning of Telugu poetry, where the tradition's first poet Nannayabhaṭṭa invokes a four-fold classification of poetic styles: *āśu* ("extemporaneous," also called *mṛdu*), *madhura*, *vistara* ("extended," the long mahākāvya type), and *citra* ("flashy").[29] However, among the four types, the sense of *madhura* is the least forthcoming.[30]

Around the time of Appakavi, however, another Telugu poetician provides a clue as to what the genre comprises. In particular, Vartākavi Rāghavayya's early seventeenth-century Telugu treatise (named, coincidentally, *Lakṣaṇadīpikā*) includes in this category forms mentioned by the early poeticians—such as *kalikā, utkalikā, udāharaṇa, birudāvalī, bhogāvalī, caturbhadrika*.[31] However, these earlier sources, as we have seen, are nearly unanimous in labelling the forms cāṭuprabandha. Beyond these already known cāṭu forms, Rāghavayya adds many more forms that, while not recognized by the Sanskrit poeticians, are well known to Telugu literature as having musical elements. Among them are the *yakṣagāṇa* and the *daruvu* (another operatic form of the Telugu Nāyaka literary culture). *Madhurakavita* thus points to forms of musical literature. Keeping Appakavi's discussion in mind, we might then understand cāṭuprabandha as a synonym of *madhurakavita*, comprising a similar if not quite as extensive set of forms. From this perspective, not just the panegyrical but also prosimetrical qualities fall by the wayside. Thus, that some of the forms included are technically only prose (like the *daṇḍaka*) or only verse (like *dvipada*) becomes less important.

This quasi-musicality may be key to conceptualizing the category. Still, it is not present—or not necessarily so—in all of the forms that come under the *cāṭu* heading. In this regard, the forms distinguished only by their verse-count stand out in both early (Amṛtānandayogin's, Gaurana's) and later (Appakavi's) descriptions. Most striking here is the śataka. While its length excludes it from the mahākāvya category, the earliest witnesses (Vidyānātha, Viśveśvara) to the udāharaṇa family put the śataka in a separate class (asargabandha / upakāvya, kṣudrakāvya). Yet, if the quasi-musicality is indeed the class's common characteristic, labelling the śataka a cāṭuprabandha becomes less intelligible. The śataka's seeming lack of fit becomes even more apparent as time goes on: Despite Venkatarao's insistence on the pure quasi-musicality of the form, Rāghavayya's eventual inclusion of yakṣagāṇa and daruvu is logical as they clearly follow the vector of musicality. The same cannot quite be said for the śataka.

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[29] Similar statements come later from Śrīnātha, Tikkana Somayāji, and Vĕnnalakaṇṭi Annayya.

[30] N. Venkatarao has suggested that the concept may originate in the Tamil country, where it was known to the Āḷvārs. Veṅkaṭarāvu, *Udāharaṇa*, 30.

[31] ibid., 34-5.

The regionality of *cāṭuprabandha*

With an identification of cāṭuprabandha with madhurakavita, the significance of the genre (its quasi-musicality aside) may be its geographical limits. The survey of alaṃkāraśāstra in this chapter and the last reveals that the forms were first and foremost theorized in Andhra. Thus, it could be argued that cāṭuprabandha refers to the vernacular literary forms of Andhra. This is precisely how the category has been understood by twentieth century scholars, who have equated *madhurakavita* with regional—and even folk—genres tied to the Telugu people. For example, G. N. Reddi's entry for *jānapadasāhitya* (folk literature) in the *Telugu Paryāyapada Nighaṇṭuvu* (*Dictionary of Telugu synonyms*) reads: *anādṛtavāṅmayamu, dēśisārasvatamu, dēśisāhityamu, padavāṅmayamu, pallĕpadālu, prajāvāṅmayamu, madhurakavitalu* (minor literature, regional poetry, regional literature, song literature, village songs, popular literature, musical poetry).[32] Thus—to use Pollock's terms—prabandha (alongside mahākāvya, mahatprabandha, and *vistarakavita*) would refer to poetic forms composed on the *mārga* or cosmopolitan paradigm. Cāṭuprabandha (assimiliated madhurakavita) would demarcate vernacular or deśi forms that, as a rule, seem to have a musical component.

A survey of extant works in the class's paradigmatic forms seems to confirm this limited geographical span. While the birudāvalī has some purchase outside of Andhra (notably in Viśvanātha's *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and later in the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava stotra literature), the *udāharaṇa* is more peculiar: For one, beginning with Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrīya*, it is the paradigmatic instance of the genre. Further, all but four extant udāharaṇa seem to have been composed in Telugu. The earliest extant udāharaṇas are Pālkuriki Somanātha's Sanskit *Basavodāharaṇa* and Telugu *Basavodāharaṇamu*, both of which were composed in the early thirteenth century.[33] Furthermore, Pālkuriki Somanātha is also known for his pioneering compositions in forms that are eventually folded into the cāṭuprabandha category—namely, *dvipada* and ragaḍa. The second extant udāharaṇa is the Telugu *Tripurāntakodāharaṇamu*, composed by Rāvipāṭi Tripurāntaka Kavi in the fourteenth century. Udāharaṇas continued to be composed well into the twentieth century but seemingly only in Andhra (or Telugu Nāyaka courts).

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[32] Golla Narayanaswami Reddy, *Telugu paryāyapada nighaṇṭuvu [= Dictionary of synonyms in Telugu]* (Hyderabad: Viśālāndhra Publishing House, 1990).

Moreover, the quasi-musicality of the class has been understood to exemplify this deśi character. Nidudavolu Venkatarao is the chief proponent of this view. Taking an strictly evolutionary view of literary history, he sees all literature—Telugu's included—as being split into the "poetry-in-song" (*padakavita*) and "versified poetry" (*padyakavita*). In this view the first manifestations of literature are the spontaneous songs of the people in their everyday life. To be sure, the tradition of song continues throughout the history of the language and its literature. For Telugu and the wider literary culture of south India, it reaches its highpoint in the devotional-erotic *padams* of Annamācārya and his successors. Nonetheless, song eventually becomes the generally more learned, literary poetry in verse. For Venkatarao, this dichotomy between *pada* and *padya* maps directly on to the *deśi-mārga* schema. Accordingly, he understands the udāharaṇa to be the confluence of the two streams: the verse portion reflects Sanskritic, mārga poetry; the kalikā represents the regional, deśi poetry of song.[34]

However, it is precisely in being an amalgmation that the Telugu character of the genre becomes particularly clear. At the end of his brief history of the ragaḍa, Venkatarao argues that "it is this matter alone [i.e. that the ragaḍa is a musical form used only in literay composition] that clarifies the essential connection between music and literature (that is song-poetry and stanzaic poetry) in the Telugu language” (*ī viṣayam ŏkkaṭiye saṃgītasāhityamulaku padapadyakavitalaku tĕluṁgubhāṣalo gala yavinābhāvasaṃbaṃdhamunu viśadamu ceyucunnadi*). In drawing a connection between the Telugu ragaḍa and the udāharaṇa’s kalikā, Venkatarao draws the udāharaṇa into the orbit of the regional. In tracing a genealogy of the udāharaṇa—from padya to gadya to kalikā to ragaḍa—Venkatarao pictures the form as having its roots in deśi poetry, but with each udāharaṇa section ultimately being a conscious, studied amalgamation of the mārga (i.e. the verse portion) and the deśi (kalikā / utkalikā). Yet, it is precisely because it mixes these two streams that the udāharaṇa is for Venkatarao decidedly regional and, specifically, Telugu: It is in Telugu, more than any other language, Venkatarao suggests, that song and poetry have a special relationship. The udāharaṇa, by implication, becomes the ideal manifestation of that union. Indeed, the udāharaṇa proves particularly apt not just because it clarifies and embodies this essential relationship, but also because the form is primarily composed in the Telugu language or by identifiably Telugu peoples.

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[33] N. Venkatarao identifies even earlier references in Kālidāsa, who uses the phrase *jayodāharaṇam* (*Vikramorvaśīya* 1.13 and *Raghuvaṃśa* 4.78). Yet, as Sarasvati Mohan says, "these references do not give us any definite picture of the structure of the *Udāharaṇa*." Sarasvati Mohan, "Udāharaṇa: A Minor Composition in Sanskrit Literature," in *Dr. V. Raghavan Shashtyabdapurti Felicitation Volume* (Madras: Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, 1971), 196. Moreover, it seems likely that in these cases *udāharaṇa* may carry its more common sense of "example."

[34] Rāvipāṭi Tripurāntaka, *Tripurāntakodāharaṇamu*, ed. Niḍudavōlu Vēṅkaṭarāvu (Madras: Sri Rama Press, 1946 [1937]), xviii-xx.

Further, if the cāṭu category comprises works that are peculiarly Telugu (and quasi-musical), it becomes even more appropriate that the śataka would join its ranks. The Telugu śataka takes on a unique formal shape: Beyond containing approximately 100 verses, it stands out in that each verse in a Telugu śataka composition ends with a refrain (called *makuṭamu* or “crown”) anywhere from a word to two lines long. Moreover, literary histories of Telugu (and the Telugu śataka) are quick to note the immense—and arguably unique—popularity of the genre in the Telugu country. (Vanguri Subbarao, for instance, counts over 600 unique works and an even greater number of manuscript witnesses).[35]

So much may be true. By all accounts, the udāharaṇa and the other core cāṭuprabandha forms are peculiar to the Telugu country.[36] But in introducing the deśi-mārga rubric with respect to the udāharaṇa, Venkatarao primarily reflects the interests of a nationalist literary history and its search for a literary past that would be the peculiar property and perfect expression of the nation's people. Nonetheless, the premodern poeticians—whether writing in Sanskrit or in Telugu—never gloss the term *cāṭuprabandha* with an adjectival phrase, such as *deśi* or *deśya*, that would explicitly mark this regional aspect as salient to their researches. To be sure, the deśi-mārga binary proves to be a powerful framework for poetology. However, the terms *deśī* and *deśīya* are primarily used for describing words and their relation (or lack thereof) to a Sanskritic root. When employed in poetology, they do not refer to poetic forms. Instead, *deśī* and *mārga* come to be used for describing different stylistic textures (namely the relative prevalence of Sanskritic or regional lexemes). Rarely do poeticians apply the terms to whole forms. Poeticians mention language when discussing genre. However, they primarily do so to note differences in nomenclature but not to differentiate core forms. See, for example, Bhoja's robust genre typology;[37] and, earlier, Daṇḍin elliptically refers to the different genre names for works in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṃśa.[38] By comparison, in their researches into perfomative arts, premodern authors do speak of some musical or dance forms as being deśi or mārga. So, given the possibility (and even prominence) of the deśi-mārga problematic in poetology, its decided absence from discussions of cāṭuprabandha (whether in Telugu or Sanskrit) is striking.

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[35] Vanguri Subbarao, *Śataka Kavula Caritramu* (Narasapura: Kamala Kuṭīr Press, 1957), xlviii.

[36] An exception is the *virudāvalī* kalikā-employing form prominent in the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava stotra literature. Nonetheless, it only proliferates and finds theoretical elaboration in the early sixteenth century, and thus postdates the present materials from Andhra. See David Buchta, “Pedagogical Poetry: Didactics and Devotion in Rūpa Gosvāmin’s Stavamālā” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2014). It remains to be seen whether the form promulgated by Rūpa Gosvamin is born from Andhra sources or not. According to Buchta, hagiographies of Rūpa Gosvamin record his learning new stotras and *virudāvalīs* at Puri in Oḍiṣa. But Palkuriki Somanātha’s works precede Viśvanātha’s inchoate theoretical elaborations in Kalinga.

Gaurana and the Andhra school follow this trend and conceive of genres as forms that are not fundamentally defined in terms of language. Consider, for instance, that Viśveśvara describes variations on the *dvibhadra*, saying that it need not be composed in just Sanskrit or in just one language. But, he says, if languages are combined in the *dvibhadram*, some name could be made up for this variant form. So, for instance, a dvibhadram could contain multiple languages (in which case it is called *raktam*) or it could be a combination of Sanskrit and a regional language (in which case it is called *kalyāṇam*). Thus, while the forms can be differentiated on the basis of language—and languages may be differentiated as regional (*deśya*) or not—the overarching generic form itself is not imagined as being regional or not. Similarly, in the above excerpt from Appakavi, the prabandha is described as a form that can be composed in Sanskrit (in which case its major sections are called *sargas*) or in Telugu (with

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[37] *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* 11.

[38] *Kāvyādarśa* 1.32-37.

āśvāsas). With regard to cāṭuprabandha—his other category of poetic creation—Appakavi proffers no linguistic differentiations at all. Gaurana, for his part, similarly recognizes linguistic distinctions explicitly. Thus he cites (in the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* supplement) "*Gokarṇa's Prosody* in the Andhra language" (*āndhrabhāṣāyāṃ gokarṇachande*) on the phonemes' gotras. However, again, this differentiation does not extend to the objects under examination—in this case, the qualities of phonemes and metremes. Just as the qualities of phonemes and metremes persist below the level of semantics and linguistic difference, generic form—perhaps precisely because its elements are metrically conceived—persists above (or at least parallel) to linguistic forms. Again, the corpus of actually available literary works seems to bear this out. Though primarily composed in Telugu, the core forms of cāṭuprabandha (and their component forms) can be found in other languages: The ragaḍa makes its initial appearance in Kannaḍa as *ragaḷĕ*; the udāharaṇa is composed in both Sanskrit and Telugu; *birudāvalī* and core cāṭu component prose form kalikā (descendant of ragaḍa / ragaḷĕ) are found in Telugu, Sanskrit, and, as Buchta has recently shown, can be found in Bengal (and, seemingly, greater Kalinga) by the late sixteenth century.

So, from the modern literary historical vantage point, the category of cāṭuprabandha may have developed within a regional or vernacular literary culture. Furthermore, the category—and the genres it comprised—were particularly receptive to vernacular linguistic and metrical forms. Nevertheless, the Andhra poeticians do not expressly theorize the cāṭuprabandha as a category for the regional, even while they effectively use it to that end. In this they stand at a distance from, for instance, the Kannada poeticians articulating grammar and metrics as such at the vanguard of Pollock's vernacular millennium. These individuals worked to carve out a space for the vernacular as a literary language, to articulate the scope of regional literature as such to stand in Sanskrit's (or Prakrit's) stead.[39] The Andhra school, on the other hand, speaks to the vernacular *sotto voce* through its generic musings. To be sure, these works postdate the advent of literary Telugu as such and implicitly accept its presence on the literary scene. But what the preceding has so far shown is not a changing conception of a language as such but, instead, changes the conception of certain poetic practices—which stood above linguistic divisions. So, while the regional realignmnent of political and literary cultures was one factor that motivated the Andhra school's reflections on genre, such a realization offers only a geographical focus.

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[39] Ollett, *Language of the Snakes*, 170-178.

From concepts to compositions: *Cāṭuprabandha* in practice

On the other hand, Gaurana's focus on poethood and composition may provide a way to think through the significance of cāṭuprabandha—that is, its development as a category for poets and poeticians, the expansion and composition of the forms known as cāṭuprabandha (including the seeming *cāṭu*-ization of the śataka in Telugu), and the way that these resonate with each other. Gaurana frames his sorcerous pragmatics and elaboration of poetic forms with the issue of who is fit to compose poetry. In the end he argues that brahmans—to the exclusion of other castes—are the only ones fit to perform such precious work. I have already tied Gaurana's concerns to stories about sorcerous poets antagonizing and imperiling their patrons; and these stories, I argue, register an anxiety about the ascendancy of poets from outside brahmanical traditions and institutions. In this section, I follow this line of inquiry and Gaurana's attention to poets. Here I will consider further the social motivations of the poets and poeticians who crafted these literary objects and analytical tools. That is to say, following the standard etymology of poetry, I would understand poetry as "the activity of poets" (*kaveḥ karma kāvyam*). Thus I would read the poetological discourse discussed above alongside the history of cāṭuprabandha composition in Andhra and the metapoetic statements about poets (*kavis*), poetry (*kāvya*), and cāṭuprabandha. Analysis of these may register other resonances of cāṭu as an activity in a world of other poets, patrons, and venues.

Outside of the poeticians' treatises, metapoetic statements about the composition and performance of cāṭuprabandha are scant. This paucity follows from a few reasons. For one, there is very little room for metapoetic reflections in the form. At most, a cāṭuprabandha will contain single verse explaining the dedication and naming the poet at the end of the work. Second, as Venkatarao notes, the stipulation for a final dedication-colophon verse is only given by Sanskrit poeticians. Finally (and most pressingly) only three udāharaṇas are now available from the middle of the eleventh century (when Telugu literature begins) to the end of Gaurana's flourishing: Pālkuriki Somanātha's *Basavodāharaṇa* (Sanskrit) and *Basavodāharaṇamu* (Telugu), which are both from the middle of the thirteenth century; and Rāvipāṭi Tripurāntakakavi's *Tripurāntakodāharaṇamu* (Sanskrit), dated to about 1370.

In non-cāṭu works, there are a few references to cāṭuprabandha. These only appear in Gaurana's day, in the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth centuries. Little can be discerned from them, save that cāṭuprabandha genres had become a stock object of the literary-cultural imagination and not simply a poetological construct. Thus in his *Bhīmeśvarapurāṇamu* Śrīnātha mentions *cāṭu* along with a string of related compositional forms.[40] However, the list—"*campūcāṭunāṭakodāharaṇajayaghoṣacakravāḷa-caturbhadracaturātiprabaṃdhaṃbul*"—is likely ordered according to an alliterative rather than analytical logic. Around the same time, Jakkana—poet of the *Vikramārkacaritramu* (The Story of King Vikramārka, ca. 1400)—celebrates his membership in a long line of literary masters. In particular he here praises his grandfather as a great poet who composed "numerous minor poems like cakra[vālakas?] and caturbhadras" (*jakracaturbhadracaturuttarādhikakṣudrakāvyamulu pĕkkulu raciṃpa*).[41] Other references postdate Gaurana but are illustrative. For instance, in the preface to his *Rāghavapāṃḍavīyamu* Piṅgaḷi Sūranna (late sixteenth century) describes himself as "possessed of the skills to devise cāṭuprabandhas" (*cāṭuprabaṃdharacanāpāṭavakalituḍanu*).[42] On the whole, then, composition in cāṭu forms appears to be worth noting. Only Vidyānātha seems to suggest that cāṭuprabandhas may be lesser (*kṣudra*). Elsewhere—in Gaurana's day and later—expertise in cāṭu is a point of pride.

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[40] Veṅkaṭarāvu, *Udāharaṇa*, 117.

[41] *Vikramārkacaritramu* 1.20.

[42] Cited in Saṅganabhaṭla Narasayya, *Tĕlugulo cāṭu kavitvamu [=A Critical Study of Metrical Poems of Oral Tradition]* (Dharmapuri: Ānandavardhana Pracuraṇalu, 2006), 2.

Cāṭuprabandha before *cāṭuprabandha*: Evidence from Srisailam

If the cāṭuprabandha's aesthetic value might be taken for granted in Gaurana, its social location—and its control by brahman poets—appears to have been less certain. The admittedly spotty literary record of cāṭuprabandha suggests that, at least early on, the cāṭu forms were employed by a poetic tradition that included both brahmans and non-brahmans.

As noted briefly above, the literary history of the forms that come to be known as cāṭuprabandha begins, with Pālukurīki Somanātha, pioneer of Telugu Vīraśaiva literature. This coincidence is not all together surprising. Through their *vacanas* (sayings) the early Vīraśaivas leveled powerful poetic statements of devotion that eschewed the metrical and thematic strictures of courtly twelfth-century Kannadiga literary culture.[43] And while the vacanas—as a kind of anti-poetry—may have been atypical, the more prominent Vīraśaiva poetic practices, as Gil Ben-Herut has shown, were nevertheless aligned with vernacular and generally non-elite metrical forms.[44]

In the Telugu country, this trend was led by Somanātha, who took up *dvipada* in order to compose his long poetic masterworks, the *Basavapurāṇamu* and *Paṇḍitārādyacaritramu*. As a form unknown to Sanskrit literary culture, dvipada was adapted by Somanātha as an antidote to the prevailing modes of courtly poetry.[45] Somanātha set a precedent with his choice and he exemplifies, for all historians of Telugu literature, the populist poetics of his sect.

While dvipada—as a form fit for long narrative works—has been taken as the hallmark of the Vīraśaivas' literary revolution and the antidote to the Sanskritic long poem, Somanātha composed in a plethora of shorter forms. Significantly, by the middle of the seventeenth century the Andhra poeticians would recognize every one of these forms as cāṭuprabandha. His two udāharaṇas—both

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[43] Despite the vacanas' truly radical and unmetered form, they nonetheless demonstrate a familiarity with and engage the tropes and conventions of prevailing courtly literary tradition. On the poetics of the vacanas, see the analysis offered in: A. K. Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva* (New York: Penguin, 1973), pp.

[44] Gil Ben-Herut, "Narrating Devotion: Representation and Prescriptions of the Early Kannada *Śivabhakti* Tradition according to Harihara's *Śivaśaraṇara Ragaḷĕgaḷu*" (PhD diss., Emory University, 2013).

[45] Despite his explicit rejection of Sanskritic literary practices, Somanātha—like other so-called bhakti poets—had a more complex relationship with the classical kāvya tradition than his metapoetic statements might suggest. This will be taken up further, especially in the next chapter.

Basavodāharaṇas (one Telugu, one Sanskrit)—are the earliest examples of the genre. His *Vṛṣādhipaśataka* (*A century on the lord of bulls*), also in praise of Basavanna (particularly as the incarnation of Śiva's mount Nandin), is not the first Telugu śataka as such. However, it is the first Telugu śataka composed in the conventional Telugu-country form (primarily signalled by the presence of a refrain). Beyond these, he composed five works in a form he calls *gadya* (*Akṣarāṃkagadya, Namaskāragadya, Paṃcaprakāragadya, Śaraṇubasavagadya, Aṣṭottaraśatanāmagadya*). These are nothing but ragaḍas by another, Sanskritic name. These five Telugu works stand alongside a Kannaḍa *Cĕnnabasava-ragaḷĕ*.[46] And dvipada, though not a core cāṭu form in the early Andhra school's history, nevertheless hovered nearby the cāṭuprabandhas (recall the suggestive connections in Viśveśvara and Anantuḍu) before being officially inducted into the class by Appakavi.

But, taking the udāharaṇa as the paradigmatic case, how exactly does Somanātha's composition measure against the discourse delineated above? While the *Basavodāharaṇamu* is devoid of metapoetic statements (including the genre name *udāharaṇa* itself), it mostly aligns with the metrical shape given in the poetological literature. The work has eight main sections. Each of these contain a verse (in the *campakamāla* meter) which is followed by two sections of prose—first a kalikā and then an utkalikā (the lines of which are half the length of the kalikā lines). The first section (for the nominative case) illustrates this basic structure:

> *śrīguruliṃgatatparuṁḍaśeṣajagannidhi śuddhatattvasaṃ*
> *yogasukhaprapūrti vṛṣabhottamamūrti yudāttakīrti di*
> *vyāgamamārgavarti basavayyakṛpāṃbudhi māku divyasaṃ*
> *bhogamulaṃ prasādasukhabhogamulaṃ garuṇiṃcuṁ gāvutan*
>
> *vĕṃḍiyuṁ dribhuvanavinutisametuṁḍu*
> *maṃḍitasadguṇamahimopetuṁḍu*
> *suruciraśivasamasukhasaṃdhānuṁḍu*
> *paramaparāparabharitajñānuṁḍu*
> *viditānaṃdānvītamanaskuṁḍu*
> *sadamalavipulaviśālayaśaskuṁḍu*

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[46] Also worth noting here are the ragaḍas (*Namaḥśivāyaragaḍa, Śivabhaktidīpaka*) of Cakrapāṇi Raṅganātha, who was active about the same time or slightly earlier than Somanātha.

śrīvilasitapadaciratarabhadruṁḍu
gāvuta sākṣāt kaliyugarudruṁḍu

bhuvanopakāra
bhavamodavīra
bhaktisaṃyoga
muktisaṃbhoga
saukhyābdhilona
mukhyuṁḍai tāna
vĕlayu śubhakaruṁḍu
ila viśvaguruṁḍu

Glorious Guru's linga his sole aim, Treasure to whole world, the Satisfaction
of the pleasure of union in the pure reality levels, the best bull's embodiment, and possessed of noble fame,
he who walks the path of the divine scripture—let that Basavayya, an ocean of compassion,
bestow on us divine enjoyments and the pleasures of his grace.

Also—May he who is praised in all the three worlds,
who is endowed with the greatness of pleasingly good qualities,
who forges the same pleasures as the brilliant Śiva,
whose knowledge is heavy with the highest, high, and the low,
whose mind is filled by the bliss he has comprehended,
who is possessed of far-reaching fame good and pure,
who is ever blessed at [His] feet shining with glory—
May he, Rudra for the Dark Age, come before our eyes.

In the ocean of contentment
from the enjoyment of liberation
through union through heroic devotion,
by pleasing *Bhava*,
helpmeet to the worlds—
He is above all
with his beautiful shining form,
the master of all on this earth.

While the two-to-one line length ratio between kalikā and utkalikā remains consistent throughout the work, the determining length of the kalikā varies between the sections. So, in the section given above, the kalikā consists of eight morae and utkalikā four. In the seventh section (dedicated to the locative case), however, the kalikā is six morae long and the utkalikā three.

Thematically, the *Basavodāharaṇamu* mostly fits the poetician's definitions. It does, as the guidelines demand from the time of Viśveśvara onward, follow the eight long sections with a *sārvavibhaktika* (verse with every declension). Furthermore, in praising the early Vīramāheśvara leader Basavanna as an avatar of Śiva's bull Nandin, Somanātha also affirms Amṛtānandayogin's guidelines regarding the proper subjects of cāṭuprabandhas; in fact, this figure of Basava more than one of the characters Amṛtānandayogin lists—among them, the religious teacher (*guru*), the deity (*deva*), and the minister (*saciva*).[47]

Still, Somanātha's composition departs from the definitions in two major ways. First, from its earliest definitions in the *Pratāparudrīya*, the Sanskrit manuals require that the udāharaṇa begin with the word *jaya* (victory!) among others. Such phrasing is nowhere to be seen in the *Basavodāharaṇamu*.[48] Second, starting with Viśveśvara, the udāharaṇa (and other cāṭuprabandhas) are to end with a signatory verse (usually in *anuṣṭubh* or *āryā*) that would provide metapoetic information—specifically, the name of the poet and patron/subject, and the title of the composition itself.[49]

The next available udāharaṇa, Rāvipāṭi Tripurāntakakavi's *Tripurāntakodāharaṇamu*, is dated to the 1320s.[50] Though the work praises Śiva at the Tripurantaka temple in Andhra, it is not necessary Vīraśaiva. Nonetheless, the Tripurantanka temple is understood as the eastern gateway into Srisailam and, thus, this second udāharaṇa would not have sat too far outside of the major temple's literary culture. Like the *Basavodāharaṇamu*, it mostly fits the poetological descriptions; also like *Basavodāharaṇamu*, it does not exemplify the final signature verse.

From 1400 onward, the Sanskrit udāharaṇas at least follow the poetological model closely. Many of the extant precolonial udāharaṇas come down as examples in poetological manuals. Thus, Puruṣottamasudhī composes a *Nāgabhūpālodāharaṇa* in his *Kavitāvatāra* (ca. 1400). Kandalārya in his *Alaṅkāraśirobhūṣaṇa* composes a *Raṅgeśodāharaṇa*.[51] Beginning in the sixteenth century, markedly Vaiṣṇava udāharaṇas begin to appear. The first of these is the *Veṅkaṭeśvarodāharaṇamu* of Pĕdda Tirumalayya, a member the Tāḷḷapāka family of poets at Tirupati. Appakavi composes a *Śrīkṛṣṇodāharaṇa* to exemplify the form in his *Appakavīyamu*. Udāharaṇas continue to be composed well into the twentieth century.[52]

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[47] Tradition holds that Basava was a minister to Kālacūri king Bijjala II (r. 1130-1167 CE).

[48] An impressionistic survey of the udāharaṇa literature suggests that Telugu udāharaṇas, like other classical Telugu works, most commonly begin with *śrī*.

[49] *Camatkāracandrikā* 3.71: "At the end of minor composition, there is a verse in āryā or anuṣṭubh meter that reveals the name of poet, patron, and the work itself" (*ante kṣudraprabandhānāmāryayānuṣṭubhāpi ca nāmaprakāśe yatkarturnāyakasya kṛterapi*).

[50] Veṅkaṭarāvu, *Udāharaṇa*, 103.

By this preliminary reckoning then, the cāṭuprabandhas as a set were first championed in the Telugu country and, specifically, within Srisailam's literary culture. Subsequently, as they appeared to the wider poetic culture of Andhra, they would have carried a certain vernacular and non-elite associations as much as any specifically Vīramāheśvara orientation. So much can be gleaned from the few metapoetic statements available about (and in) dvipadas, the only cāṭuprabandha form for which such statements exist. A clear example comes in Vinnakŏṇḍa Vallabharāya's late fifteenth-century one-act Telugu street play *Krīḍābhirāmamu* (translated by Shulman and Rao as *A Lover's Guide to Warangal*). The play's brahman protagonist Mañcana Śarma observes a woman performing an epic in *dvipada*: She is "singing the story of the heroes in *dvipada* couplets, with an inner cadence to the lines and proper breaks, in the fast rhythm, to the pounding beat of the little drum" (*drutatālaṃbuna vīraguṃbhitakadhuṃduṃduṃkiṭṭātkārasaṃ- / gati vāyiṃpucu nāṃtarāḷikayati grāmābhirāmaṃbugā / yati gūḍaṃ dvipadaprabaṃdhamuna vīrānīkamuṃ pāḍĕ nŏ/kkata . . .*).[53] Aside from the verse form *dvipada*, we find here the hallmarks of cāṭuprabandha: *tālaṃbu* ("rhythm"), the playing of the drum (and, later, of a stringed instrument), and its being a *prabandha*—a composition of multiple stanzas. More to the point, we have a woman—along with several men thrashing and dancing—who are presumably of a lower station than the brahman observer. Here an image emerges of non-brahmans performing dvipada on local heroes.[54]

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[51] The udāharaṇa is printed in: Mohan, "Udāharaṇa."

[52] Many of these are collected in Veṅkaṭarāvu, *Udāharaṇa*. A notable example is the *Gopālodāharaṇamu* of prolific Telugu novelist Viśvanātha Satyanārāyaṇa. A number of the other twentieth-century udāharaṇas collected by Venkatarao are the work of Telugu literary historians (including Venkatarao himself).

[53] *Krīḍābhirāmamu* 116. Translation from Vinukŏṇḍa Vallabharāya, *A Lover's Guide to Warangal: The Krīḍābhirāmamu*, trans. Velcheru Narayana Rao and David Shulman (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2002), 51.

Elsewhere in Telugu literature dvipada was reviled as a lesser form, perhaps because of its folk or low caste associations. Somanātha himself recognizes that dvipada is evaluated poorly and offers a defense of its aesthetic value in the prefatory verses of the *Basavapurāṇamu*. He says in the prefatory matter to the work: "Since beautiful, idiomatic Telugu is more commonly understood than heavy compositions of mixed prose and verse, I have chosen to compose this entirely in the dvipada meter. Let it not be said that these words are nothing but Telugu. Rather, look at them as equal to the Vedas. If you wonder how this can be, remember, if a tūmu is a standard of measure, so is sola. Is it not generally agreed that the stature of a poet derives from his ability to create great poetry from simple words?"[55] But Somanātha's statement also points to the Vīramāheśvaras' opposition to elite and brahmanical practices. While Somanātha's caste background has been disputed, his work's—as well as the larger Vīraśaiva movement's—antipathy toward brahmans and brahmanical traditions is well documented.[56] Within the *Basavapurāṇamu*, the championing of Vīramāheśvara poetry in vernacular forms went hand-in-hand with the disapproval—and in some cases annihilation—of the literary practices endorsed by the brahmanical elite.[57] That said, dvipada would still have its detractors. For instance, as late as the eighteenth century, it is compared to an old whore (*dvipadakāvyaṃbu mudi laṃja diḍḍi saṃta*) in the *Venugopālaśatakamu*.[58]

While the other cāṭuprabandhas may not have been subject to the such searing disdain, Vidyānātha's work does give the impression that his so-called *kṣudraprabandhas* are second-class genres. But, more to the point, throughout its history in poetological works, cāṭuprabandhas have constituted a separate class with a problematic relationship to the major and minor genres already known from first millennium Sanskrit poetics.

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[54] The most famous of these is the Pālnāṭivīracaritramu [History of Pālnāḍu Heroes], studied and translated by Gene Roghair. He records the tradition of expert singer-composers of this folk epic known as *Pālnāṭivīravidyavantulu* (experts in the lore of the Pālnāḍu heroes). See Gene H. Roghair, *The Epic of Palnāḍu: A Study and Translation of* Palnāṭi Vīrula Katha*, a Telugu Oral Tradition from Andhra Pradesh, India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

[55] Velcheru Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors: The Basava Purāṇa of Pālkuriḵi Somanātha* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 44.

[56] Ibid., 24-7. V. Narayana Rao's introduction gives a clear overview of the Vīraśaiva movement. He also here examines the debate over Somanātha's caste; Narayana Rao argues that Somanātha was likely from a family of the *kāṃsāli* caste (associated with goldsmithing).

[57] See especially Chapter 7 in Ibid.

[58] Narayana Rao, "Coconut and Honey," 29.

I would argue that, more than their relative newness or their regionality, the cāṭuprabandhas' early Vīramāheśvara associations are at the crux of the genres' unusual conceptual history. From this perspective, the Andhra ālaṃkārikas theorized these genres (and not just metrical forms as such) as separate because the genres in actual practice constituted a discrete set of compositional and performative genres. Here we see that these practices were initially transmitted through discrete poetic lineages based in certain locales. While I assume that a significant amount of the corpus has been lost to the viccissitudes of time, the available evidence suggests that the poets working around Srisailam—especially those Vīramāheśvara poets whom Somanātha calls *Śivakavis*—would have constituted one of these traditions.

These Śivakavis were poets who sought to both distinguish themselves from courtly tradition and, through that distinction, vie with it. As I will show, theirs was not the path of total rejection nor of an avoidance studied and complete. On the contrary, according to Pālukuriki Somanātha's metapoetic paradigm, the Śivakavis attempted to realize a parallel poetic and literary culture that would adopt prestigious aspects of the Sanskritic courtly tradition while repackaging and resituating them within a new system of patronage and reception. His moves, in effect, belie a simple alignment—or, as it is often portrayed, identity—with a folk vernacular world. Somanātha seems to have trafficked in a kind of appropriation, though of a seemingly sanctioned variety.

The Śivakavis led by Somanātha betray unlikely continuities with Sanskritic traditions. Their vernacular revolution—really the second revolution in Pollock's formulation—did not, as is so often claimed, really reject the brahmanical, the Vedic, or the courtly. Instead it offered a new synthesis of these streams. Somanātha's work was, by his own account, poetical but undergirded by an explicitly philological aspect—in his control over existing Sanskritic textual traditions and knowledge systems—and, perhaps, an ethnographic component—in his recourse to the living traditions among the devotional community. The project was doubly appropriative. Somanātha's Janus-face has led some to argue that he was actually a brahman and member of the Ārādhya subset of the Vīramāheśvara movement. This subsect was constituted by brahmans who adhered to Vīramāheśvara practice while maintaining their brahman caste identity. But, even if Somanātha is not an Ārādhya or brahman, he nonetheless mingled with them. His works reference such figures and—insofar as these individuals were members of the Vīramāheśvara milieu—they were dedicated to them. This is true not just of his work on the Telugu-country's chief Ārādhya, Mallikārjuna Paṇḍit, but also in the *Basavapurāṇamu*. Lineages of teaching were open and crossed the boundaries of caste.

But whatever inclusive inclinations may have been at work, these followed the imperatives of Vīramāheśvara devotion. But these imperatives primarily meant to establish a firmly bounded community of devotion. The Śivakavis were those poets who simply adhered to this Vīramāheśvara pattern and constructed for themselves a distinctly Vīramāheśvara poetic tradition and lineage. They claimied only other devotees as their kinsfolk and caste-fellows and they seem to have celebrated only other Vīramāheśvara poets. Somanātha shows this, as we will see in more detail in the next chapter. And it was still being done in Gaurana's day. We see this in one of contemporaries, Polaśeṭṭi Liṅgakavi, poet of the *Navacoḷacaritramu* (Deeds of the Nine Coḷas) composed in Telugu dvipada. In giving his family history, he names Śiva and Pārvati as his mother and father. In acknowledging his kinsfolk, he nods to only the "best of the devotees." In prasing poets, he bows only to the "early Śivakavis" (*ādimaśivakavulu*).[59] Through such metapoetic gestures they distinguished themselves as a seemingly closed tradition.

And, to some extent, insular it may have been. The Śivakavis did not produce a discrete literary theory corpus as an adjunct to their poetic work. The Vīramāheśvaras did produce a body of philosophical literature in Sanskrit and Telugu, so it is not that they eschewed learning or even grammatical knowledge as such, even as they neglected in practice certain of the lākṣaṇikas' rules. Where Somanātha and the Śivakavis exerted some manner of authority over the existing traditions of story, song, and poetry, the Andhra ālaṃkārikas cast their theoretical gaze and sought to legislate this set of practices that emerged from the synthesis of Sanskritic and vernacular poetic traditions. But where the Śivakavis consistently worked to connect themselves to the traditions and communities from which they drew, the ālaṃkārikas in their categorizations largely severed the forms from their religious and social, if not functional, contexts.

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[59] Pośeṭṭi Liṅganakavi, *Navacoḷacaritramu: Śivabhakti dhuraṃdurulagu tommuduguru śaivacakravartula caritralanu telugu dvipada kāvyamu*, ed. Pañcāgnula Ādinārāyaṇaśāstri (Chennai: Andhrapatrika Karyalayamu, 1923), 1-8.

Placing the early cāṭuprabandhas among the Vīramāheśvaras at Srisailam provides a devotional aspect to their panegyrical orientation and, indeed, helps to bridge some of the gaps between formal types included in the category. Somanātha's cāṭu works are all oriented to the practices of a devotional community at Srisailam. This is even true of his dvipada, which V. Narayana Rao has argued is a form meant to be sung in unison by groups of devotees.[60] His compositions are singularly in praise of Vīraśaiva's founding father Basavanna, who the community recognizes as an avatar of Śiva's bull Nandin. The other early instances of cāṭu in Andhra—Cakrapāṇi Raṅganātha's ragaḍas and Tripurāntakakavi's udāharaṇa—are similarly oriented to praising the deity of a particular locale. I would suggest that this logic of a localized panegyric also drives the eventual absorption of the śataka, insofar as most Telugu śatakas are in honor of the poet's local deity. On one hand, it is already a part of the repetoire of cāṭuprabandha pioneer Somanātha. And, as Somanātha's work itself might suggest, the Telugu śataka's isomorphism with other cāṭu forms—the repetition, alliteration, the high frequency of epithets, the refrain (a common feature of the musical forms of Telugu literature)—may be rooted in its social proximity to cāṭu born with a quasi-musical character. Thus the forms may have been based first and foremost in the domain of temple poets. The celebration of royal personages may have been a subsequent development. This is consistent with the literary record, which only evinces courtly cāṭuprabandha from the late fifteenth century.[61] However, the potential identification of cāṭuprabandha with madhurakavita—which appears in metapoetic statements from the recognizable beginning of Telugu literature—complicates the picture insofar as it suggests, according to Venkatarao, that the literary practices may have had an earlier history in the Tamil poetry of Aḷvārs. But little can be said conclusively without a clearer picture of cāṭuprabandha performance.

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[60] Narayana Rao, "Multiple Literary Cultures," 398.

[61] For example, Bammĕra Potana composes a Telugu *Bhoginīdaṇḍakamu* on Recĕrla king Siṅga III and his favorite courtesan. Sarasvati Mohan records a Sanskrit *Cikkadevarāyodāharaṇa* from the eighteenth century.

Conclusions

Unfortunately, none of this quite explains why or how cāṭuprabandhas should have become so important. It only suggests that the class of experts in cāṭu composition—the *cāṭuviśāradas* and *cāṭukovidas* to whom Gaurana alludes—had risen to some prominence. The shadowy literary history traced above, however, that through these cāṭu adepts there was a convergence between the panegyrical pratices of the temple and the court. Given the paucity of cāṭuprabandhas from Gaurana's period, it is not quite clear how these cāṭu experts might have represented themselves—what their poetic persona may have been, what literary forebears they declared or disowned, and how these claimed affinities might have resonated with the meagre history sketched above.

Admittedly, the cāṭu adepts to whom Gaurana refers (or, perhaps, proleptically addresses) and the Śivakavis may not have been one in the same by the late fourteenth century. But because his Telugu works all place him within the orbit of Srisailam, which had since the late thirteenth century been dominated by Vīramāheśvara devotees, Gaurana would have inevitably encountered Śivakavis. The inclusive poetic school they represented was precisely the kind that Gaurana's poetological claims forbid. In short, Gaurana's claim puts him directly at odds with the ethos of the Śivakavis even as he accepts practices that bear their mark.

This puts a new frame around Gaurana's dvipada poetry. Telugu literary historians consistently label dvipada poetry of the thirteenth through fifteenth century as an essentially Vīraśaiva genre.[62] It is said to have appealed to the Śivakavis precisely because of its vernacular roots: As a genre that originated among the Telugu folk, the Śivakavis are supposed to have found it particularly useful for their egalitarian and often subversive ends. Somanātha's apology for dvipada provides the evidentiary core for this understanding of the genre. But because of the form's history in the Vīraśaiva movement, literary historians read a folksy and egalitarian (if not subversive and antinomian) intent into any poet who employs dvipada.

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[62] There are two Vaiṣṇava outliers in this period. The first is the *Raṅganātharāmāyaṇamu*, which was composed in the late thirtheenth or early fourteenth century. The other is a partial *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* in composed in dvipada by Maḍiki Siṅgana, a near contemporary of Gaurana.

Thus Gaurana is always cast as member of this movement in Telugu literary histories, precisely because he composes in dvipada on ostensibly Śaiva themes.[63] But as I suggested in brief above, he does not represent himself as a member of the Vīramāheśvara community in his poetic prologues. Furthermore, Gaurana's brahmanical chauvinism in the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* only underscores how much he diverges from Vīramāheśvara school of poetry.

Because of this newly realized ideological distance between Gaurana and the Śivakavis, Gaurana's claims about caste, his theoretical interest in cāṭuprabandha, his own composition in the related dvipada form remain consistent. They are bound, however, by the thread of competition rather than collaboration. Precisely what his explicit poetical, political, and religious affiliations may have meant for the substance and style of his Telugu compositions will be the subject of the next chapters.

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63. See Ārudra's explanation of the form of *Navanāthacaritramu* in *Samagra Āṃdhra Sāhityaṃ* Vol. 5: "The abbott [Śāntabhikṣāvṛtti] proposed it like this: Until now, this story has existed in Telugu as a work of campū literature, written by the poet Śrīgiri. Were it a work of *dvipada* literature, it would be well-propogated among the folk." (53) For this sentiment, see also: Kṛṣṇamūrti, *Rĕḍḍiyugamuna Āṃdhra-Gīrvāṇa*, 116.

Chapter 4

Telugu *Dvipada* and the Style of Gaurana

Introduction

If the preceding has shown what kind of poetician Gaurana was—and, more broadly, how Sanskrit poetics engaged with the literary environment of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Telugu country—here I ask: What kind of poet was Gaurana? My immediate aim here is not to mete out a critic's judgment: Was Gaurana's poetry good or bad? Does he deserve a place at the center of the Telugu literary canon—and the wider canons of Andhra, southern India, and southern Asia at large? Instead, like the Gaurana of the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā*, I would like to leave aside questions of quality and aesthetic relish and work through the formal character of Gaurana's style. I have mentioned already that he composed two works in Telugu dvipada. But what is Telugu dvipada like? And what is Gaurana's dvipada like? Is it distinct in any way from that of his predecessors? And, whatever the answer to these first two questions, why did he compose the way he did? Which audience(s) and what ends might he have had in mind?

My main concern in this chapter and the next is how the ideological commitments illuminated in the previous chapters inform not just Gaurana's theoretical work but also how these theoretical and ideological drives impacted his own poetic style. This prompts a more fundamental consideration of whether this is even a question worth asking: That is, can we even say that his social, political, and religious commitments had any bearing on his creative output (and, perhaps, vice versa), especially at the murky level of style? These questions emerge from the apparent incongruity between Gaurana's generic considerations and the persona that emerges in his scholastic work. As the previous chapters have shown, Gaurana's literary theory bears an unabashed brahmanical chauvinism. Nevertheless, his poetician's eye and his own poetic endeavors adhere to genres colored by their association with the Vīramāheśvara literary tradition, if not an even more nebulous field of non-elite poetics.

Existing literary historiography for the period further confounds any understanding of the relationship between a figure's literary practice and their social and religious commitments. Studies of literature in Telugu and in Andhra have largely evaluated poets and works according to two criteria. On the one hand, works are celebrated for their Sanskritic character—their familiarity with the narratives and themes of classical Sanskrit literary culture as well as their access to Sanskrit's lexical and metrical storehouse. On the other hand, works (sometimes one in the same) are eulogized for their entanglements with regional culture—their familiarity with local narratives and practices and their exaltation of the region's unique linguistic reserves.

These criteria contribute perhaps most comfortably to the lionization of Gaurana's contemporary, the poet and courtly attaché Śrīnātha. Like Gaurana, he has a small body of (entirely epigraphic) Sanskrit work and a long list of Telugu compositions. His Telugu works—both available and vanished—aggressively appeal to the broad canon of classical Sanskrit literary culture. Most notable in this respect are his translations: his Telugu Sattasaī—a lost piece of juvenilia—and his transcreation of Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhīya. In their recent reading of Śrīnātha's works, Shulman and Narayana Rao have shown that an exceptional double excellence in Telugu and Sanskrit were the hallmark of Śrīnātha's brilliance and, in fact, an intentional aspect of his aesthetic project. In this respect, he stands out among the great Telugu poets precisely as a personality who reconciled these two aims.

However, earlier literary historians have tended to frame this doubled aesthetic standard in the terms of late medieval south Indian politics. The poets' appeal to the Sanskritic and the regional is directly driven by poetry's being a religious and political tool. Such readings are imbricated in larger efforts to create and describe regional and national identities. For example, M. Somasekhara Sarma asserts:

> Telugu poets tried their best to present to people the *dharma* as envisaged and propounded by the two important cults, S'aivism and Vaiṣṇavism, in as concrete a form as possible, with the help of Purāṇic themes and the stories of kings who staked their all to achieve an object or to fulfill a religious vow, and thereby acquired name and eternal fame. In this way, the Telugu literature of the period tried to educate the common man in *dharma* as the sole means and basis to achieve the object in life, placed before him the great ideal of *mōkṣa*, final emancipation, and encouraged him to follow the example of the heroes of the kavya. It was the privilege of the Telugu poet of this age to instruct the common man to develop a broad religious outlook, to make him strong in head and heart to resist successfully the onslaught of the invading fanatic Muslim, and to sacrifice his life voluntarily, and unflinchingly if necessary. The impermanence of life, and the permanence of fame, and all-potent virtues were placed before people to induce them to rise to the occasion. This aim and object made Telugu literature descend to the level of the ordinary man.[1]

Here poetry is first an ideological weapon. Its main goal is to consolidate the region and its peoples by inculcating them with the values of Hindu religion as a defense against a fearsome and foreign Islamic foe. Within poetry, the Sanskritic and the Telugu act together to this end. The former forms the core message and the latter the medium with the widest appeal. While Śrīnātha's exceptional feats of simultaneously Telugu-izing Sanskrit and re-Sanskritizing Sanskrit in his *Naiṣadhīya* might stand as an aesthetic ideal for this kind of project, this understanding suggests a more modest aim. The source material ought to be Sanskritic, but its realization and language ought to be local and Telugu.

While this reading focuses on the Sanskritic and the Telugu as complementary forces, histories of Telugu literature also show the courtly/Sanskritic and the popular/Telugu streams as competing entities. These complex literary negotiations are elided in the political narrative. Here the literary history of Telugu is the history of a language and literature realizing its independence from Sanskrit literature and its often elite associations. Thus, traditions and works that feature a high proportion of Telugu lexis, Telugu meters, and popular themes and customs are celebrated for enhancing the distinctiveness of Telugu literature.

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[1] Somasekharasarma, *Reddi Kingdoms*, 495.

The Śivakavis constituted one such tradition by virtue of their use of Telugu dvipada, their colloquial linguistic register, and their attention to popular regional customs and places. In cutting this course, the Śivakavis were poets who sought to distinguish themselves from courtly traditions; but, by highlighting that distinction, they also sought to vie with the same. Theirs is not the path of total rejection nor of an avoidance studied and complete. On the contrary, according to Pālkuriki Somanātha's metapoetic paradigm, the Śivakavis attempted to realize a parallel literary culture that would adopt prestigious aspects of the Sanskritic courtly tradition while repackaging and resituating them within a new system of patronage and reception. His moves, in effect, belie a simple alignment—or, as it is often portrayed, identity—with a folk vernacular world. Somanātha seems to have trafficked in a kind of appropriation, albeit of a seemingly sanctioned variety.

Somanātha referenced multiple and, to modern literary history, contradictory authorities. His primary divergence—and the one that most clearly distinguishes him and the later Śivakavis from non-Vīramāheśvara streams—follows from his sources of authority. After offering a standard homage to his personal deity, in this case Śiva Mallikārjunasvāmi at Srisailam, he immediately turns to honoring a set of four superlative devotees from greater Srisailam: Karasthali Somanāthayya, Rĕṇṭāla Mallinātha, Docamāmba, and Goḍagi Tripurāri.[2] These four are unknown from other sources. But, as Somanātha tells it, they were likely his contemporaries.[3] These devotees are not alone, but stand—seemingly at the forefront—of Srisaliam's great Vīramāheśvara devotional community, "the innumberable *māheśvaras*" (*asaṃkhyātamāheśvara*).[4] It is before this body that Somanātha submits himself, asking them to endorse his poetic endeavor. More than an endorsement, Somanātha sought their help and claims to have learned the song lore on Basava from them directly. It is then the māheśvara community that endows Somanātha with the ability to compose the work. By singling out the asaṃkhyātamāheśvaras as his authority, Somanātha departs from prevailing metapoetic practices which would have the Telugu poet invoke an authority both textual and Sanskritic. Somanātha's move here dovetails with his generic choice of dvipada, a form fit for non-Sanskritic song.

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[2] This discussion follows Pālkuriki Somanātha, *Basavapurāṇamu* (Cennapuri: Vāvilla Rāmasvāmiśāstrulu & Sons, 1966), 1-9. Unless otherwise noted, translations come from Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors*, 41-45.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., 42.

Even so, Somanātha uses this new poetic authority and novel verse form to build an edifice of patronage that is not all together unfamiliar. Even though he turns to the devotional community for support and, especially, for source material, they are not a patronage collective. Rather Somanātha singles out one Saṅganāmātya as his work's primary auditor and patron. By his appellation *āmātya*, Saṅgana would have been a ministerial official from the brahman village Gŏbbūru and was, apparently, a disciple of a brahman Vīramāheśvara teacher in Gŏbbūru named Maṇḍĕga Mādirāju. Thus Somanātha and his work in some respects still partake of the patron-poet relations that characterized kāvya in general.

Still, the scene of reception is no longer the courtly world presided over by kings and their brahman preceptors in poetry and power. Instead we find ourselves in the temples at Srisailam, which as an institution would come to be governed by the asaṃkhyāta māheśvaras (no longer just poetic authorities) by the early fourteenth century.[5] In place of the royal patron stands the brahman official Saṅgana. To be sure, he stands out due to his social and political (and economic?) status: a local magnate—indeed, "lord of Gŏbbūru" (*gŏbbūri vibhuṁḍu*). Otherwise, though, Saṅganāmātya is portrayed as just another—albeit important—member of the authoritative devotional community behind Somanātha's work. He is, in short, not depicted as a leader presiding over this community. This is reflected in the amount of attention that Somanātha affords Saṅgana. While Saṅgana does receive special mention, Somanātha does not spend an exceptional amount of time praising him or describing his background. Nowhere to be found are the extensive genealogies of single patrons that monopolize Telugu poetic prologues from the thirteenth century on.[6]

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[5] A series of inscriptions from 1312 to 1315 represent shifting power arrangement as Srisailam, including the increasing prominence of the asaṃkhyāta māheśvaras as a kind of executive council. See: Jayanti Ramayya, ed., *South-Indian Inscriptions: Telugu Inscriptions from Andhra Pradesh*, vol. 10, Archaeological Survey of India: New imperial series (Archaeological Survey of India, 1948), Nos. 502 & 504.

[6] Arguably, the overall structure and patronage system represented in the *Basavapurāṇamu* is closer to the works that follow it in Telugu literature than it is to Nannaya's supposedly paradigm-setting work in the Telugu *Mahābhāratamu*. In describing his patron, the Eastern Cāḷukya Rājarājanarendra, Nannaya—Telugu's first poet—is largely unconcerned

This complex movement is mirrored in Somanātha's metapoetics. As noted above, he ties himself to a tradition of song and lore kept by the devotional community, and he suggests that his choosing dvipada for his meter is a direct consequence of this relationship. All the same, he cannot abide the idea that dvipada composition might be thought lesser than the campū prabandhas that dominated Telugu literary culture. And so, he explains:

> *nurutaragadyapadyoktula kaṃṭĕ*
> *sarasamai paragina jānuṁ dĕnuṃgu*
> *carciṃpaṁgā sarvasāmānyamaguṭaṁ*
> *gūrcĕda dvipadalu korki̱ daivāṟaṁ*
> *dĕluṁgumāṭalanaṃga valadu vedamula*
> *kŏlaṁdiya kāṁ jūḍuṁḍila nĕṭṭulaninaṁ*
> *bāṭi tūmunakun bāṭi yauneniṁ*
> *bāṭiṃpa solayuṁ bāṭiya kādĕ*
> *alpākṣaramula nanalpārtharacana*
> *kalpiṃcuṭayĕ kādĕ kavivivekaṃbu*
>
> More than hefty words of prose and verse
> *jānu* Telugu flows, full of rasa.
> Thinking so and given it's common to all,
> I fitted together couplets overflowing with interest.
> Do not say that these are just Telugu; but the Vedas:
> Take these as their measure in this world. "Why?" you ask:
> If the *tūmu* be a measure
> for measuring, the *sŏla* is a measure, too, no?
> Making from simple sounds a composition
> of immense meaning: is that not the poet's expertise?

Somanātha offers here not just a poet's humble apologia. While he appeals to the devotional community as a source of authority, he does not—as other poets had before him—similarly ask them to be sympathetic readers, to focus on the merits and ignore the faults in the work. What he gives

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with the king as a genealogical—and, really, historical—subject. He primarily describes the king as an instantiation of the sovereign idealized within the cosmopolitan paradigms of brahman-dominated Sanskrit literary culture. Outside of locating him in the Veṅgi region at his capital city Rājamahendrapuram, Nannaya tells us precious little of how the king substantiated this royal ideal. Somanātha, however, and the Telugu poets after him (*māheśvara* and not) offer more robust representations of their patrons' genealogical, social, and historical locations—*especially* insofar as they describe non-royal patrons. Further, the increasing visibility of temples and their communities emerges as another common thread from Somanātha onward.

instead is a manifesto. Like the small measure *sŏla*, dvipada may operate at a quantitatively smaller scale, but this fact does not mean it is inadequate to the task of poetry. It is simply more compact and, Somanātha explains, better suited to showing off his own poetic capabilities. In this respect, Somanātha does not, as his subject Basavanna did in his sayings, set himself outside the realm of poetry as such.[7] He puts himself, along with dvipada, at the top.

Even further, his composition is not just excellent as poetry but also as a scriptural source of knowledge—on par and consistent with testimonia like the Vedas and Purāṇas, the textual foundations of the Sanskrit brahmanical tradition. This becomes even clearer in Somanātha's second long work, the *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritramu* (The history of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya), where Somanātha expressly sets out to weld together Vīramāheśvara Telugu literature and Sanskrit scriptural traditions. The result may be an unwieldly work but not a work that is unconcerned with Sanskritic literary cultures and Vedic traditions. Indeed, despite its sometimes being described as anti-Veda and anti-Sanskrit, the Śivakavis' work is just not so. In representing his work this way—as simultaneously poetic and scriptural—Somanātha replicates in part the statement made by Nannaya, who claimed his inaugural Telugu Mahābhārata held a multiform status as a work on *dharma*, a philosophical treatise, a political guidebook, an elite poem, grammatical textbook, scriptural lore, mythological compendium, and Veda itself.[8]

At best, the Vīramāheśvaras and the Śivakavis are anti-brahman. Stories from the Basavapurāṇamu narrate violent rejections of brahmanical literary cultures, as in the story of the devotee Ḍohara Kākkayya, whom Somanātha praises as "an enemy of the brahmins."[9] Found in the seventh chapter of the Basavapurāṇamu, the tale relates how Kākkayya viciously kills a brahman paurāṇika. However, even in this case, the charge of anti-brahmanism is not quite accurate. The issue is not the paurāṇika's brahmanism as such, but rather that he is a "biased purana reader who would not see things as they really are."[10] In the context of the story, the brahman's bias manifests in his Vaiṣṇava leanings and his failure to tell stories that acknowledge the absolute supremacy of Śiva over all other deities. Specifically, as the devotee complains, the brahman storyteller fails to recognize the true, agonistic meaning of the proper name Harihara: The designation refers not to some ecumenical synthesis of two great gods, but to the triumph of one over the other, the thorough dispatching of Hari Viṣṇu by Hara, Śiva the destroyer. The Vīramāheśvara literary tradition then has little quarrel with Vedic brahmanism as such. Somanātha does all he can to integrate his Vīramāheśvara traditions with those of the Vedas. Ultimately, conflict comes only when brahmans and royal proponents of brahmanical power challenge the preeminence of Vīramāheśvara devotion.

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[7] On the vacanas as a kind of anti-poetry, see: Ben-Herut, "Narrating Devotion";.

[8] See *Āndhramahābhāratamu* 1.32 as translated in Narayana Rao and Shulman, *Classical Telugu Poetry*, 61: "Those who understand the order of things/ think it is a book about order./ Metaphysicians call it Vedânta./ Counselors read it as a book about conduct./ Poets read it as a poem./ Grammarians find here usages for every rule./ Narrators of the past see it as an ancient record./ Mythologists know it to be a rich collection of myth./ Vyāsa, the first sage, who knew the meaning of all the Vedas,/ Parāśara's son, equal to Lord Viṣṇu, made the *Mahābhārata*/ a universal text."

[9] Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors*, 242.

Just as the Śivakavis practically opposed the Sanskrit tradition in relatively weak terms, so, too, did Gaurana not depart very obviously from the Śivakavis' compositional practice. On the whole, he adheres to the Śivakavis' aesthetic imperative—so much so that, according to one history of Telugu dvipada literature, he was the Śivakavi par excellence of his age. He uses a number of ungrammatical lexical forms and violates metrical standards. And, his grammar aside, he narrates Śaiva stories, some of which delve into non-elite life, most spectacularly in descriptions of cow herding and hunting in the *Navanāthacaritramu*. Indeed, his aesthetic has the air of accessibility. It is marked by a reduction in Sanskrit and the Sanskritic and a privileging of common language, and an emphasis on realism and the common tropes of every day life.

Yet, in the little metapoetic meditation that Gaurana does provide, he strikes some distance between himself and the most prominent dvipada tradition. This move is characterized by what Gaurana does not do. Unlike Pālkuriki Somanātha, Gaurana offers neither an appeal to nor an apology for dvipada's non-elite status. And, while dvipada may have been gilded somewhat by Somanatha's work, its roots and associations had, it seems, not been completely obscured by Gaurana's day. Still, the form may have gained some standing of its own, at least within the context of Srisailam, the home base of the vīramāheśvaras.

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[10] Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors*, 243.

The only hint he offers is in his scant kavipraśaṃsa—only one line in each work. Expectedly, he praises no Śivakavis. But, unusually for his time, he praises no Telugu poets. Instead, he explicitly praises only Sanskrit poets. In the Navanāthacaritramu he “bows to the true poets beginning with Bāṇa” (*bāṇādisatkavulaku mrŏkk̲i*); and in his Hariścandradvipada, he “accepts and brings to mind the great poets like Kāḷidāsa” (*kāḷidāsādulagu mahākavulaṁ jekŏni . . . dalaṁci*). These opening gestures—or, as it were, the general lack thereof—signal that Gaurana may indeed belong to a different poetic camp.

With this in mind, any search for a distinctive style of Gaurana must go from the ground up to see if there is some other basis for it beyond the proportion of Sanskrit lexis and the acknowledgment of Sanskrit literary culture’s standards. Still, taking the allusion to Bāṇa and Kālidāsa seriously, this chapter will look to the ways in which Gaurana stylistically aligns himself with classical Sanskrit poetry and, in particular, the prose poetry for which Bāṇa broke the mold. To do this, I will work through how dvipada—Gaurana’s form of choice—works, first according to the literary manuals. I will go on to examine the pioneering work of Pālkuriki Somanātha as an exemplar of dvipada composition. The chapter will close with an examination of Gaurana’s work that shows how he follows the Śivakavi style and shows where and how he breaks with it. The most prominent of these breaks, I will argue, are attempts to replicate the stylistic features of courtly kāvya in Sanskrit and Telugu.

In considering style, I will attend to the thematic and conceptual interests of the works. Illuminating such interests and orientations is the end goal, and some of these are borne out directly by the poets’ explicit statements about poetic work. But these of preliminary metapoetic statements do not constitute the bulk of the material. That status is left to the poetry framed by such statements. So just as, if not more important to the analysis are the formal—particularly the phonetic, syntactic, lexical, rhetorical, and even etymological—textures of the works under consideration. My basic proposition here is that these works, despite sharing the same dvipada verse-form and even some broad thematic and theological concerns, differ when it comes to their linguistic stuff; and, further, that this difference descends in large part from their political and theological positions.

Consequently, in this chapter I translate several extended sequences from the work of Gaurana and his Śivakavi predecessor Somanātha. These translations are meant to diagram the poets' stylistic habits in English. I use "diagram" here advisedly: I have made no real attempt to match the meter or rhythms of the poetry; I have, however, tried to suggest certain prosodic features such as enjambment. These suggestions are largely visual and thus diagrammatic, as they cannot properly address how the textual material would have been translated in any performance. Further, the English does not easily or familiarly replicate the syntactic structures of either Telugu or Sanskrit. Even so, I have suggested these by sometimes peculiar syntactic choices. Also difficult to replicate in translation are the etymological textures; but, when relevant, these may be noted in the accompanying transliteration and analysis. And, finally, where the phonetic textures provided by alliteration are central to a passage, I have tried to introduce some of these effects into the translation.

The poetics of Telugu *dvipada*

Called by the colonial scholar-administrator Charles Philip Brown "the easiest of all metres,"[11] Telugu dvipada (literally the "two-footed" meter) is a verse form of couplets. Its alleged ease aside, it stands apart from other Telugu poetic forms in two interlocking ways. For one, poets—following an unwritten rule—neither compose independent stanzas in dvipada nor intersperse dvipada couplets with other poetic forms. Instead, poets compose a whole work in dvipada alone, to the exclusion of all other verse forms. In its construction then, the dvipada kāvya stands apart from the mainstream of Telugu prabandhas, which are formally constructed of four-line padya verses or in the prosimetric campū form. Literary history and the literary tradition itself recognize this mainstream as one inaugurated in the eleventh century by Nannayabhaṭṭa, whom many premodern poets recognized as Telugu's *vāganuśāsanuṁḍu* or "legislator of the Speech." In the parlance of Sanskrit poetics, Nannaya's work—the first two-and-three-quarters books of a Telugu *Mahābhārata*—was in campū; more precisely, he mixed *gadya* (prose-poetry, also called *vacana*) and *padyas* (stanzaic verses) of four lines or *pādas*. These padyas could be of two types: either syllabic (vṛtta) meters, many of which were known from Sanskrit poetics; and moraic (jāti) meters particular to Telugu prosody if not that of other south Indian languages. On the whole, the major, long-form prabandhas in Telugu took this form.

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[11] Charles Philip Brown, *Āṃdhragīrvāṇacchaṃdamu [The Prosody of the Telugu and Sanscrit Languages Explained]* (Madras: The College Press, 1827), 28.

Any deviation from this norm was remarkable. So, in the thirteenth century Tikkana Somayāji, the second major Mahābhārata poet in Telugu, composes a *Nirvacanottararāmāyaṇamu*. As Tikkana explicitly declares with his title, the work tells the latter part of the Rāmāyaṇa story "without any prose-poetry" (*nirvacana-*). Though lacking prose, Tikkana's work is nonetheless a padyakāvya in Telugu and Sanskrit meters and thus can easily lay claim to the Sanskritic, Brahmanical stream flowing through Nannaya's compositions. Likewise, any dvipada kāvya could be called *nirvacana*. But dvipadakāvya stands even farther afield. It is of a different order all together. It is two—not four—pādas long. Thus, it is not quite padyakāvya.

As the previous chapter showed, dvipada enters (somewhat belatedly) the Andhra ālaṃkārikas' discussions of genre as a member of the cāṭuprabandha class. However, Telugu metrics (*chandassu*) knows the form from its earliest text, the *Kavijanāśrayamu* (The poet's refuge). In its metrical shape, dvipada is a jāti meter. As such, it is available from the beginning of Telugu prosody. Poeticians analyze it not in terms of a fixed pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables but, rather, according to the number of beats or mātrā the lines contain (hence the common translation "moraic meter" for jāti). The sixteenth-century Telugu poetician Appakavi gives a succint definition, in the process exemplifying the verse form with a couple of couplets:

> *surapatitrayaṃbu sūryuṁḍŏkkaṃḍu*
> *viramaṃbu rĕṃṭipai vĕṟayu nŏkkaṭiki*
> *kṣitiṁ daga nī rĕṃṭi cenŏppu dvipada*
> *miti leka cĕppina melaṃḍru kavulu*
>
> A trio of Indras and a single Sun.
> The caesura after two *gaṇas*. Just one

> is not enough. Dvipada's best in beautiful couplets
> sung with no fixed end—so say the poets.[12]

A line of dvipada is thus defined as having three *Indragaṇas* (that is, three feet of four to five beats) followed by one *Sūryagaṇa* (a foot of three beats); and the yati falls in the middle, after the first two Indra gaṇas. Furthermore, it is always to be a couplet, but these couplets may be strung together without end. Also, note that there is no explicit stipulation against mixing dvipada with other verse forms. Were it to be found, it would be in the work of Appakavi, one of the most fastidious of poeticians. Even so, no known Telugu prabandha mixes dvipada and other verses forms.

Despite these peculiarities, dvipada conforms to the general principles of Telugu prosody. In the main, this means that it is governed by the two principles of classical Telugu prosody that structure all verse forms whether vṛtta or jāti, Sanskritic or vernacular. These are *prāsa* and *yati*. The prāsa is Telugu instantiation of the larger phenomenon of "head-rhyme" characteristic of Dravidian poetry.[13] In particular, the prāsa of a verse is the consonance of the second syllable in each line. Taking Appakavi's two dvipada couplets as an example, the consonant *r* is the prāsa of the first couplet, and in the second, *t*. In four-line padyas, the prāsa accordingly runs through all four pādas. The second principle, yati is known from Sanskrit prosody. It is frequently translated as the break or caesura within a pāda, a break that may or may not be co-extensive with syntactic breaks. Telugu poetics maintains this rhythmic (and optionally syntactic) feature but also introduces a principle of rhyme. The rhyming of yati, unlike that set out in prāsa, is internal to each line and may consequently be different for each pāda in a verse. This rhyme is between the first phoneme of the pāda—sometimes called *vaḷi*—and the first phoneme after the yati. Turning to Appakavi's definitional couplets, the yati-vaḷi pairs are: *su/sū*, *vi/vĕ*,*kṣi/ce*, and *mi/me*. Poeticians elaborate a number of rules governing both prāsa and yati. Guidelines for the latter principle are more flexible and involve not just consonance but assonance as well.

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[12] *Appakavīyamu* 4.282

[13] This head-rhyme is commonly noted in classical Tamil verse, and it has also been taken as a diagnostic feature of Sanskrit poetry composed in southern India in the midst of Dravidian literary cultures, if not poets whose first language was a Dravidian one.

Predictably, poets often confound poetological stipulations. Dvipada—and, more often, its poets—have been objects of poetological attack. One major criticism revolves around a variation of yati called *prāsayati*. Prāsayati is the substitution within a pāda of prāsa for yati. That is to say, instead of a rhyme between the first phoneme of the pāda and the first phoneme after the yati, the poet would rhyme the stanza's prāsa syllable with the second phoneme after the yati. This is generally permitted in Telugu verse. But the mainstream poetic tradition seems to have prohibited the use of prāsayati in dvipada compositions. The pathbreaker for Telugu dvipada, Pālkuriki Somanātha, refers to this prohibition in the introduction to his dvipada *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritramu*. He declares, however, that he will not be bound by the regulation but will use prāsayati as he pleases. Despite his poetological provocation, he in fact, as Cilukūri Nārāyaṇarāvu explains, uses it sparingly, more or less adhering to the norm of refraining from prāsayati in dvipada.[14]

So defined, dvipada can be seen as part of a small family other *-pada* or *-padi* verse forms—namely *catuṣpadi* (four-footed), *ṣaṭpadi* (six-footed)—which constitute similarly discrete compositional traditions in other southern languages. Next to Telugu dvipada, the chief example is the Kannada *ṣaṭpadi*, for which Rāghavāṅka's *ṣaṭpadi* Hariścandra appears to have been the pathbreaking work. However, the similarity implied by the terminological resemblance can only be taken so far. The Kannada ṣaṭpadi, at least as practiced by Rāghavāṅka, formally follows many of the patterns and techniques of the Sanskritic kāvya (especially padyakāvya) tradition as recognized by the Western scholars and the ālaṃkārikas themselves. In particular, the ṣaṭpadi stanza still functions as an isolated verse or muktaka. And so, Vanamala Viswanatha describes the form's use in a long poem as "the stringing of beads in a necklace" where each stanza comprises an "internally coherent picture [that] presents a part of the overall design and movement of the narrative."[15]

A single dvipada couplet, as the analysis to come will show in greater detail, is not like this. The metrical form is simply just not that capacious and cannot contain the kind of word-picture a padya might present. The couplets work best in extended sequences, as suggests the phrase "with no fixed end" (*miti leka*) in Appakavi's definition. In this regard, dvipada may find its closest Kannada cousin in the *ragalĕ*, especially as practiced by Harihara (mentor and contemporary of the ṣaṭpadi poet Rāghavāṅka).[16] It belongs to the same family of deśi jāti meters as the *-padi* forms. However, it has no stanzas as such. Its only principle of organization is its prāsa which, as in Telugu dvipada, primarily runs across two lines. As Ben-Herut has shown in the case of ragalĕ, this leads to unusual rhythmic effects and possibilities, especially in terms of a flowing and largely unbounded style marked by the "softly-bounded unit" of the couplet.[17] But this leaves ample room for the poet to impose other syntactic shapes upon material only loosely structured by the meter.

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[14] Pālkuriki Somanātha, *Mallikārjunapaṇḍitārādhyacaritra*, ed. Cilukūri Nārāyaṇarāvu (Hyderabad: Telugu Viśvavidyālayam, 1990).

[15] Raghavanka, *The Life of Harishchandra*, trans. Vanamala Viswanatha, Murty Classical Library of India (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), xiii.

Dvipada in the *Basavapurāṇamu*

What, then, does it look like for a poet to compose in dvipada? The earliest example of a self-proclaimed dvipada kāvya comes, as I have already mentioned, from Pālkuriki Somanātha. In terms of its style, scholars have commonly characterized his Basavapurāṇamu as a literary work, largely confirming Somanātha's own claims to poetic excellence. Nonetheless, taking a cue from Somanātha's appeal to the accessibility of "*jānu* Telugu," scholars tend to see the work as representing an oral poetics. For instance, in his study of the work, V. Narayana Rao finds it "almost indistinguishable from an oral text." Three features are particularly prominent in this regard. First, Somanātha crafts a dvipada replete "with repetitions and fillers that are used frequently."[18] These repetitions are primarily "architectural," manifesting in the stylized, litanous passages that introduce each episode by lauding its central devotee. Cast in stereotyped Sanskrit phrases, they are meant, according to Narayana Rao, to induce a devotional mood through their sonorous—and consequently hypnotic—effects.[19] Second, beyond these stock constructions, Somanātha's work also features a few descriptive dilations, mostly in offering extended catalogs of objects of sartorial and musicological interest but also in his use of more complex metaphorical propositions prized and analyzed by the alaṃkāra theorists. Third and finally, aside from these descriptive sequences, Somanātha typically writes in a straightforward style that focuses on moving the narrative action along.

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[16] My comparison here follows the discussion of the poetics of *ragalĕ* in Ben-Herut, "Narrating Devotion," 95-112.

[17] Ibid., 111.

[18] Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors*, 29.

[19] ibid., 30.

Given that a comprehensive historical poetics of dvipada will have to await a future study, the following analysis will be largely anecdotal. My hope, however, is to elaborate the three aforementioned characteristics and set a tentative baseline against which to measure Gaurana's style and its implications. In one respect, then, my task is to describe—but to describe in such a way that we can judge not just Somanātha's metapoetic claim but also understand how his stylistic practice receives and lays claims to both folk/oral and literary traditions. Ultimately, the following will argue that Somanātha's work shows the literariness of dvipada counterintuitively. Specifically, I find that it is through the elements that scholars have labelled literary—his Sanskritic lexis and attention to alaṃkāra—that Somanātha appeals most forcefully to a poetics inflected by oral and non-elite composition. The obverse of this is that those elements identified with oral poetry bear the mark of courtly literary practice.

The register of *stotra*

In approaching the tales of *Basavapuranamu*, one first encounters a litanous introductory passage which, in a string of epithets, presents the subject. Such a passage, in fact, opens the work as a whole. This sequence details the qualities of a devotional subject, understood to be Somanātha's guru who is, for all intents and purposes, identical to the divine Śiva himself:

> *śrīgurudevu naṃcitagunottaṃsu*
> *yogīṃdrahṛdayapayojātahaṃsuṁ*
> *baramakṛpāmūrtibhaktajanārti*
> *haruṁ drijagatsphūrti nānaṃdavarti*
> *bhavarogavicchedi bhaktavinodi*
> *śivatattvasaṃpādiṁ jiratarāmodi*
> *nityasvarūpu nunmīlatpratāpuṁ*
> *pratyayagatapāpu bhaktapradīpu*
> *bhāvanātītu sadbhāvanopetu*

> *sāvayavakhyātu namitu najātu*
> *nādyaṃtarahitu vedāṃtārthasuhitu*
> *vidyātmasahitu saṃvitsaukhyamahitu*
> *bhaktaparādhīnu bhaktanidhānu*
> *bhaktasamādhānu bhaktāvadhānu*
> *bhaktaparaṃjyoti bhaktavibhūti*
> *bhavaduḥkhārāti bhaktānubhūti*
> *bhaktavajratrāṇu bhaktadhurīṇu*
> *bhaktajanaprāṇuṁ baramakaḷyāṇu*
> *manmanoramyu nirmalabhāvagamyuṁ*
> *jinmayu saumyu bhajiṃci kīrtiṃci . . .*[20]

> He is the divine guru. He is supremely endowed with worshipful qualities. He is the sun that opens the lotuses of the hearts of the great yogis. He is most compassionate. He absorbs the devotees' afflictions. He is the manifestation of the three worlds. He abides in bliss. He cures the disease of rebirth. He is delighted with devotees. He acquires the essences of Śiva for his devotees. He is forever blissful. His form is eternal. His prowess has been demonstrated. He absolves the sins of the faithful. He lights up his devotees. He is beyond thought. He is associated with right thoughts. He is popularly known to be embodied. He is boundless. He is birthless. He is without beginning or end. He conforms to the meaning of Vedānta. He is associated with knowledge. He is supreme in bliss and knowledge. He is a slave to the devotees. He is the support of the devotees. He responds to the devotees. He is attentive to the devotees. He is a killer of devotees' grief. He is the experience of devotees. He rescues devotees. He supports devotees. Devotees are his life breath. He is glorious. He pleases me. He is approachable through clear thoughts. He is the embodiment of consciousness. He is gentle—having worshiped and praised him . . . [21]

The most immediate feature of this passage and the similar sequences that follow is their overwhelmingly Sanskritic lexis. While every epithet is grammatically Telugu, that Telugu character ends with their endings: the accusative suffix *-ni*. (Even this, however, is barely there as the suffix often disappears completely or, at least, transforms to the half-nasal (*arrasunna*) owing to considerations of meter and sandhi.) For example, the Telugu accusative epithet *yogīṃdrahṛdayapayojātahaṃsu[ni]* ("sun that opens the lotuses of the hearts of the great yogis") could become grammatically Sanskrit by altering only its final two syllables (and thus *yogīṃdrahṛdayapayojātahaṃsam*). Beyond the suffix, which marks the referent of the words as the object of the two past non-finite participles that anchor the sequence (*bhajiṃci kīrtiṃci* or “having worshipped and praised him”), these compounds can be taken to evince Somanātha’s facility with the Sanskrit language.

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[20] Pālkuriki Somanātha, *Basavapurāṇamu*, 1-2.
[21] Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors*, 41.

Poetically, the passage aims especially at phonetic effects of rhyme. The couplets display the requisite interlineal prāsa (*śrī**gu**ru* . . . / *yo**gī**ṃdra* . . .) and intralineal yati-vaḷi (***śrī**guru* . . . - *naṃ**ci**ta* . . .). But, forcing such features further forward, every couplet also finds end-rhyme (. . . *ott**aṃsu*** / . . . *jātah**aṃsu***) to a greater or lesser extent. Other patterns of repetition mark the passage as well, extending to entire lexemes (the *bhakta-* sequence leading to the end of the passage) and higher frequencies of repetition.

Taken together, the lexis and the emphasis of sound effects show Somanātha’s double affiliation. While he clearly demonstrates his connection to and expertise in the tools of Sanskrit literary culture, the rhythm and rhyme of such passages also make clear his concern for an oral/aural poetics. Never do words—compounds included—span beyond the single line. Thus, meter and syntax fit together on that basic level. Yet, even as the lines emerge as repetitive, they are not quite formulaic and Somanātha plays with rhythm within his metrical constraints. So, while the first line features two compounds of three lexemes each (*śrīgurudevun aṃcitaguṇottaṃsu*), the next second and third each contain a single six-lexeme compound that spans the whole line, and the fourth line features a single-word epithet followed by two short compounds of three and two words respectively. Somanātha has then fashioned a passage to be interesting if not pleasing to the ear even as it propounds theological points.

In his use of Sanskrit compounds and his alliterative aims, Somanātha brings to bear what could be called his *stotra* register. *Stotra* labels a nebulous body of praise poetry or hymnody in Sanskrit and regional languages. Scholars have generally cited the uneven or simply poor quality of such works. Such estimations see in stotra the core function of a kind of meditative prayer which, because of its interest in visualizing the divine subject tends towards stereotyped phrases and epithets.[22] This accounts in large part for the judgment that these sections may seem monotonous.

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[22] See, for example, the remarks given in Jan Gonda, *Medieval Religious Literature in Sanskrit*, ed. Jan Gonda, vol. 2, A History of Indian Literature 1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977), 234-235.

However, more recently scholars have sought after the aims and audiences of stotra literature as way to define the genre and differentiate its many forms. While stotras have been marked as a more popular literature for their often devotional sentiments, their routine use of Sanskrit (even in regional language composition) has called such popular accessibility into question. Still, Yigal Bronner has drawn attention to stotra's often pedagogical aims in his study of Appayya Dīkṣita's large body of work.[23] Identifying such aims points to implied space for commentary which would explicate the matters contained in the verses of praise. These aims may be identified not just in the content but also through the formal features of the verses themselves. Chief among them is the use of the highly Sanskritic compounds like those seen above. David Buchta has shown that such linguistic practice embodies the pedagogical and popular character. He marks the frequent use of Sanskritic compounds in regional language and Sanskrit language compositions as a variety of "simplifed Sanskrit" in that the nominal compounds sidestep whole areas of Sanskrit verbal and nominal morphology.[24] Sanskrit becomes in such cases a matter of vocabulary and, therefore, potentially more accessible to its audience.

The stotra register is thus characterized by its regular use of Sanskrit compounds and its unwavering interest in devotional subjects. These passages also stand as the primary instances of descriptive dilation in Somanātha's work, as well as the places where Sanskritic lexis is most prevalent. But the use of a simplified register of Sanskrit and a broader interest in poetry's aural qualities suggests that accessibility may have been particularly important here. In this aural orientation, the stotra register echoes the sivakavis' work in the much more compact catuprabandhas discussed in the last chapter. As Narayana Rao suggests and in line with the stotra label, these passages do aim at generating a devotional mood and, more generally, open up the possibility for the audience to engage (and even participate) in the literary work.

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23. Yigal Bronner, "Singing to the God, Educating the People: Appayya Dīkṣita and the Function of *Stotras*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 127, no. 2 (2007): 1–18. The remark has been confirmed in recent studies, such as Hamsa Stainton, "Poetry and Prayer: *Stotras* in the Religious and Literary History of Kashmir" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2013). Here Stainton, moving beyond...

24. Buchta, "Pedagogical Poetry," 198.

Enumeration and Descriptive Dilation

Outside of the litanous descriptions that introduce the devotees and their stories, Somanātha does not dally much in the details of describing places or other tableaux. This includes a general avoidance of the eighteen descriptions, or *aṣṭādaśavarṇana*, that the alaṃkāra theorists demand in kāvya. The clearest exceptions come in Somanātha's catalogs, wherein he enumerates the seemingly endless varieties of some type. In the midst of a story of Basava's utter submission to the requests and desires of māheśvara devotees—this time his bequeathing of his wife Gaṅgāmba's entire wardrobe—a courtesan's servant enumerates Basava's wife's collection saris:

> . . . and the jaṅgamas gave [priceless garments] to us with love. Veñjāvaḷi, jayarañji, collection of dew, gem silk, best on earth, śrī color, great China, China, Kāma's best, emerald silk, king's crown, king's best, wind cloud, elephant trappings, gaṇḍavaḍamu, ochre, saripaṭṭu, swan lake, row of vīṇas, pallaḍa daṭṭi, Varanasi, rip-free ruby red, Gauri's knot, milk-water silk, jeweled silk, conch silk, emerald silk, gold silk, fine silk, white silk, netra silk, tavarājamu, māndoḷiravi, moonlight, sunset red, sapphire, Mahendra's ornament, fine dancing border, ocean, cloud-colored, rudrākṣa-colored, Cambodian silk, tiger-claw silk, lord of the earth, Rudra's mark, saripaṭṭu, wealth of sandalwood, lake clud, row of elephants, row of horses, fine muslin, white-fringed, celestial cotton, morning song, god's cotton, soft cloth, and Gujarati silk. We are familiar with all of these and more . . .[25]

Catalogs as such feature frequently in kāvya—primarily in enumerating floral and fauna. However, poets tend to structure these passages according to their alliterative effects, showcasing their control over *yamaka*.[26] Here, however, Somanātha does not make this an opportunity to highlight his handling certain figures of sound.

Such passages might be praised for their exhaustiveness and the realism implied by their level of detail, they precisely lack the kind of metaphorical inventiveness (or decadence, as some would have it) many readers have come to associate with kāvya. Telugu literary historians see this turn to realia as marking the populist turn of the Śivakavis' kāvya and its proximity to the oral poetic traditions of the lower caste groups celebrated in the Basavapurāṇamu.

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[25] Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors*, 91.

[26] On this point, see the discussion of Gaurana's style below.

Yet it is precisely in these passages that a seemingly literary poetics—one expected in the Telugu campū prabandhas denigrated by Somanātha—impresses itself on the dvipada form. This poetics comes through, however, not in the poet's flights of fancy or control over convention. It comes instead—and somewhat paradoxically—in the poet's metrical practice. Some much can be seen by the Telugu of the satorial catalog:

> *gŏnivacci jaṃgamakoṭi sasneha*
> *muna niccinaṭṭi yamūlyavastramulu*
> *vĕṃjāvaḷiyu jayarañjiyu* ***maṃcu***
> ***puṃjaṃbu*** *maṇipaṭṭu bhūtilakaṃbu*
> *śrīvanniyayu mahācīni cīniyunu*
> *bhāvajatilakaṃbu paccanipaṭṭu*
> *rāyaśekharamunu rājavallabhamu*
> *vāyumeghamu gajavāḷaṃbu* ***gaṃḍa***
> ***vaḍamu*** *gāvulu saripaṭṭunu* ***haṃsa***
> ***paḍiyu*** *vīṇāvaḷi palladadaṭṭi*
> *vāraṇāsiyu jīku vāyuṁ gĕṃdŏgaru*
> *gauriganayamunu* ***kṣīrodakaṃbu***
> ***paṭṭunu*** *ratnaṃbupaṭṭunu* ***saṃku***
> ***paṭṭunu*** *marakatapaṭṭu pŏṃbaṭṭu*
> *nĕṟapaṭṭu vĕlipaṭṭu netraṃbupaṭṭu*
> *maṟi tavarājaṃbu māṃdoḷiraviyuṁ*
> *jaṃdrātapaṃbunu sāṃdhyarāgaṃbu*
> *niṃdranīlaṃbu mahemdrabhūsaṇamu*
> *sannanaḍaṃcunu śaradhiyu* ***megha***
> ***vannĕyu*** *rudrākṣavannĕ kāṃbhoji*
> *puligorupaṭṭunu bhūpati* ***rudra***
> ***tilakaṃbu*** *saripaṭṭu malayajasiriyu*
> *gŏlanimeghamu gajāvaḷi hayāvaḷiyu*
> *valipaṃbu sari gammitĕlupu* ***divyāṃba***
> ***raṃbunu*** *nudayarāgaṃbu* ***devāṃba***
> ***raṃbu*** *pŏttiyu gujarāṣṭraṃbupaṭṭu*
> *mŏdalugā nĕruṁga memunu daratarama* [27]

This passage evinces the key characteristics of the dvipada form, showing well the interlineal prāsa and intralineal yati throughout. But in fitting these varieties of silk to dvipada's couplets, the sartorial list also stretches its metrical container. To be sure, what we have here is not a bombastic display of sound effects as seen above with Somanātha's stotra register. Thus, these verses display a high density of more complex word enjambments. Highlighted here in bold, these are instances where the words span line breaks. This enjambment is not just an internal feature of couplets otherwise bound through prāsa and yati (as in the case of *megha-/ vannĕyu)* but also takes place across the boundaries of the couplet (e.g., *divyāṃba-/ raṃbunu*). In the latter case, we might also note that two lines—though belonging to separate couplets—are themselves bounded not just by the enjambed word but also end rhyme (*divyāṃba / devāṃba*).

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[27] Pālkuriki Somanātha, *Basavapurāṇamu*, 127-128.

Such enjambment belies dvipada's oral affiliations. V. Narayana Rao has taken this kind of enumerative digression as, on the one hand, a replication of the oral poet's style.[28] Even so, as he has argued elsewhere in the case of Telugu śataka literature, in an orally composed verse, "meter and syntax fuse into one structure that organizes both [the poet's] language and the verse at the same time. . . . [In the literary style,] meter structures the verse but not always [the poet's] language."[29] Thus, in oral verse, the clause and the pāda tend to be coextensive; similarly, words do not span the limits of the line or run over the yati. The syntax of a literary verse, on the other hand, is not so tightly bound to its metrical scaffold. Typically the disjuncture happens at the level of the sentence, with a clause spanning multiple lines. Such constructions are certainly not unique to Telugu. However, the Telugu prabandha poets are particularly wont to spread words across metrical boundaries. A verse from Tikkana exemplifies the practice:

> tri*BHuvana-śuka-*dṛ*dha-pañjara-*
> vi*BHava-mahitunaku tri*viṣ*ṭapa-**nirmo***
> **ka**-*BHujaṅga-patiki̱ sakala-jagad-*
> *aBHinna-rūpunaku bhāvanâtītunaku*[30]

In the verse above, prāsa is captured by capitalization and yati is represented through romanization.

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[28] Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors*, 30.

[29] Narayana Rao, "Multiple Lives of a Text," 344.

[30] *Āṃdhramahābhāratamu* 4.1.33, cited in Ibid.

Lexemes within compounds are separated by a simple dash, but the more striking word-enjambment is, again, marked through bolding. Even as the verse adheres to requirements of the meter, the meaning and syntax are not rigidly bound to the meter (here *kandamu*). Thus, long compounds—words in and of themselves—span the metrical boundaries.[31] More than that, as the end of the second pada shows, even lexemes within compounds straddle the meter's rhythmic units. Such spanning is precisely what is on display in the passage above. Were the sequence fully composed in line with an oral poetics, word boundaries would adhere more strictly to the metrical structure.

Even with this bit of metrical complexity, the passage from Somanātha does not appear to aim for complication in itself. First, while word enjambment is prevalent here, it is not intense. Thus, the final two cases of enjambment both find a lexeme split (e.g., *aṃba/ra* or, approximately, "cott/on"), but the earlier instances merely separate compounds at the boundary between lexemes (e.g., *maṃcu/puṃjaṃbu* or "dew-/collection"). Second, and more importantly, the sequence, quite simply, has the syntax of a shopping list. There is no proposition or statement beyond the enumeration itself. The point is just that the list is so very long, if not actually exhaustive when it comes to textile types. Through its length, it baldly shows both the depth of Gaṅgāmba's wardrobe and consequent extravagance of the devotee's demand. The move requires no metaphor but is nonetheless successful. So, Somanātha does not completely abandon an oral poetics and may have been replicating it here. Nevertheless, such metrical shapes do suggest that his compositional practice would have been distinct from that of an oral poet. That said, these features reveal little else about the performance of Somanātha's work.

Confounding Conceits in Kalyāṇa

Despite the prevalence of sound-based ornamentation built around the compounds characteristic of simplified Sanskrit and exhaustive enumeration, Somanātha punctuates his Basavapurāṇamu with moments of metaphor-born figuration. To be sure, many of the compounds used in the stotra register should be analyzed as compounds based in simile or metaphor. Still, there are a few instances of figures expressed through a complete sentence in a sequence of couplets.

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[31] There is a case to made that the first case of such spanning in this verse is not an extreme case of enjambment. The *kanda* meter, though defined as having four pādas (abcd) could be redefined. Metrically, and irrespective of requirements for prāsa and yati, the pādas could be described as abab; consequently, the meter could be recast as comprising just two long lines. In this case, it would not be apt to identify any hard enjambment within an ab unit.

Where Sanskrit padyakāvyas and Telugu campū prabandhas are celebrated (and some times denigrated) for these figurative sequences, such poetic events are relatively rare in the Basavapurāṇamu. Even so, they acquire an unusually high density in the middle of its third chapter, in which the episodes are mostly set in the courtesans' quarters. The first episode, referenced above for its enumerative style, describes how a devotee, at the command of his courtesan lover, demands that Basava bequeath his wife's magnificent collection of saris to him and his lover. The second story remains in the courtesans' quarters but turns instead to the Innocent Saṅgayya who, in the naivete of pure Śaiva devotion, follows a group of more seasoned devotees to a brothel and beholds its prostitutes as ideal devotees. At the transition between these two episodes, Somanātha offers an uncommon concession to the ālaṃkārika template by describing the sunset:

basavani bhaktiprabhāpaṭalaṃbu
dĕsala vasuṃdhara divi dīṭukŏnaṁga
dinakaruṁḍātmīyatejaṃbu daṟuṁgu
ḍunumadi lajjiṃci cani yaparābdhiṁ
baḍiyĕno yannaṭlu bhānuṃḍu gruṃkĕṁ
jĕḍimitruṁḍaruga rājīvamul mŏgicĕ
bherulu śaṃkhamul bhoranaṁ jĕlaṁgĕ
mārasaṃhāru nāgāraṃtaramula
nalarucuṁ baṃcamahāśabdarāva
mulu mrŏsĕ bhaktasamūhālayamula
ghanadhūpadhūmasaṃjanitameghamulu
sĕnasi kappinamāḍkiṁ jīkaṭul varvĕ
varamuktisati basavaniki nāratulu
paruvaḍinĕttu dīpaṃbulo yanaṁga
nakṣatracayamaṃtarikṣaṃbu niṃḍi
yakṣīṇatarakāṃti yasalāra vĕliṁgĕṁ
caṃdruni ceṭu daityeṃdruni pāṭu
niṃdruni bhaṃgaṃbu nĕṟiṁgi yĕṟiṁgi
gŏṟaya mruccili śūdrakuṃḍanu rāju
naṟaku vaḍuṭa tŏlli yĕṟiṁgi yĕṟiṃgi
jārulaṁ jorulaṁ jarciṃcu kavula
bhūrivivekaṃbuṁ bŏgaḍaṃganela

yanaṁga saṃdhyāveḷayaṃdu . . .

When the lustrous mantle of Basava's bhakti
fell upon all the corners of the earth,
the day-maker, seeming to think his own lustre had waned,
fell ashamed into the western sea:
And just so did the Sun set.
As their friend dimmed and departed, the lotuses shut.
Kettle-drums and conches boisterously sounded.
In the temples to Mortality's murderer
the noise of the five great sounds
roared. In all the devotees' abodes
clouds born of dense incense smoke,
much like a cloak, covered the darkness.
As if that good woman Liberation raised high
to Basava an offering of lamps,
the host of stars filled the firmament
and shone mightly with unremitting radiance.
"Knowing well the Moon's demise, the demon lord's fall,
and Indra's humiliation,
and knowing well the king called Śūdraka who stole
a sheep and was cut down upon a time,
poets go on about creeps and thieves.
So why praise them for their deep expertise?"
seemingly said that twilight time as . . . [32]

Somanātha casts the sunset in the mold of a number of conceits. These inventive metaphors blur the lines between the operations that characterize the natural (or, at least, conventional) passage of time and those in line with the narrative's focus, the activities and sentiments of Śaiva devotion as carried out by Basava and other devotees. Thus, the sun in his setting is described as carrying out an intentional—and appropriate—act of shame in the face of the true glory of devotion. This act is followed by a brief and conventional mention of the lotuses closing with their friend the sun's departure. The poet's gaze then moves on to describing devotional acts without much figuration beyond assonance and the euphony demanded by Telugu metrics (**bheru**lu śaṃkhamul **bhora**naṁ jĕlaṁgĕ /

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[32] Pālkuriki Somanātha, *Basavapurāṇamu*, 131-132. Translation mine.

mārasaṃhāru nāgāraṃtaramula /). He then goes on to further describe devotional activity—the lighting of incense—with a slight simile; but here, again and even more strikingly, Somanātha makes his mark by using a pada-long and highly alliterative compound (*ghanadhūpadhūmasaṃjanitameghamulu*). This line marks, as it were, a turning point in the passage, back to the use of conceits. The first comes when the stars are imagined as lit lamps of worship in honor of Basava. The final move comes as the overarching subject of this tableau—twilight herself—is imagined as observing this novel, devotion-driven sunset.

More than observation, her thoughts proceed to metapoetic reflection. Here she effectively offers a favorable evaluation of Somanātha's foray into figuration. Recognizing the brilliance of Basava's devotion and seeing that the whole world appears to honor it, too, she wonders, implicitly, why the poets should be ignorant of heavens' intentions and fail to recognize of the eminence of Basava's devotion; and why they should craft their conventions to laud less deserving subjects, and the inherently corrupt kingly class in particular. More explicitly, this concern emerges as she questions the wisdom of applauding such poets for their *bhūrivivekaṃbu*. I translate this phrase here as "deep expertise," but the more common sense of "discernment" (or, more aesthetically inclined, "discerning taste") is just as applicable. While previous poets lack such discernment, Somanātha, by implication, is surely in possession of it.

By referencing this notion of the poet's *viveka*, the embedded metapoetic statement harkens back directly to Somanātha's aesthetic claims in the prologue to the *Basavapurāṇamu*. There, too, did he invoke poetic expertise and his decision to compose in dvipada, a form that he understands to be both accessible (*sarvasāmānya*) and aesthetically satisfying (*sarasa*) over and above the seemingly more learned poetic genre. And so, this rare instance of semantic ornamentation—otherwise the courtly prabandha poet's stock and trade—becomes an occasion for rejecting the poet's business as it is usually done. In it Somanātha makes a parodic gesture, ably executing the moves one finds in works of "dense prose and verse" while calling that very enterprise into question. By shifting to the figurative registers featured in courtly campū he makes a theological point (śivabhakti is pre-eminent in the world) that is intimately pinned to and that justifies the aesthetic imperatives on display elsewhere in his work as a śivakavi.

Action and syntax in the *Basavapurāṇamu*

Though the Basavapurāṇamu contains moments of dilation—most often to induce a devotional mood through the Sanskritic stotra register—the work is primarily a collection of short stories narrated in a straightforward style rather than through the elaborate descriptive set-pieces known to kāvya. This straightforward character mainly manifests itself in the direct and overall swift movement along the thread of a story, even as a single story may unfold or itself be embedded within so many other tales. So much can be seen in Somanātha's opening to the story of Tĕlugu Jŏmmayya. The story features Jŏmmayya as a kind of metaphysical hunter who has been ordained to release a number of souls who had been cursed to live as animals in the forests of Srisailam. The passage begins by introducing the story's central character, Telugu Jommayya, with an eight-couplet description in the stotra register (an omission marked in the translation here with the ellipses). Somanātha then picks up the narrative thread in earnest, which properly begins with different devotee, the yogi Śivānanda:

> While Jŏmmayya . . . lived in great renown in the city of Kalyāṇa, a man named Śivānanda, intent upon incessant meditation on the liṅga, being lost in otherworldly bliss, abided in *samādhi* near a waterfall at Srisailam, his toenails growing long into the earth like the roots of a tree and his fingernails growing up like white vines; and as his thick unkempt hair covered him such that this guru's body seemed like a black mountain, his disciple served him unwaveringly with constant devotion, feeding on roots and bulbs in his continual servitude. Then, some gandharva women and their husbands—out for fun—passed by there and said, "What is this black thing with white vines? From afar it looks like rock, but why would a rock have vines? It could be a tree; but if it's a tree, where are the leaves? Perhaps it is just an old bear that can't move." And as they peered at it again and again wondering what it was, that disciple, looking at the men and women as they stared and becoming cruel as intense rage boiled within, cursed them like this: "Can't you see he embodies the highest yogic bliss? Is it right to think of him in any other way? You idiots! Because you've come here and mistakenly compared this master to a beast, you shall be born again as beasts on this earth!" And they . . .[33]

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[33] Pālkuriki Somanātha, *Basavapurāṇamu*: *ghanarūḍhiṁ gaḷyāṇakaṭakaṃbunaṃdu / nanurāgalīla jŏmmayya vartiṃpa / naṃta nikkaḍa śivānaṃduṃḍu nā ni / raṃtaraliṃgataddhyānātmuṁḍagucuṁ / paramaparānaṃdapāravaśyamunaṁ / śrīśail-*

The poetry here is marked by a strong sense of sequence rather than simultaneity. Where the stotra register and the exceptional instances of description analyzed above may feature action (and, in the case of the sunset, a number of finite verbs), such passages nevertheless elaborate scenes or paint a kind of panorama with little forward movement. In this opening, however, Somanātha moves from Śivānanda to his disciple to the arrival of the gandharvas to their impolite deliberations to the disciple's rage and his issuing the curse. While Somanātha does turn to describing Śivānanda's appearance, he does so very briefly. And, more importantly, the description is not primarily geared toward generating a devotional atmosphere (as in the stotra register) or toward larger thematic or aesthetic issues (as seen in the description of the sunset). Rather, the description of Śivānanda—that is, his growing into the earth—is a narrative event which itself precipitates the other events of the story. Namely, it provides the fodder for dialogue that culminates in the curse which comes to be resolved at the hands of the celebrated Jŏmmayya.

This movement is, to some extent, in spite of Somanātha's syntax. Grammatically speaking, the passage is a single sentence that begins with the opening description of Jŏmmayya and only finds a semblance of a finite verb with the issuing of the curse (*śāpam* ***iccuḍu***). The larger clauses within the passage are anchored by infinitive participles and the postposition *aṃta*. While the infinitive participle can be used to set up some action as simultaneous, the addition of *aṃta* introduces an aspect of forward motion. Thus, the first appearance of this comes in lines two and three quoted above, marking the shift from Jŏmmayya to Śivānanda (*jŏmmayya vartiṃpa/naṃta ikkaḍa śivānaṃda* or "While Jŏmmayya resided, here Śivānanda . . ."). The next instances occur as Somanātha describes Śivānanda's meditation and his disciples service. They, however, lack the *aṃta*, suggestive of the

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amuna samaṃcitanirjharapra / deśaṃbunanu samādhisthuṁḍai yuṃḍaṁ / badanakhaṃbulu bhuviṁ parvi vĕlgucunu / viditamai kriṃdiḵi veḷulu vāṟa / naliṁ garasthali nakhamul vĕluṃgucunu / dĕlupāri mīṁdi tīgalabhātiṁ brabala / nurumuktakeśaṃbulŏḍalu gappaṃga / dhara nīlagirimāḍḵi gurumūrti danara / nā yayya śiṣyuṁḍatyāyatabhaktiṁ / bāyaka kŏlcucuṁ barataṃtralīla / nanayaṃbuṁ gaṃdamūlāhāruṁḍagucu / nanuṣaktiṁ dānnu nacaṭana nuṃḍa / naṃta vinodārthu lagucu gaṃdharva / kāṃtaluṁ batulu nakkaḍa poyi poyi / tĕllaṁ dīgalatoḍa nallaṁdanaṃbu / nalladi yĕṭṭido yanucu dūramuna / śilyŏko śilakuṁ dīgalu galguṭĕṭṭu / lila vr̥kṣamo vr̥kṣame nākulĕvvi / mudiyĕlgu gānopuṁ gadalaṁ jālakaya / yadĕ yunnadanucu naṃtaṃta vīkṣiṃpa / sudatulaṁ buruṣulaṁ jūpulaṁ jūci / yadayuṁḍai śiṣyuṁḍatyāgrahaṃbŏdavaṁ / gānarā paramayogānaṃdamūrtiṁ / dānanyabhāvanaṁ dalaṁpaṃgaṁ dagunĕ / yajñānulāra mr̥gākr̥tigāṁgaṁ / dajjñuniṁ bolcina tappunaṁ boyi / puṭṭuṁḍu mr̥gamulai bhuvinaṃcu nappu / ḍiṭṭalaṃbuga śāpamiccuḍu vāru . . .

stability and simultaneity of the yogi's state and the student's vigil over him. The next *aṃta* comes as the narrative turns again, this time marking the arrival of the gandharva tourists (*nacaṭana . . .* ***uṃḍa/naṃta*** *vinodārthu lagucu gaṃdharva/kāṃtaluṁ batulu nakkaḍa poyi poyi* or “. . .Now then, some gandarva women and their husbands—out for fun—passed by there . . .”). Thus, while the infinitive clauses create some expectation (if not suspense), this expectation provides a propulsive force which drives the narrative onward.

Such uses of infinitive clauses are distinct from those wherein the poet, in effect, suspends forward motion to dilate a narrative event. Importantly, however, narrative and linguistic syntax are not entirely co-extensive. Dilation can be achieved just as well through paratactic structures and finite verbs. Somanātha shows us this much in his polemic play on the sunset which, save for the concluding transitional clause, comprises a series of independent sentences anchored by finite verbs. Ultimately, then, the poet's thematic focus—and not their grammar—determines the dilative or propulsive character of a sequence. And Somanātha, for his part, tends toward the propulsive within the narratives that constitute his work.

Dense work in dvipada; or, the style of Gaurana

But, aside from the centuries, what distance stretches between the dvipada of a Śivakavi like Somanātha and the dvipada of Gaurana?

To be sure, Gaurana knows and employs elements of the Śivakavi style—namely the stotra register and the propulsive narrative mode. On the latter account, both Gaurana's *Navanāthacaritramu* and his *Hariścandradvipada* favor the propulsive unfolding of their narrative materials. The Navanāthacaritramu's larger structure resembles that of the Basavapurāṇamu in that it primarily follows the thread of the first Nātha Matsyendra's peregrinations, elaborating in varying levels of detail the stories of his disciples as he encounters and initiates them. The Hariścandra dvipada, on the other hand, focuses on the travails of a single figure—the singular king Hariścandra—as the vicious sage Viśvāmitra visits various degradations upon him. Both are nonetheless interested in moving their story and/or stories along.

Even so, while Somanātha rarely offers scenic elaboration and saves his descriptive powers primarily for devotional subjects, Gaurana regularly ranges more widely, drawing frequently upon kāvya's cache of conventions. His works feature many—but not all—of the topoi the ālaṃkārikas have cataloged among the eighteen conventional descriptions (*aṣṭādaśavarṇana*). On this account, the Navanāthacaritramu among Gaurana's two compositions bears the mark of kāvya most clearly, presenting about half of the conventional topoi (among them, mountains, cities, forests, (some of) the seasons, games erotic and aquatic, the birth of a prince, and scenes of political consultation and debate). He also adds to these a presentation of the royal hunt—a theme generally known in classical south Asian literature but which, by all appearances, takes a specific shape in the literatures of old Kannada and Telugu.

For its part, the Hariścandra dvipada—despite its concentrating on a single narrative—actually favors the stylistic tendencies of the Śivakavis, eschewing much dilative description in favor of primarily propulsive elements of dialogue and action. And, much like the poetry of the Basavapurāṇamu, it reserves such dilation for subjects of theological import; however, this considerably expanded beyond persons mortal and divine to geographical entities.

Nonetheless, Gaurana does not quite share the devotional focus that occupied Somanātha and the Śivakavis. This is especially true of the Navanāthacaritra. While the work indeed focuses on this legendary lineage of yogis, Gaurana the poet does not employ the stotra register to fashion linguistic icons through the register's melding of physical and metaphysical attributes through the metaphorical compression permitted by Sanskrit compounds. Gaurana comes closest to the śivakavi style in the Hariścandradvipada. In line with what Adheesh Sathaye has illuminated about the Hariścandra story's being used to diverse theological ends,[34] the work aims in part to celebrate the power and prominence of Śiva. The Hariścandradvipada's more explicitly theological argument may, in fact, dovetail with its stylistic affinity to the work of the Śivakavis. Ultimately, Gaurana aims—especially in the first half of the Navanāthacaritramu—to create a courtly work rather than a work with devotional or anti-courtly interests.

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[34] Adheesh Sathaye, "Why Did Hariścandra Matter in Early Medieval India? Truth, Fact, and Folk Narrative in the Sanskrit *Purāṇas*," *The Journal of Hindu Studies* 2 (2009): 131–159.

Gaurana and the stotra register

Gaurana knows the stotra register observed in the Śivakavis' work, but its stylistic strategies find a different focus under his command. Like Somanātha, he deploys the register in his prefaces as a means of lauding persons both human and divine. And, just like Somanātha, he opens the work by paying obeisance to Śiva:

> *śrīgirijādhīśu śrīgirināthu*
> *nāgacarmāṃbaru nāgakeyūru*
> *bāṇavatsaluṁ baṃcabāṇasaṃhāru*
> *vāṇīśavinutu gīrvāṇeśavaṃdyu*
> *gaṃdharvakinnaragāṃdharvaloluṁ*
> *gaṃdharaśyāmalakaṃdharodāru*
> *dāruṇāṃdhakadarpadaḷanapracāruṁ*
> *jāru jāṃbūnadaśailakodaṃḍuṁ*
> *gāruṇyajaladhigaṃgādharu nabhavu*
> *śāradācaṃdanaśāradāṃbhoda*
> *mallikākarpūramālikāyaśuni*
> *mallikārjunadevu mahitaprabhāvu*
> *mā pālanepaṭla mammelu velpuṁ*
> *bāpāḷiṁ bāpa sadbhaktiṁ būjiṃci*
>
> The lord of the glorious mountain-born lady, the lord of the glorious mountain,
> clothed in that elephant-skin, a snake his armlet;
> kind to the demon Bāṇa, he also killed Kāma;
> praised by Brahma, lauded by the gods,
> he delights in the music of gandharvas and kinnaras;
> his throat's elegance its cloudlike darkness;
> in deed the dispatcher of cruel Andhaka's pride;
> a delight, he holds as his bow mount Meru;
> he bears the Ganges like a compassionate cloud; unborn,
> and white as autumn sandal, autumnal clouds,
> jasmine, and camphor is the garland of his glory;
> that lord Mallikārjuna, great in his power—
> the lord god and guardian who protects me,

and sunders me from sin—do I, with true devotion, honor . . .

An object of devotion, Srisailam's Śiva Mallikārjunasvāmi is more than a fitting subject for glorification in the stotra register. Beyond its panegyrical orientation, the hallmarks of the register—the highly Sanskritic lexis and extensive use of yamaka—are both there. They need not be rehearsed in full.

Still, the thematic tenor has changed. Somanātha largely fashions his subject as an object of devotional and, ultimately, soteriological significance.[35] Thus, the description inclines towards the subject's theological character—for example, his eminence in the realm of yogic practice, his commensurability with scriptural tradition, and most importantly his significance to those with bhakti for him. He may be all of these things to Gaurana and, as he says at the conclusion of the clause, he honors Śiva and recognizes his salvific force. But Mallikārjunasvāmi is first an object to behold. Gaurana's description tends toward the visual, fashioning the god in terms of iconographic attributes and mythological allusions. And so Gaurana presents him with his trophy elephant skin vestment, serpent armlet, bane-blackened throat, and the Ganges in his hair. Further, Gaurana highlights the splendid whiteness of his fame through a litany of conventional standards of comparison set in a bombastic, couplet-long compound near the end of the sequence. In so doing he simultaneously zooms out to the radiant outer reaches of the god's conventional divine form and zooms in to his territorial location, the insistent attention to whiteness (through both figures of sound and sense) emphasizing the distinctive character of Srisailam's "lord white as jasmine."

Gaurana's attention to the visual amounts to an interest in aesthetics at large and signals his wider turn toward the court. Because of this turn, Śiva is throughout this stotra represented as beautiful and, in like manner, interested in beautiful things. Beyond being a compassionate power, he is a connoisseur delighting in artistry of his heavenly attendants. While Gaurana merely alludes to this side of Śiva in a single couple here, he offers a more extensive depiction of it as he opens the narrative to the Navanāthacaritramu. Śiva here is decidedly the king, and the poet finds him holding court and attended by otherworldly spiritual adepts and courtier songsters of celestial stock.[36]

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[35] Narayana Rao understands the subject here to be not just as Śiva but Somanātha's personal guru as an embodiment of the god. See Narayana Rao, *Śiva's Warriors*, 269.

This is a departure from Somanātha's introduction to the Basavapurāṇamu. While Somanātha begins the Basava narrative in the same place—Śiva's divine court at Kailāsa—he refrains from deploying the conventional tropes and figures used to depict courts in any realm. He cuts directly to the narrative action without illustrating the environment in which his actors move. This descriptive lack follows the line suggested by the Śivakavis' explicit antipathy toward courtly culture and its "weighty" works. Gaurana, however, directly reaches for these denser traditions through the aesthetic preoccupations of his opening praise and the descriptive dilation at the start of the Nātha narrative. It is with these small gestures that Gaurana begins to mark his divergence from the Śivakavis' path.

Sanskrit and *yamaka* beyond the stotra register

Gaurana steps even farther afield as he deploys elements of the stotra register without a devotional orientation. Where the stotra register is the Śivakavis' main register for description and is only applied to devotional subjects, Gaurana's descriptive eye ranges much more widely. One telling move comes at the very beginning of the Navanātha narrative. Even before depicting Śiva's court Gaurana spends several couplets describing the court's location, the great mountain Kailāsa:

> *śrīkaraṃbai suprasiddhamai sarva*
> *lokasaṃstutyamai locanānaṃda*
> *janakamai bahusukhāspadamai vicitra*
> *vinutanānāmaṇivisphuratkoṭi*
> *vimalakuṃdādisuvicaprasūna*
> *samudayavarapārijātasujāta*
> *cūtacaṃdanakuṃdasuradārucāru*
> *ketakīkiṃśukakesarapramukha*
> *sarasamahīruhacchāyaniṣaṇṇa*
> *suravadhūmadhurabhāsuragīyamāna*

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[36] See Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritradvipadakāvyamu*, ed. Korada Ramakrishnaiya, Madras University Telugu Series 7 (Madras: Anandamudranalaya, 1937), 8.

> *harabirudāṃkamai yaviraḷotphulla*
> *nirupamakanakābjanikarakāsāra*
> *kalitamai nīhārakarpūrapūra*
> *balabalāṃtakanāgaphaṇirājarāja*
> *śāradāmṛtarasaśāradāṃbhoda*
> *pāradaviśadaprabhāramyamaina*
> *kaladhautanagamu paiṁ . . .*
>
> On the golden mountain
> so favorable; quite famous; well-praised
> by all the world; that bringer of bliss
> to the eyes; locus of many pleasures; sparkling
> at its peak with many flashy, praiseworthy jewels;
> that place where the honors of Śiva
> are sung splendidly and sweetly by divine women
> reclining in the shade of thriving trees
> like *parijāta, sujāta, cūta, candana,*
> *ketakī, kiṃśuka,* and *kesara* flourishing
> with blossoms like the whitest jasmine; that mountain decked
> with a profusion of ponds of lotuses blossoming
> without end and beyond compare; and
> beautiful in its bright white brilliance beyond even
> a flood of frost and camphor,
> the powerful elephant of Bala's slayer, the serpents' king of kings,
> the ambrosial autumnal moon, or autumnal clouds . . .

This opening sequence deploys the linguistic devices of the stotra register: It is fully Sanskritic and the couplets display a modicum of yamaka, particularly in the nearly four-line compound near the sequence's conclusion (*nīhārakarpūrapūra/balabalāṃtakanāgaphaṇirājarāja/śāradāmṛtarasaśāradāṃbhoda/pāradaviśadaprabhāramyamaina*). Even so, the passage lacks stotra's devotional orientation. The mountain here is just a mountain (albeit a magisterial one) and the base for Śiva's celestial court. Its divine associations do not lead to its being an object of devotion; rather, they augment its beauty and its being fit for description.

Still, Gaurana does more than decouple Sanskritic lexis and rhyme from devotional themes. Compared to Somanātha, he also deploys these devices more intensely, both within and beyond the register of stotra. Somanātha primarly praises Śiva in the sequence quoted above with short compounds of one or two lexemes. He only breaks this trend with one compound (*yogīṃdrahṛdayapayojātahaṃsuṁ*) that spans a whole line of a couplet. Gaurana, on the other hand, lays out lengthy compounds as a matter of course. His opening tribute to Śiva Mallikārjunasvāmi comprises seven couplets and eleven noun phrases, of which nine are compounds of two or more lexemes. Of these nine, three each span an entire line and one spans two lines (that are not, however, bound as a couplet). The incidence of these effects is thus far higher than anything seen in the Basavapurāṇamu.

His opening description of Kailāsa goes further. It comprises eight and half couplets, with the final half couplet containing the anchoring locative phrase "on that golden mountain" (*kaladhautanagamu paiṁ*). Within the eight couplets that constitute the majority of the sequence, there are eleven compounds. And, of the eleven, two span over half (five) of the eight couplets. The first of these compounds features a moderately alliterative catalog of divine species of flora.[37]

The second of these compounds (*nīhārakarpūrapūra/balabalāṃtakanāgaphaṇirājarāja/śāradāmṛtarasaśāradāṃbhoda/pāradaviśadaprabhāramyamaina*) employs yamaka to an embellishing effect described by Gary Tubb: the repetitions call attention to both the sounds and their possible meanings, highlighting the comparative work embedded within compound.[38] Beyond the sheer length of the compounds, the sequence also features a generally high frequency of literary enjambment discussed above—even within relatively short compounds: all but two of the sequence's seventeen lines are enjambed in this fashion.

With the intensity of these effects, the sequence may not amount to a *tour de force*. Still, it does display Gaurana's poetic prowess. He simultaneously showcases his competencies in Sanskritic lexis and sound-based figuration as well as his ability to weave these devices into the dvipada verse-form.

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[37] Gaurana constructs such compounds periodically throughout the *Navanāthacaritramu*; and, in later chapters of the work, they are the primary means of descriptive dilation, marking transitions to forested domains.

[38] Gary Tubb, "*Kāvya* with Bells On: *Yamaka* in the *Śiśupālavadha*," chap. 7 in *Innovations and Turning Points: Toward a History of Kāvya Literature*, ed. Yigal Bronner, David Shulman, and Gary Tubb (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), 162.

Relishing Spring

As the preceding has shown, Gaurana certainly ranges beyond the Śivakavis' path with his descriptive dalliance on Kailāsa and, thus, satisfies any ālaṃkārika's call for a description of a mountain (*śailavarṇanā*). Still, one could argue that Gaurana's earlier descriptive foray to Kailāsa might possess panegyrical import (as a description that amplifies the glory of its presiding divine lord). Nonetheless, Gaurana goes on to gesture more forcefully toward courtly conventions in both his works. The earliest of these gestures comes as Gaurana depicts the advent of spring. He does this in the Hariścandradvipada; however, the description is short and almost cursory. It consists of nine couplets that list the standard conventions with little detail. For instance, he says: ". . . the bees did buzz; flocking together, the parrots did chatter."[39]

But in the Navanāthacaritramu, Gaurana presents a richly painted tableau of natural and correspondingly erotic processes entirely devoid of devotional sentiment:

> . . . *nīlakaṃdharuṁ gŏlva nĕṟi vaccinaṭlu*
> *tarulaprāyapu maṃdu tāvula pŏṃdu*
> *virahula maṃṭa kovilagami paṃṭa*
> *ratisukhaṃbula cŏkku rasikula mrŏkku*
> *ratirāju joka viraktula ḍhāka*
> *puvvuboṇula yubbu puṣpāstru gabbu*
> *puvvuṁdenĕla pĕccu bhogula mĕccu*
> *vĕlaya vasaṃtamavveḷa nĕllĕḍalaṁ*
> *galayaṃgaṁ bada niṃki kaḍapaḷḷu vāḍi*
> *jigi dappi cĕṟaṁgulu cirubīṭa lĕtti*
> *pagulucu birusanai palaṁkina nāṭaṁ*
> *dŏḍimĕlu vaḍi vāḍaṁ dudagāliṁ dūli*
> *kaḍuvaḍi naṃdaṃda kārāku rālĕ*
> *gumurulu naya mĕkki krŏmmosulŏdavi*
> *kŏmarāranigurŏtti kĕṃpu sŏṃpĕsaṁgi*
> *maṭṭaṃpuṁ jiguru rĕmmalu tŏṁgaliṃci*
> *daṭṭaṃpu nanalŏtti taḷataḷa miṃcu*
> *mŏggala neci bal mŏgaḍalaṁ droci*
> *diggana vikasiṃci tĕlupŏṃdu virula*
> *valuṁdaguttula nĕttu valapula miṃci*

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[39] Gaurana, *Hariścaṃdradvipada*, ed. Vedamu Veṅkaṭarāyaśāstri (Madras: Jyotiṣmatī Mudrākṣaraśāla, 1912), 22.

nalikaṃpuṁ būpalai nalinŏgalĕkki
kāyalai pulusuna garigaṭṭaṁ galigi
pāyakaphalamulai padiyāṟu vannĕ
baṃgārucāya rāṁ baṃḍina paṃḍlu
pŏṃgāru kŏmmala pŏlupuna vīṁgu
vanamahīruhamulu varusaṁ bĕṃpĕsaṁgu
manamuna nĕcariṃci magakokilamulu
mukkulu ṟĕjjaku muruvugāṁ dīrci
cŏkkaṃpu lemāvi sudakŏmma lĕkki
sĕlasi leṁgŏna lĕtti sĕlavulaṁ druṃci
kalagŏna lukaluka gā nappaḷiṃci
rasamu piccilaṁgūrci ramaṇulakicci
masalaka tŏli cavul marapi mohiṃci
nikkiṃci tamakamul nĕrayaṁ gūṭamulaṁ
jŏkkiṃci paṃcama śrutiṁ bisāḷiṃci
mudamunaṁ jĕlaṁgiṃcĕ mudduṁ gīramulu
madagajakuṃbhasaṃbhavamauktikamula
jigi duvāḷiṃcu miṃcina drākṣapaṃḍla
pŏgaḍŏṃdu guttula provulu vĕdaki
jātigā gaḷamulu cāṁci cĕlaṃgi
motuku mŏggala muruvu naṭiṃcu
nĕlavaṃka mukkula nerpunaṁ jiṃci
tŏlitŏli phalamulaṁ dŏraṁgu rasaṃbu
laragannu vĕṭṭucu naṃdaṃda kroli
birudĕkki kaḍu jigi bigiṁ bŏnariṃci
bhāvaju suradāṇi pacapakkĕrala
māvulu ravaḷiṃcu māḍkiniṁ jĕlaṁgĕṁ
drijagaṃbulunu gĕlvaṁ divuru manmathuni
vijayaśaṃkhamu lŏttu vidhamuna migulaṁ
bŏgaḍŏṃdi vikasiṃcu bŏṃdumalliyala
mŏgaḍalapai nuṃḍi mŏrasĕṁ dummĕdalu
pŏlucu sudhārasaṃbunaṁ jālanāni
mŏlacinamutyaṃpu mŏlakalo yanaṁgaṁ
jalimiṃcu lumiyu bisaprarohamulu
vĕlaya lappalu mesi veḍukaṃ briyala
ramaṇamai gavisĕ marāḷasaṃtatulu
samaratikāṃkṣalu salupu vallabhula
muṃdaṭaṁ grīḍiṃci muriyucu valapu
lŏṃdaṃga maruṁbanu lŏnariṃcu veḍka
dagiliṃci ratulakuṁ daritīpu sesi
dagilĕṁ jakkavalu gĕṃdammi dīrghakalaṁ
baragu nelālatābhavanāṃtaramuna
naruṇapravāḷaśayyalamīṁdaṁ briyulaṁ

gŏsarucu nuparatiṁ gūḍi krīḍiṃci
yasurasurai yunna yapsaraḥstrīla
cĕkkula nĕsaṁgu leṁjĕmaṭa lārpucunu
jŏkkumai vītĕṃcĕ somarigāli
dŏlakari mĕṟuṁgulaṁ dŏlaṁcu mutyāla
taḷukulu vĕlicina taḷataḷa miṃcu
valarājasaticeti vajradarpaṇamu
pŏlupuna mĕṟuṁ gĕkkĕṁ būrṇacaṃdruṃḍu
āveḷa barameśuṁ ḍā rajatādri
pai vanakeḷi salpaṁga madiṁ gori

As if coming to serve in dark-throated Śiva's court
the trees' leaves in bloom, the melding of perfumes,
the fever of those who pine, the crops of clustered shrines,
the happy madness of sex, the rasikas' respect,
the charm of Spring's Sire, hardship for the deniers,
the flush of floral bowers, the pride of the Bearer of arrow-flowers,
the glut of flower-nectar, the joy of the luxuriators
all burgeoned, and Spring at that time and in every direction
appeared as—moisture drying, ends withering,
edges losing lustre, little cracks lengthening,
breaking, hardening, and ripening,
the stalks began to wither and, trembling in the gentle breeze—
suddenly and everywhere the withered leaves fell.

The thickets growing tall, new shoots sprouting
beautifully budding, and giving reddish beauty;
their little tender buds expanding,
dense blossoms dipping and dazzlingly appearing;
the buds growing into bigger buds expanding,
then suddenly blooming, the fragrances rising from heavy bunches of white flowers distinctly spreading;
little baby fruit growing [as the bees' dismay rises?],
the fruit so new their sourness shows,
then becoming ripe and shiny like fine
gold; and so, branches laden with such produce,
the forest trees rose from the ground greatly.

Calling this to mind, the male cuckoos
beautifully adjusting their beaks and wings,
then rising to the end of the branches of the lovely young mango tree,
taking the the tender ends from the *sĕlasi*, [. . .] plucking,

smearing themselves ’til they’re completely slathered,
amassing it so that the juice gushes, then giving it to their lovers,
without delay and, becoming enamoured, craving those first tastes,
their desires growing and becoming full,
in their homes becoming intoxicated,
mocking that old Fifth Scripture,
happily did they disclose their affection. The parrots,
looking for massive bunches of grapes that shimmered
with the lustre of pearls born of the lobes of rutting elephants,
perfectly stretching their necks and singing,
plucking the buds of the kimśuka skillfully with their beautiful crescent-moon beaks,
looking with half-shut eyes for the juices
flowing from the very first fruits, drinking about here and there,
they swelled strikingly with pride, and—as if
the canopies and bowers themselves resounded—
did they chatter and sing.
Much like the victory-conch of Manmatha who
comes to conquer the three worlds blows
on the buds of blossoming bunches of jasmine
did the bees bees buzz.
As the water-lilies spritzing cool rays—
quite like sprouts of budding pearls
on shimmering waves of a nectar—
shone, grazing excitedly on lotus bunches with their lovers
did the ruddy-geese couple.
After the lovers met with those looking for satisfaction,
rejoicing and sporting and, as their desires
arose, their minds turning to other deeds
taking hold and making advances toward sex
did the cakravākas grab at the red lotuses.
Cooling the light sweat on the cheeks of
the *apsaras* women with gods and others
in lovely cardamom-tree cottages
on their beds of red-lotus fibers—there begging
their lovers, then approaching and reveling in sex—
just so did a gentle wind blow.
Like light caught in Love’s queen’s diamond hand mirror—
which shimmered with all the glittering of
pearls bathed in early monsoon lightning—
so did the shining full moon rise.
At that time, the Supreme Lord and Mountain-king’s daughter
then having a mind to engage in some outdoor sport . . .

The passage's themes mark the distance Gaurana tread from the Śivakavis' work and signal Gaurana's affiliation with the canons of courtly poetry and the Sanskrit alaṃkāra tradition. He brings to bear both the environmental and the erotic features of the season. To be sure, the Śivakavis were not unfamiliar with the conventions of erotic poetry. The Basavapurāṇamu's aforementioned tale of Innocent Saṅgayya shows this well. Still, as in Somanātha's parodic sunset sequence, he does so only to undermine and redress the conventions of kāvya in light of his devotional priorities. But in this sequence from Gaurana, there is nothing so subversive.

Beyond the line transitioning from the description of Śiva's court as such, the sequence's next six lines offer a temporal and thematic introduction to spring, listing by twos Spring's recognizable elements. Yet Gaurana does not simply enumerate environmental and erotic features. Within each line he reinforces the connection between the two anchoring nouns through alliteration. For example, he emphasizes the lushness of the season, alliterative doubling floral bloom and perfume (*maṃdu / pŏṃdu*) and alliteratively links the lovers' fever with the promise of agricultural produce (*maṃṭa / paṃṭa*). Thus, he holds fast to and, indeed, secures the associations between Spring and amorous activities.

Such pairing occurs within the broader organization of the passage, with Gaurana tacking between the erotic and the environmental not just within couplets but also across larger groups of couplets. Thus, after this introductory set, Gaurana moves to describe in minute detail the growth and maturation of fruit-bearing trees. The only subjects in these lines are the trees and their parts themselves, and Gaurana describes their growth without much recourse to metaphor or simile, save for the end of the run where he remarks on the gold-like sheen of well-ripened fruit. There is, however, no higher metaphor or conceit: the process is not likened to something else, the trees' growth not imagined as an intentional action on the trees' part. The effect lies precisely in its being unadorned but describe in microscopic detail. To this extent, Gaurana offers an instance of what the Sanskrit poeticians call svabhāvokti or naturalistic statement, a proposition expressing a thing as is.

Even so, Gaurana does offer a time-lapse view, filling this set of couplets with participial phrases that cascade one upon another. In representing the process as a precipitous one, he seems to suggest the force with which Spring has arrived. Despite the intensity of the naturalistic dilation and the complexity suggested by the sheer length of the sentence, the syntax happens to be relatively simple. Discrete, relatively straightforward clauses anchored by past non-finite participles dominate this particular set of couplets.

The next subset remains within the natural world but draws out the passionate pursuits within it. Gaurana first introduces avian actors as an avenue for detailing the amorous pursuits precipitated by Spring's arrival. Thus he observes the behavior of the male cuckoos. He presents them availing themselves of the produce of Spring's sudden flush but soon links this to their larger love play. The successive sets of couplets in the sequence go on to link natural phenomena with some kind of erotic activity. And so, even a gentle breeze exists primarily to relieve vigorously exercised lovers.

While Gaurana's vernal dilation follows the standards set by the Sanskritic ālaṃkārika tradition, he does not deploy correspondingly Sanskritic lexis. On the contrary, this passage features Telugu foremost. Nonetheless, his use of Telugu here reflects the interest in sound effects already seen in Sanskritic sections. This much is announced from the rhyming pairs that open the sequence. Like Somanātha, Gaurana deploys heavily-compounded and alliterative Sanskrit primarily within the register of stotra. (The description of Kailāsa is the major exception; but its composition may in part be explained precisely by its association with Śiva.) Three long line-long (or nearly so) compounds do appear, but the modulation of Sanskrit lexis in the passage seems to be judicious. The compounds provide lexical and rhythmic variation in a sequence of largely uncompounded and decidedly Telugu phrases.

Beyond the alliterative effects, some syntactic complexity and the changing rhythms of the dvipada in these lovers' sequences reinforce the courtly associations. By this I mean not just relatively long sentences (though, to be sure, not as long as some of the sentences we have already seen), but surprising sentence structure. The sentence that opens the sequence is long, consisting of 24.5 lines. However, the complexity engendered by this length is mitigated by discrete clauses—anchored by past non-finite or infinitive participles—with otherwise regular subject-object-verb syntactic structure (with the subject and verb not being far apart). The complexity is cut further and simultaneously enriched by the alliterative pairs that provide a rollickingly paratactic prologue for the sequence.

Yet, after the opening sentence—which ends "the withered leaves fell" (*kārāku rālĕ*)—Gaurana complicates this. The next sentence is about half the length of the one that begins the description of spring. All the same, the subject of the sentence (male cuckoos) appears only halfway through at the end of a couplet and following a long naturalistic description of floral flourishing that is compared to the blossoming of their amorous feelings. Once the subject is introduced, their romantic ministrations are described, with the verb coming before the caesura of the sentence's final pāda.

The next level of complexity comes in the disjointed introduction of the next subject, "the parrots" (*kīramulu*), after the caesura. The move is somewhat confusing with the new subject being so close but also grammatically dissociated from the previous verb. This ambiguity is ultimately resolved when the parrots undertake the very action that the cuckoos engender for their own feelings (through the causative form of the verb). The complex braiding of syntactical and metrical forms here is reminiscent of the twisted syntax brought to bear by the courtly prabandha poets in Telugu.

By deploying these shifting syntactic and rhetorical structures, Gaurana shows dvipada to be a supple verse form in his hand. Yet, allowing for some of the aforementioned complexity to be tempered in performance and recitation, Gaurana's dvipada also resembles prose-poetry of gadya. This echoes Gaurana's theoretical interest in metrically-regulated prose and dvipada's eventual categorization as cāṭuprabandha. As in gadyakāvya, Gaurana's dvipada features extended sentences often segmented into simpler and relatively regular clauses. As in gadyakāvya, the dvipada poet also plays with the rhythm within these extended syntactic structures. His composition in this sequence often bears the mark, as David Shulman calls it, of "parataxis-masked-as-hypotaxis."[40] Thus, even though dvipada stands at odds with the traditions of Telugu campū prabandha, Gaurana's gadya-like manipulation of the form and his deployment of standard descriptive set pieces seems to be an attempt to bridge the gap between disparate compositional schools.

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[40] David Shulman, "Persons Compounded and Confounded: A Reading of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*," chap. 11 in *Innovations and Turning Points: Toward a History of Kāvya Literature*, ed. Yigal Bronner, David Shulman, and Gary Tubb (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), 290.

Gaurana and the southern hunting trope

In his appeal to courtly culture, Gaurana moves beyond the conventional tropes and eroticism cultivated widely in Sanskrit literary culture. He does this most strikingly in the middle of the first canto where he details the aesthetic and violent protocols of a royal hunt.

Hunting is mainstay among the royal pastimes, a royal prerogative and familiar expression of the problems and promise of royal power and violence. Though familiar, hunting, as Upinder Singh explains, also invokes the problematic nature of royal violence: Thus, while some political theorists (like the *Arthaśāstra's* Kauṭilya) might find it a potential indulgent but ultimately practical martial exercise, others (like the *Nītisāra's* Kāmandaka) view it as morally unsound and physically risky in its violence.[41] Intersecting with these basic questions of propriety and expedience are issues surrounding the king and court's relationship with the peoples who live in the forests where hunting occurs. These groups are of two types: the members of tribes who hunt and otherwise live on the produce of the forest; and ascetic sages for whom the forest is refuge from the wider world. Hunting thus invokes the often problematic relations between the king and these groups.

Courtly poetry and poetics likewise draw the hunt into its thematic storehouse. Among the literary theorists, only the Kashmiri ālaṃkārika Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, holding an elastic understanding of *rasa*, seems to allot to it a dedicated *mṛgayā rasa*, or motif of the hunt.[42] But, more to my purposes, scenes of the hunt find their way into kāvya from Kālidāsa on. These poetic representations of the hunt mirror the tensions that emerge from śāstric political science. In this regard, it is an affair of kings who venture into forests and find themselves in physical but, more often, moral dire straits. Much of the moral danger comes from the forest's doubling as the home to sages who maintain their forest āśramas as preternaturally peaceable spaces. Thus, (1) kings may chase and target beasts in what turn out to be these protected āśrama sites, consequently incurring a sage's wrathful curse. Adjacent to these episodes are (2) those wherein the felled beast turns out to be humanoid (either a celestial shapeshifter or a human merely mistaken for an animal); a curse inevitably follows such incidents, too. Daśaratha's slaying of the brahman boy is a particularly consequential example of this variety. Such narratives primarily dramatize violence's potentially deleterious influence on the social and religious order. Alongside these are (3) narratives where the very urge to hunt proves disastrous. Such instances dramatize hunting's status as a *vyasana*—a dangerous addiction much like gambling—that weakens character and wastes time.[43] Such narratives find their princely protagonist preoccupied and led astray by his desire to pursue some game. The royal hunter does not always come to be cursed in these stories; however, in taking up the hunt, he has typically abandoned some other post—and to tragic consequences. Sītā, to take an old example, is kidnapped by Rāvaṇa in large part because Rāma leaves her to pursue the golden deer. A subset of this curse-less type may be (4) those episodes wherein the hunt leads directly (or through some short series of steps) to an erotic encounter that becomes problematic in time. Duṣyanta's coming upon Śakuntalā after chasing his quarry into Kaṇva's āśrama might be taken as an example here.

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[41] Upinder Singh, "Politics, violence, and war in Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra*," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 47, no. 1 (2010): 49-52.

[42] See V. Raghavan, *The Number of Rasa-s*, Third revised edition (Madras: The Adyar Library & Research Centre, 1975), 125-126.

In this way, the hunt stands as a hallmark of royal activity and an important plot device. Like these older cases, the hunts described by Gaurana do maintain distinct narrative consequences. Hariścandra's hunt in the eponymous dvipada provides an early occasion for the king to incur Viśvāmitra's ire in line with the second model enumerated above. The hunt in the Navanāthacaritramu, too, has some bearing on the larger narrative: It comes within the story of Matysendranātha's first disciple, the prince Sāraṅgadhara, before the prince gains his more perfect form as the siddha Cauraṅgi. Specifically, it takes the prince's father, king Rājarājanarendra away and, thus, offers an occasion for prince Sāraṅgadhara to foolishly interact with the queen Citrāṅgi. More will be said on this episode in the next chapter; but, suffice it to say for now, the episode could be classed in the third category of hunting as a dereliction of duty.

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[43] Singh, "Politics, violence, and war," 50-51.

Courtly poets, with few exceptions, do not much elaborate the hunt's details—its protocols, strategies, and attire. Their descriptions might dwell on the beauty of the forest in its season; or else, verses and other lyrical statements might speak to the beauty of the game being pursued.[44] Nevertheless, a set of exceptions emerge in later medieval south India. These works—Gaurana's Navanāthacaritramu included in their number—describe a hunt with a shape not known to most courtly poetry:

1 A tribal chieftan comes to court bearing gifts.

2 The chieftan reports on the fine game available in the forest, arousing the king's interest.

3 The king and hunters prepare for the hunt.

4 The king and the hunters (courtly and tribal) journey to the forest.

5 The hunters stalk and kill their quarry, among whose number always stands a great boar, the king's prized prey.

6 The game is dressed and eaten.

Despite its peculiarity relative to greater Sanskritic literary culture, this variety of the hunt is familiar to courtly kāvya in southern languages. The earliest witness to this tradition comes from thirteenth century Kannada literature with Rāghavaṅka's ṣaṭpada *Hariścandracarita*. The form is known more widely to Telugu poets after Gaurana, most notably appearing in the fourth canto of Allasāni Pĕddana's sixteenth-century *Manucaritramu*.[45]

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[44] See, for instance, the fervent appraisals of the antelope that Duṣyanta and charioteer chase into Kaṇva's āśrama at the opening of *Abhijñānaśakuntalam*.

[45] These later representations include significant echoes of Tiṇṇaṉ/Kaṇṇappanāyaṉār's maiden and soteriologically consequential hunt as painted by Cekkiḷār in his *Pĕriyapurāṇam*: (1) The hunt is led (here directly) by a tribal chieftan (Tiṇṇaṉ/Kaṇṇappanāyaṉār) and his army of hunters; and (2) a boar is the major game and, importantly, that of the chief himself. See Whitney Cox, "The Transfiguration of Tiṇṇaṉ the Archer," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 48 (2005): 223–252.

Despite their distinct form, these hunts do appeal to earlier models. Thus, Rāghavaṅka's finds Hariścandra courting the sage Viśvāmitra's wrath. Pĕddana's much later hunt ends with the princely protagonist rescuing a number of maidens eventually taken as his wives. Nevertheless, these hunts highlight new issues. Where the earlier hunting motif problematized the court's connection to the wilderness world inhabited by ascetics, this southern hunting trope draws into relief the court's relations with the hunting tribes of the forest.

Gaurana speaks to this relation by vividly juxtaposing the appearance of the *ĕṟukuṟeḍu* (hunter chieftan) and the king lovely and beloved in his hunting finery:

> *cĕluvāranunuṁ bīṁkĕṁ jĕrivijevurunaṁ*
> *dilakaṃbu sogagāṁ dīrci krŏmmiṃcuṁ*
> *dalaṁgiṃcu pūla daṃḍalu talaṁjuṭṭi*
> *cinnimodugu mŏgga cĕviniṃci ciguru*
> *vannĕlanŏppu pūvanamālaṁ dālci*
> *sattagugurijapūsalu mĕḍaṁgaṭṭi*
> *mattagajaṃbula madamumai nalaṁdi*
> *toraṃpuṁ bulitolu tonaṃṭa bigici*
> *pāruṭākula kāsĕ baluvugā vesi*
> *kŏdimĕ siṃgaṃbula kŏnavĕṃṭrukalunu*
> *gadiya nallani daṃḍaṁ gaḍiyaṃbu būni*
> *bĕḍidaṃpu gaṃdula vĕḍavaṃkavillu*
> *gaḍuvaḍi nadarulu grakku vālammu*
> *lalavaḍaṁ gaikŏni yacaṭiketĕṃci*
> *nĕlamiṁ gŏṃdaṟatoḍa nĕṟukuṟeṁḍŏkaṁḍu*
> *vacci cāṁgili mrŏkḵi varusaṁ gānukalu*
> *paccikastūriyuṁ basanijallulunu*
> *enuṁgu talalona nĕsaṁgumutyamulu*
> *kānikagā nicci karamulu mŏgici [. . .]*
> *māṭaku vilasillu manujavallabhuṁḍu*
> *vānḵi tana kaṭṭu vargaṃbunicci*
> *pūninaveḍkanappuḍu gŏlvuvicci*
> *meniḵijigigūḍa mṛgamadaṃbalaṁdi*
> *vīnulaḵiṃpugā vilasillucunna*
> *kalavannĕgiṃṭĕṃbu kaṃḍupuṭṭaṃbu*
> *kŏmarāravāsiṃcu kusumapuṁbāṁga*
> *siranunaṁ juṭṭivaccina jaḍamīdaṁ*
> *guruviṃdapūbaṃti kŏmarāraṁ duṟimi*
> *miṃcinīlapudaxmḍamĕdaṁbūni migula*

maṃcipaccala vanamālika pūni
pŏsaṁgaṁguṃkuma pūvu bŏṭṭu nudīrci
pasimiḍivannĕ kuppasamŏppaṁ dŏḍiṁgi
nĕravāḍimulukulaniṃcinagarula
tarakasaṃbunu bĕḍi daṃpusiṃgiṇiyu
mŏlanaṃṭabigici yā muruvuna veṁṭa
kalavaḍa śṛṃgāramadhipati cesĕ
vāṭamuganu vīravarulunu dŏralu
gāṭamai tanavĕṃṭaṁ gadalirāṁ dagina
vāriḵi verveṟa vāruvaṃbulunu
bāruna nŏsaṁgi śubhaṃbaina veḷaṁ
basiṁḍi gubbala mĕtta paṭṭu krŏmmĕṟuṁgu
lĕsaṁgu kaḷḷĕmunu bĕṃpĕkḵina paṭṭa
paṭṭĕḍayunu gaccu pallaṃbu ḍālu
pĕṭṭina vajrāla piḍika rācūri
birudutalāṭaṃbu pīlijallĕḍĕlu
paraṁgabannina yaṭṭi pādarasaṃbu
karaṇi bhaṃjiḷḷu trŏkkanicoṭlaṁ drŏkku
turagaratnamu nĕkḵi tūryamul mŏraya
ṭhīvigāṁdanakuṁ baṭṭinanīli gŏdugu
bhāviṃpa rohaṇaparvatāgramunaṁ
ganupaṭṭu nīlameghamulīla mĕṟaya
janavallabhuṁḍu veṁṭa saniyĕ nayyĕḍanu

. . . his hair wrapped in a turban with lovely flower garlands,
wearing garlands glowing with the sheen of
sprouts from [nubs] of dainty teak;
wearing rich *gurija* beads around his neck;
smeared with the ichor of rutting elephants;
fastening a tiger's tail as an armband;
clothed in a girdle of fallen leaves;
bearing a black anklet with lion cub fur;
and wielding a hard knotty bow
and a blade shedding many sparks
there came along, with
some companions, an *eruku* chieftain who
bowing down, and—presenting as gifts
offerings of fresh musk, young yak tails,
pearls from an elephant's head—
folded his hands [. . .]

[The hunter then goes on to describe the game available in the forest. The king is enthralled.]

Excited by such talk, the king—beloved of men—
gifted many clothes to the chief,
ended court in his eagerness, and
anointing his body to a shine with musk,
wrapping up his head with an aromatic flowered turban of
lustrous dark, double-woven cloth,
and tying on his locks a fragrant bunch of kuruvinda blossoms;
then fitting his neck with a splendid indigo garland and also
a garland of nice green wildflowers;
then fixing his *bŏṭṭu* with fine saffron;
then donning a green-colored tunic [kuppasamu];
and at his waist strapping on a
fearsome bow and a quiver
of sharp-tipped, well-fletched arrows
that king adorned himself at that time
in the lovely finery of the hunt.
With the choicest heroes and nobles accordingly
setting out close together behind him, he
gave to worthy folk many steeds at an auspicious time, and
mounted his jewel of a steed
with its gold-studded saddle, glittering
bridle, first-rate reins, brilliant saddle
banners, diamond-studded horn, a head-dress
fit for a prince, bulbul-feather fly-whisks,
and a gait sinuous as moving mercury
with which it ambled in places hard to tread.
Bearing a dark umbrella that shone splendidly
like a dark clould glimpsed atop the Rohaṇa mountain,
that king, beloved by the people, left to hunt.

Gaurana presents here a striking contrast between these two orders through his descriptive dilation. The king, Rājanarendra, excited by the talk of game, adorns himself for the hunt (*veṁṭa śṛṃgāramu cesĕ*).[46] He bears fine clothes and perfumes, wields choice weapons, and mounts an exceptional steed. Though he changes state, in a sense, by vesting himself for the hunt, his adornment only confirms his royal status. The loveliness of his appearance is, in effect, amplified by the immediately preceding description of the ĕṟukureḍu. The hunter is a king himself; he comes with his own entourage, which is mentioned only in passing (*kŏṃdaru toḍan* or "with/ some companions"). Yet he is presented in a humble—if fearsome—aspect.

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[46] Gaurana uses a version of this phrase in the Hariścandradvipada (*veṁṭa siṃgāraṃbu vĕlayaṁ gāviṃci*); however, the scene is not at all dilated.

Gaurana elaborates this encounter primarily as a fine-grained sartorial survey. The barest figuration appears only at the end of the sequence, and only for the king's steed and a kind of final portrait of the king himself ready to set out for the hunt proper. Gaurana's description stands in stark contrast to Rāghavaṅka's earlier treatment of the same trope, which does not permit the close attention to the details of the hunters' attire. For one, Rāghavaṅka does not at all describe the king Hariścandra's attire and preparations for the hunt. And he gives only the slightest attention to that of the tribal hunters. Yet what he lacks in fashion sense he makes up with figures of sense. Thus, he refers broadly to their attire through an apparent contradiction, saying the chieftans are "like mountains/*kudhara*, despite being badly attired/*kudhara*."[47] In this way does Rāghavaṅka pun as a way of highlighting not just the hunters' appearance but, even more frequently, their low-born status relative to Hariścandra and the more courtly members of his entourage.

These descriptive tendencies coincide with larger aspects of the poets' poetics. Rāghavaṅka's deployment of rich figures of sense—drawing on the semantic and ideological store of Sanskrit—dovetails with the words he uses for the tribal hunters themselves. While his work is otherwise deeply rooted in his own time and place (for instance, Hariścandra has occasion to meet the southern India's Tungabhadra river),[48] he does not at the level of labels use the same brush on the hunters. Specifically, he uses stock Sanskrit terms like *śabara* and *kirāta* to denote them. Gaurana, on the other hand, abstains from figuration in describing these persons. He remains fully Telugu in his lexis (at times to the point of obscurity for this contemporary reader). This practice extends to how he refers to the hunting tribes themselves. He does not employ any Sanskritic term but uses only the Telugu ethnonym *ĕṟuku* and its variants.

Gaurana's engagement with the hunting trope thus parallels his deployment of other courtly tropes (like seasonal description). He tends toward naturalistic dilation rather than metaphor or other dense figures of sense. This goes hand in hand with his focus on Telugu lexis. While his narrative is decidedly not localized,[49] Gaurana nevertheless shows an interest in the protocols and appearance of people. The hunting sequence has a kind of pastoral parallel slightly earlier in the text. In this sequence, Gaurana describes how a cowherd—who would become the great Gorakṣanātha—comes upon the Nātha Matsyendra in meditation. The sequence maintains a parallel structure, describing first the cowherd in his customary dress, followed by a description of the yogi with his stereotypical accoutrements. These descriptions are then followed by an account of the daily protocols of cowherds.[50]

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[47] Raghavanka, *The Life of Harishchandra*, 197.

[48] See vv. 5.61-84 in Ibid., 245-263.

To this extent, Gaurana provides a somewhat earlier case of what Ilanit Loewy-Shacham has called "poetic ethnography."[51] Loewy-Shacham finds that her subject, the sixteenth-century king Kṛṣṇadevarāya, uses both Sanskrit and Telugu to depict the everyday; and, with this focus on the everyday, he can depict and celebrate his local religious community (of Śrīvaiṣṇavas). However, Gaurana does deploy Sanskrit to these purposes and has not depicted these protocols as central to the life some praiseworthy religious community.

His treatment of the hunt, at least, may serve a double purpose. As with his other dilations, it brings his work in line with canons of courtly poetry. However, this canon now appears as having a decidedly Deccani, though not specifically Telugu, character. At the same time, when taken together with the pastoral sequence, the hunt—and Gaurana's precise approach to it—may be an appeal to his perceived audience. By eschewing figuration, he fashions a work that does not need the erudition or complex commentary required to understand and enjoy Rāghavāṅka's wordplay.

That said, the evaluative intent of Gaurana's ethnographic eye is not clear: Is it celebratory? Mocking? If so, what might he laud and what might he lambast by such attention?

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[49] Gaurana's Sāraṅgadhara story, for instance, takes place in Malvadeśa, though later tellings of Sāraṅgadhara's sorrows locate the story in Veṅgi.

[50] See Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*.

[51] Shacham, "Kṛṣṇadevarāya's Āmuktamālyada."

Conclusions: The limits of Gaurana's courtly styling

As I have shown in the preceding sections, Gaurana deploys the tropes and techniques championed in courtly kāvya and, in this way, signals his commitments to the courtly poetic traditions over and against the counter-tradition of the Śivakavis. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that Gaurana comprehensively composed his works in a courtly fashion. The Hariścandra dvipada, as I have already mentioned, contains little descriptive dilation. Indeed, despite evincing Rāghavaṅka's Hariścandra narrative, Gaurana does not mirror Rāghavanka's work completely and, in fact, strips it of its courtly trappings: Where Rāghavanka's Hariścandra is quite ornate and includes the southern hunting trope, Gaurana takes up that trope in the *Navanāthacaritramu* instead. But even though the balance of Gaurana's dilative work falls in the *Navanāthacaritramu*, almost all of that elaboration occurs within the work's very first āśvāsa. Furthermore, significant portions of Gaurana's dilative work—especially his rich pastoral and hunting descriptions—stand without much rhetorical ornamentation at all, especially compared to parallel sequences by earlier poets and those who followed. Thus, to say that Gaurana aspired to some major position in the tradition of courtly Sanskrit or Telugu poetry would be an overstatement. His work does not suggest the ambitious compositional programs undertaken by the likes of his contemporaries Śrīnātha or Vāmana Bāṇa, nor the competitive feats evinced by much earlier Sanskrit poets like Bhāravi and Māgha.

To be sure, Gaurana takes up the tropes and techniques of courtly poetry and displays his poetic dexterity in so doing. But I would suggest that the poet's aims beyond this were relatively modest, and that the peculiar distribution of these features—few and front-loaded into a single work—were not quite incidental. Instead, they would have been a way for him to properly show his colors. With these stylistic moves he makes an extended set of opening gestures that complement his initial and nearly imperceptible nod to the Sanskritic and courtly traditions that came to represented by Bāṇa, Kālidāsa, and other poets good and true. Though he composed in Telugu dvipada, his work was not to be seen as just Telugu. Still, in pushing past whatever lowly evaluation the form may have held, he was not advancing it to the status and authority of religious testimonia. Indeed, as chapter one has shown, he defined such problems of poetic legitimacy in terms of the person of the poet and not the form of poetry. The gestures ultimately show that he was committed to composing beyond the narrow confines of the Śivakavis' devotional poetics. I have shown that where Somanātha speaks directly to poetic convention he does so with the critical powers offered by rhetorical ornamentation. Gaurana, on the other hand, largely abstains from metaphor-based figuration; but, at the same time, where he does engage convention he does so more comfortably and without any of the skepticism seemingly demanded by a devotional perspectives like that of the Śivakavis.

That Gaurana should have placed these features at the opening of the work may indicate his expectations about how the work would be performed and received. In any case, later Telugu literary history itself may have registered the *Navanāthacaritramu's* imbalance. It is only the narrative of the first one and a half cantos—the sorrowful story of prince Sāraṅgadhara—that is taken up in the seventeenth-century Nayaka courts. Little is known about how long poems would have been received in precolonial south Asia, and Gaurana's work is not one of the few exceptions. Nevertheless, some form of public recitation can be presumed and is, at least, suggested in the dedicatory preface. Despite the dearth of premodern evidence, some more detailed accounts exist from later eras. Such events could last a single day or many.[52] By front-loading the Navanāthacaritramu with descriptive details, Gaurana may have been ensuring that the work would convey as many of these courtly gestures as possible.

Yet, despite gesturing toward the recherché compositional practices of the court, it is not clear that Gaurana's poetic gestures were meant to limit his audience. As Ebeling notes in the case of Tamil works, the debut could attract a large crowd; however, only a small segment of this assembly would have had the requisite training to understand the erudite effects privileged in premodern compositions in the courtly tradition—even with any accompanying exegetical performance.[53] This view, however, presumes poetry heavily ornamented with not just figures of pleasing sound but also paranomastic figures of *śleṣa* and *yamaka*. Gaurana's work features some yamaka but does not aim for much in terms of double meaning. He offers extensive descriptive dilation but the language is relatively straightforward; the beauty lies more in the precision of the details than indirectness of speech. Thus, even in his deliberate gestures to the courtly world, he has not necessarily abandoned Somanātha's move toward accessibility.

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[52] The most remarkable description of such a debut comes in the last canto of Maṅkha's twelfth-century *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. Looking at the nineteenth-century Nadu, Sascha Ebeling has an analyzed the important event of the "public premiere" or *araṅker̲r̲am* for premodern Tamil genres. See Ebeling, *Colonizing the Realm of Words*, 76-79.

[53] Ibid., 79.

This move toward accessibility is also found in his seemingly ethnographic interest in the protocols of dress and other practices. That said, the evaluative intent of Gaurana's ethnographic eye is not clear. It may be celebratory, as Telugu literary historiography assumes any realistic portrayal to be. However, Gaurana might look down at such details in derision just as well as he might look up in exaltation. While Kṛṣṇadevarāya's poetic ethnography celebrates the Śrīvaiṣṇava community with which he is affiliated, Gaurana's religious commitments remain ambiguous. He was not a member of the Vīramāheśvara community whose compositional practices he in part adopted. And his major work, the *Navanāthacaritramu*, elaborates a religious tradition that he does not otherwise claim. How, then, should we see him? The work of the next chapter is then set to untangle the religious and doctrinal affiliations apparent in Gaurana's poetry.

Chapter 5

Siddhas, Srisailam, and the *Navanāthacaritramu*

Introduction

In the light of the previous chapter, Gaurana emerges as a poet committed to the conventions of courtly kāvya even as he upheld the dvipada verse-form. In this, he distances himself from Vīramāheśvara Śivakavis who championed the form as a generic antidote to court poetry. Yet, even as he clove to courtly literary conventions, Gaurana did not completely dissociate himself from the tropes and protocols privileged by the Śivakavis. I have highlighted two elements of his work in this regard. First, I have shown that Gaurana's style, even as it harkened to courtly kāvya's intricate and erotic dimensions, was likely to have been accessible to a broader audience. Second, while Gaurana relished in the tropes of courtly poetry, I have also shown that he ranged beyond the court to feature tropes of pastoral and forest life. But what, if anything, did Gaurana's poetic orientations mean for his broader religious commitments and affiliations? That is to say, how do we make sense of Gaurana as a Srisailam poet but not a Śivakavi?

Even if Gaurana was not a Śivakavi in the strict sense I have proposed, he was nonetheless a Śaiva kavi. Both his dvipada works uphold Śiva as preeminent. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Hariścandra dvipada, for instance, uses the tortured king's tale as a basis to promote the power of Śiva and devotion to him. Śiva, too, reigns supreme and is featured prominently in the *Navanāthacaritramu*. Centered around the seminal Nātha guru Matsyendra, Gaurana represents the siddha as Śiva's own son and, even further, a manifestation of Śiva himself. The chief episode on this account finds Matsyendra arriving at an ashram where he meets a group of brahman ascetics. Welcoming him to their ashram and bring the yogi to their sacrificial grounds, they laud him saying: ". . . O Lord of the Siddhayogis!/ O son of the lord of beings, the only one worthy of praise!/ Today all our austerities have come to fruition./ Today all our prayers have been answered./ Today all our wishes have come true./ Today Śiva has come into our presence./"[1]

Still, beyond these broad Śaiva commitments, Telugu literary historians have argued that the *Navanāthacaritramu* in particular supports the Vīramāheśvara tradition if not the literary tradition of the Śivakavis. Two points encourage this view. First, Gaurana's patron—Muktiśānta, lord of Srisailam's Bhikṣāvṛtti maṭha—was apparently affiliated with the Vīramāheśvara tradition. Second, beyond the scant information offered in the prologue, the narrative itself offers a kernel in support of this claim. In the text's fifth canto, the Vīraśaiva saint Allama Prabhu debates, defeats, and makes into a disciple one of the text's heroes: the great Nātha Gorakṣa. In this light, the poem could be read as a work that celebrates the Nath-Siddhas only to subordinate them to the Vīramāheśvara traditions that reigned at Srisailam in Gaurana's day. However, the sequence's significance may not be so decisive. The sequence stands as the lone episode that would situate the Nātha siddha tradition in relation to that of the Vīramāheśvaras or any other sectarian tradition. Moreover, the contest between Gorakṣa and Allama Prabhu occupies an underwhelming narrative position; that is to say, Gorakṣa's defeat is not the end of the story. The text goes on to include two more tales of Nātha siddhas, and these tales have little to do with doctrine.

If not the Vīramāheśvara tradition, then it might be supposed that the work simply extols the Nātha sampradāya. But this claim, too, meets with some difficulty. Despite repeated reference to a popular Nātha cult in Andhra in this period, the primary basis for this claim is the existence of Gaurana's work itself.[2] However, there is little to no institutional Nātha presence in the Telugu country during this period. And, more specifically, neither Gaurana nor his Bhikṣāvṛtti patron were apparently affiliated with Nātha or siddha traditions. Furthermore, as I will elaborate below, the text offers few doctrinal discussions or even allusions.

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[1] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 167.

Beyond doctrinal exposition or promotion of a particular sectarian tradition, I would suggest that the episodes of the *Navanāthacaritramu* work through a different set of issues; and, further, I will argue that understanding the work's place in the religious history of Srisailam in particular and Andhra more generally requires tracing these narrative interests in the text. Specifically, I will show that the *Navanāthacaritramu* elaborates the problems faced by ascetic siddhas in the world. Specifically, the text traces the Nātha siddhas' relationships with kings and courtiers and the worldly powers and interests that these represent. In so doing, it dimly imagines the possibilities and pitfalls of ascetic power both supernormal and mundane. Such a reading offers, I would suggest, some avenues for connecting this poetic work to the political situation of Srisailam and, particularly, the power of the Bhikṣāvṛtti leaders.

Before going on to analyze the *Navanāthacaritramu*, I include here a detailed summary of the work. The summary serves two functions. First, it fills a gap: No such summary exists elsewhere in the secondary literature, though the work has long been of interest to scholars of the Nātha sampradāya and, more generally, India's yogic and siddha traditions. Second, the summary sits as the foundation the chapter's argument that the text's core concerns reach beyond promoting a Nātha tradition, let alone another sectarian or theological position.

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[2] See Somasekharasarma, *Reddi Kingdoms*.

Summary of the *Navanāthacaritramu*

Canto One

In a short prologue, Gaurana describes how he had the good fortune of being called to the court of Muktiśānta, the lord of the Bhikṣāvṛtti maṭha at Srisailam. The ascetic desired that the nine Nāthas' meritorious deeds—which had been detailed in a verse work (*padyaprabandhamu*) by one Śrīgirikavi—be retold as a dvipada kavya. Gaurana is deemed the best poet for the job.

The central narrative opens with a description of Śiva holding court at Kailāsa and quickly moves on to the advent of Spring. The season's coming (discussed in the previous chapter) incites Śiva and Pārvati to engage in a number of amorous adventures, first amidst the flora of the newly-bloomed forest and then a body of water therein. Overly excited by the erotic aquatic play, Śiva ejaculates into the water and his semen is left adrift. Their erotic engagements having whetted their appetite for the esoteric, Pārvati asks Śiva to give her metaphysical instruction and Śiva obliges, giving a very brief (six and a half couplets) metaphysical lecture. Now, as all this happened, the moon-crowned god's ever-potent seed was ingested by a fish and quickly matured into a full-grown man who, being in the belly of a fish underwater, was privy to the whole of Siva's secret teaching. At the break in the lecture, the man lets out an audible hum of attention and is discovered. Amused and amazed, Śiva recognizes this miraculous man as his disciple and son. He gives him the apt name Mīnanātha (The Fish Nātha), bequeaths to him further instruction in yoga, occult formulas, and magical substances, and ordains him as the guru to all further siddhas in the world.

Śiva and Pārvati then depart and Mīnanātha sets out to see the world and spread his teachings. After some time, he ends up in Māḷavadesa where he comes to the extraordinarily prosperous city of Mandhāta. Finding it a suitable place, he takes up residence in a nearby cave and, disguising himself as a cowherd, begins stealing milk from the cowherds on the edge of the city. After sating himself, he begins practicing yoga and enters a deep meditative state. But, having not hidden his tracks very well, he is discovered by a cowherd who follows his trail back to the cave. Not knowing exactly what he has come upon—but knowing that he stands before a great being—the cowherd bows down to the yogi and, touching his feet, stirs him from his meditative state. The two briefly discuss their respective occupations, and the cowherd pledges service—and milk-delivery—to the esteemed Natha.

The scene shifts then to Mandhāta city and the court of its king Rājamahendra. The king is prosperous and wants for nothing but a son and successor. Thus, he and his chief queen Ratnāṅgi undertake a ritual vow to Śiva to receive a son. Their devotion meets with success, and the prince Sāraṅgadhara is born. The prince grows into a lovely young man and is pledged to wed an ally princess.

One day, while the prince is in the prime of his youth, the king goes out to hunt, enticed by a visit from a hunter chieftan. While he is hunting, the prince and his compatriots play at racing their pet pigeons. The prince's bird excels above all the others; but, upon winning the race, loses its way and, at the sight of a beautiful parrot, is lured into the quarters of Citrāṅgi, another wife of the king. The prince discerns this and decides to go fetch his bird. His friend Subuddhi, a chief minister's son, advises him against going into Citrāṅgi's quarters while the king is away, arguing that it is improper and that women are wily and inherently corrupt. The prince does not heed his friend's advice and sets off to retrieve his prized pet. Citrāṅgi, aroused by the prince's beauty, welcomes and propositions him. The prince rebuffs her and the two go on to debate the propriety of sexual relations between them. In the end, the prince departs with his bird. Citrāṅgi, angered and humiliated, vows revenge on the prince and resolves to accuse him of rape. So ends the first canto.

Canto Two

The second canto continues this episode, with Citrāṅgi having disarranged her quarters in accordance with her plan. The king, for his part, returns from his hunt and sets out forthwith to seek pleasure from Citrāṅgi. He finds the lady despondent. After he questions her and plies her with gifts, she finally levels her accusation against the prince. The king is enraged and seeks counsel from his ministers. His anger unabated, he decides that mutilation is the proper punishment. Thus, he sends the prince to the forest with two men-at-arms who sever his limbs from his torso. At the end of the bloody scene, a voice from the sky pronounces the prince's innocence. The soldiers run back to court to tell the news, leaving the prince for dead.

The prince's agonizing moans are heard by Mīnanātha who has been wandering about the forest. He comes to the prince and, taking pity, brings him back to his cave dwelling. There he nourishes the prince with milk brought by the cowherd and enters a yogic trance to recall Siva's teachings on the body. He then instructs the mutilated prince in rājayoga, helping Sāraṅgadhara to grow back his limbs and, ultimately, gain a perfected body (*siddhadeha*). Regenerated, Sāraṅgadhara is given the name Cauraṅgi (Four-limbs) and left at the cave to await the devoted cowherd's return while Mīnanātha travels into the Mālyavanta mountains to gather magical herbs. However, the siddha prince becomes curious about the world and his powers and abandons his post to follow after the traveling Mīnanātha. After Cauraṅgi's departure, the cowherd does return and sits at the cavern patiently awaiting the siddhas.

Meanwhile, in the midst of his traveling, Cauraṅgi decides to rest in the shade of lovely trees near a lake. Resting, he observes a snake: The snake, hanging from a tree to drink water, is set upon by an aquatic monster. Cauraṅgi saves the serpent. The snake is grateful, and, upon learning Cauraṅgi's identity, rejoices. He bequeaths to the siddha powerful herbs and explains that he is in fact a gandharva turned into a snake under the power of curse. However, he is destined to be released from his reptilian shape only upon meeting the great Mīnanātha. At this news, Cauraṅgi continues to the Mālyavanta mountains and finds Mīnanātha. The two siddhas meet; but, upon learning that Cauraṅgi disobeyed his command and forsook the ever-devoted cowherd, Mīnanātha becomes angry. After disparaging the disloyal character of kṣatriyas, he curses Cauraṅgi to be without his own lineage of disciples.

Matsyendra and Cauraṅgi then return to their cavern to find the devoted cowherd. The lord Nātha praises the herder for his steadfastness and personally initiates him into the siddha traditions as Gorakṣa (The Cowherd Nātha), instructing him in the techniques of yoga, mantras, occult substances, and the accompanying supernatural powers. Matsyendra then has Gorakṣa and Cauraṅgi enter a yogic trance. He, too, enters such a state and, while they meditate, the world as the former cowherd and prince had known goes to dust: Rājamahendra's kingdom falls and the cowherd village at its fringe disbands. Matsyendra then wakes his two disciples from their yogic slumber and, showing them this evidence of the great impermanence of things, effectively disengages them from their former identities. They return then to the Mālyavanta range and Mīnanātha, after some protest from the former cowherd himself, ordains Gorakṣa to be his primary disciple and successor to the kingdom of yoga (*yogasāmrājyamu*). When the matter is settled, Caurańgi then tells Mīnanātha about the serpent whom he saved and presents Mīnanātha with the magical herbs. The serpent himself comes, sees Matsyendra, and assumes his original gandharva body. He then tells the sorrowful story of how he came to be cursed, thanks Mīnanātha, and departs into the sky. So ends the second canto.

Canto Three

The third canto continues with Matsyendra entrusting the recently received magical herbs to Gorakṣa. Subsequently, a man and a woman from a tribal group approach the siddha trio and, praising Mīnanātha, introduce themselves. The tribal man (variously called *puḷiṃda, śabara, ĕṟuku*) tells the siddhas of myriad marvelous rock formations seen during his hunts. As the man shows them about the area, Matysendra reveals them to be lodes of mercury. Caurańgi and Gorakṣa observe the proceedings, amazed that the man—whom they took as a "mere tribal fellow"—should be able to locate such precious alchemical materials. Matsyendra explains that, in fact, the tribal is aptly named Lode-finder (*nidhānadarśa*) and through his birth received such power from Śiva and Pārvati themselves. The siddhas then head further north.

Stopping in the shade of a tree, they observe a terrible scene: A brahman, his wife, and their son are at a lake being assaulted by a fearsome tiger. But, hearing the woman's screams, a king on his way to drink at the lake hurries along and slays the creature. Even so, the brahman is fatally wounded in the encounter and, after entrusting his wife and son to the king, dies. The wife, in her devotion to her husband, decides to follow her husband into death and entrusts the boy to the king. Before dying, she tells of the boy's somewhat wondrous birth through the help of a yogi and directs the king to take the boy to an ashram. Left with the boy, the king encounters Matsyendra and his disciples at the lake. The king tells the sad tale to the yogis. But, seeing that the parents are in the happy afterlife, Matsyendra declines to revive them. He instead initiates the boy and transforms him into a siddha named Meghanādanātha (Cloud's Roar Nātha), owing to the thunder that accompanied his birth.

The prince, beholding all of this, asks to become siddha himself, renouncing his kingly claims. He explains that he is Virūpākṣa, second son of a solar dynasty clan of Mahārāṣṭra. He tells how, out for a hunt one day, he encountered a tribal hunter (*puḷinda*) who showed him a bird that would grant supernatural powers if eaten. The king kills the bird and distributes the parts. The hunter is given the bird's flesh, becoming free of hunger and thirst; Virūpākṣa gives the heart (which grants the status of kingship to its devourer) to his elder brother the king; Virūpākṣa himself eats the bird's head, which leads its consumer into siddhahood. Mīnanātha doubts the story. But the account is confirmed by a heavenly voice that explains that Virūpākṣa is in fact a reborn brahman who had in his past life committed an incestuous crime; he atoned by drowning himself in the Ganges, but also gained a boon of achieving either the station of king or siddha in his next life. Sufficiently convinced, Matysendra has Gorakṣa initiate Virūpāḳsa into the Nātha fold.

Moving on, the siddhas come upon another horrible scene: A brahman lies grievously injured by a bear as a tribal hunter, bow in hand, looks on. The hunter explains that the brahman before them is a *purohit* from the city of Simhādri. Desiring the daughter of his king, he fabricates and deceitfully substantiates astrological predictions to gain the king's confidence. Fabricating a further prognostication that—he claims—can only be preempted by removing the princess from the city, the brahman convinces the king to entrust the daughter to his care. The purohit then confines the lady to a wooden box and leaves her in the forest while he goes away and deliberates on how to win his captive's love. In the meantime, the princess is rescued by a king who discovers her while out hunting. The two wed in the passionate *gandharva* style, conspire to trap a bear in the princess's living coffin as the reprobate brahman's just desert, and elope back to the king's keep. The brahman returns and, thinking the princess to still be inside, makes a detailed case for his suitability as a husband before the closed box. Then he opens the box and, blinded by passion, gropes at the container's new ursine captive only to be mauled in return. Some brahmacaris find the grievously injured brahman, tending to him as best as they can. Ultimately, they seek out help. First comes the hunter, then the siddhas. The brahman begs for help, and Mīnanātha gives him succor, restoring his body. The brahman begs further that Matysendra initiate him as a siddha. But the master Nātha rejects him, pointing to his corrupt character (*durśīla*) as the basis for the decision.

The hunter then informs Mīnanātha about a magical bird—much like the one described by Virūpākṣa—and tells how a king killed it and gave him its magical meat. Matysendra confirms the story and identifies Virūpākṣa as that prince. The hunter then asks about how the bird gained such power. Matsyendra, using his yogic powers, discerns that the bird was a gandharva named Mandāranātha, who Indra had cursed upon a time. To ameliorate the curse, the gandharva made two requests: First, he asked for an escape clause, which Indra grants, dictating that Virūpākṣa would kill and thus free the gandharva. Second, Mandāranātha asks that some good come of his death. So, Indra decrees that his avian flesh should grant supernormal abilities when eaten. That revelation made, the siddhas set out for the nearby ashram. So ends the third canto.

Canto Four

The fourth canto begins with Matysendra and his expanding company arriving at an ashram of Vedic sages. The sages praise Matsyendra as the god Śiva himself and honor him and his disciples abundantly. The siddhas pass the night at the ashram; but as they set out again the next morning, Mīnanātha walks through a pile of dried leaves and steps on an enormous snake, which immediately transforms into a man. This man then tells his story. He was born into a lunar dynasty clan of Māḷavadeśa; and, upon his birth, a great siddha ordained that the prince should become a siddha rather than a king. Then, out hunting one day, he unknowingly cast a snake's corpse out of his path and on to a sage. Offended, the sage curses the prince to become a snake. Thinking the curse excessive, the prince inquires after its extremity. He learns that, in his previous birth, he was a king who, out hunting, had found a snake skin ands threw it at brahman—just to scare him for a laugh. The brahman, unfortunately, died of fright and his wife cursed the king to be transformed into a snake in his next life. The curse, however, is ameliorated by Dharma: the god declares that the curse should be relieved when the reborn prince comes into contact with the foot of the great siddha Matysendra. Now, released from his serpentine form, the man asks that Matysendra make him a siddha. Matysendra hesitates, questioning the prince's commitment to the yogi's path over his royal prerogatives. The man explains that, having now been in the presence of the yogi master Matysendra, he thinks nothing of royal sovereignty. Śiva, pleased, then appears on the scene, commands Mīnanātha to initiate the man, and disappears. The man is initiated and named Nāgārjuna.

Then a sage comes on to the scene and, explaining that he has heard of Matysendra's powers, asks to become siddha. As Mīnanātha inquires into the sage's sources, Nāgārjuna identifies the ascetic as the very sage who so grievously cursed him. Matysendra then questions the sage regarding the efficacy of tapas. The ascetic confirms Matsyendra's critique, explaining that asceticism is effective but only goes so far: The path offered by Matsyendra is superior. And so, he submits to Matsyendra who then directs Nāgārjuna to initiate him. After being given the name Khaṇika, the newly initiated siddha departs. Matysendra then travels to a city on the western coast.

As the siddhas arrive, the city's king dies without a successor. His minister—aptly named Prabuddha (Astute)—hides the fact by sequestering the mourners and generating a diversion around elephant which was to be honored throughout the city. Matysendra discerns all of this and announces that he will enter the king's body and enjoy the pleasures of courtly royal life. His disciples are confused—both about the possibility of such a procedure and Matsyendra's rationale given the basic incompatibility of the satisfactions that follow yogic sovereignty and worldly sovereignty. Matsyendra opines that he must have some direct experience of royal pleasures if he is to fully understand the difference and superiority of the yogi way. He then executes a yogic procedure whereby, leaving his physical body with his students, he possesses the body of king (*parakāyapraveśa*).

The king is thus revivified, much to the mourners' happiness and surprise. Matsyendra, for his part, is rather confused by the people of his newly entered courtly society and remains silent. The courtiers send doctors, assuming the king to be afflicted. The chief minister Prabuddha intuits that the king's body has been possessed by a great yogi with no knowledge of statecraft and expertly advises the now unworldly king in his rule. Matysendra thus occupies the kingly office and, most vigorously, enjoys its erotic privileges. In the course of his rich sexual life, he impregnates the chief queen and she gives birth to a handsome young prince, whom Matysendra comes to love dearly. But, as he is living his courtly life to the fullest, his disciples—diligently guarding over the divine body (*divyadeha*) the guru left in their mountain cave—realize that Matysendra had forgotten his yogi identity. Cauraṅgi thus sends Gorakṣa to the royal court to call the guru back. Gorakṣa goes then to the court where he is able to intercept his guru. He persistently works to remind the guru of his yogic self, chipping away at Mīnanātha's newly gained attachment to the world. Working past the pleasures of sex, the final fetter proves to be Matysendra's love for his son the prince. Matysendra gives an impassioned plea for remaining with the boy and, convinced that Gorakṣa will be moved by the sight of him, brings him into their midst. Gorakṣa, under the pretext of bathing the boy at his guru's command, brutally kills the prince. Matysendra is crushed. But in the process he regains his yogic insight and loses for the first time his attachment to worldly existence. Matysendra then abandons the king's body; Gorakṣa revives the prince and secrets him out of the royal quarters; and the minister Prabuddha makes provisions for the king's succession before renouncing his own post under the influence of his encounter with the siddhas.

Returning to his body and his disciples, Matsyendra praises his students, reasserting Gorakṣa's preeminence among them. Matsyendra, noting that the prince is his son and had been anointed with water by Gorakṣa, decrees that the prince's partial initiation be completed. Thus, the boy is named Mañjunātha (The Cute Nātha) and placed in the turtle posture (*kūrmāsana*). Finding their work done in that place, Matsyendra leads his siddha troupe to a cave in the Narendra mountains. There, he instructs Gorakṣa to initiate the faithful minister Prabuddha into their fold with the name of Buddhasiddha. Mīnanātha then praises again Gorakṣa and, quite pleased, identifies his disciples as his sons and further instructs them in the yogic teachings (*yogaśāstramulu*) which they are to disseminate on the earth. The band of yogis leaves the mountain range and proceed on a tour of northern holy sites, namely: Ujjain and its Mahākāḷi temple; Dvaraka; Ayodhya; the Ganges and Kāśī; Prayāga; and, finally, Kailāsa. At Kailāsa, the siddhas settle themselves in a cave. So ends in the fourth canto.

Canto Five

The fifth and final canto begins with Matsyendra and his disciples still in their mountain station. Mīnanātha charges his disciples to travel out undercover and spread the yogic teachings to people of all stations—but only those who display the proper virtues. He gives them two caveats: First, they are not return to the Himalayas. Second, they should understand that, despite their bodily siddhis, they are not invincible and should thus always be on their guard. Cauraṅgi, cursed to have no disciples, stays to honor Matsyendra. The others, after passing the night, leave for the different regions: Gorakṣa goes to the Lāṭa, Kaula, Ābhīra, and Bhoṭa countries; Meghanātha to Kaliṅga and the shores of the Ganges; the siddha Buddha goes to Mahārāṣṭra; Virūpākṣa goes to Karṇāṭa, Lalita, Kanauj, and Māḷava; Khaṇika goes to Ghūrja, Ṭeṅkaṇa, Matsya, and the Konkan; and Nāgārjunasiddha goes to the Maḷayāḷa, Barbara, Magadha, Āndhra, Pāṇḍya, and the Coḷa countries. Gaurana goes on to list some of the disciples and accomplishments of the founding figures.[3] The narrative then leaves the extended siddha lineage and turns to go Gorakṣa, who travels to Srisailam and, after worshipping Mallikārjunasvāmi, takes up residence in a nearby cave to practice yoga.

Learning that a powerful spiritual adept had come to Srisailam, the Vīramāheśvara master yogi Allama Prabhurāya leaves his base in Kalyāṇa to inquire. He locates Gorakṣa, the two introduce themselves, and then begin debating the relative superiority of their metaphysical doctrines and practices. The debate culminates with the two yogis demonstrating the power of their bodies. Gorakṣa begins by showing off his adamantine body, having Prabhurāya strike his impenetrable form with a sword. But Prabhurāya surpasses him through a wondrous display of his ethereal body (*śūnyadeha*), which cannot even be touched by a blade. Gorakṣa submits to Allama Prabhu. The latter then takes the Nātha on as his student and instructs him in the ways of Vīramāheśvara bhakti.

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[3] See Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 211-214. The lineages are as follows: Gorakṣa: Ratanaghoraka, Lokanātha, Acyutanātha, Gagananātha, Avadhūtanātha, Candranātha, Paścimanātha, Yoninātha, Naradevanātha, Goḍācūḍa, Nāgagoḍi, Jināra, Mayūrasiddha, Bālagovinda, Harimiṇḍi, (Gorakkuḍu), (Goraṇṭakuḍu).

Buddhasiddha: Sūryanātha, Sindhūripāya, Mohanapāya, Gimmīripāya, Nityanātha, Satkīrtinātha, Satyanātha, Ākūrinātha, Siddharāvuḷā, Manoratha, Vijñānaśevaḍi.

Meghanātha: Kapāladaṇḍi, Kalyāṇayogi, Pāṣāṇabhukku, Narabhukku, Bhūtanātha. (This passage is damaged, and the missing line likely names other disciples.)

Nāgārjunasiddha: Dhūmapāya, Bhallūkapaya, Tailapāya, Rasendrapāya, Vyāḷi, Bhānumanta, Heyadūra, (Ātreya).

Virūpāḳsa: Rasendrapāya, Ratnapāya, Uccaya, Kālapāya, Vajrakākanātha, Jālāndhra, Śaindrapāla (Jālāndhra's student), Kāmaṇḍa, Pūrṇagirinātha, Ĕndiyāṇiguru, Bhuvanendra, Trilocanasiddha.

Khaṇika: Kamalanātha, Amṛtanātha, Sadānandarāḷa, Ānugannārāḷa Khecari, Acalanātha, Paramānandayogi, Sujñāna, Lohitasiddha Siṅganātha, Viriñcinātha, Sauraṃbha.

The narrative then shifts to follow the students of Nāgārjunanātha and their alchemical adventures. The first episode involves a disciple called Ātreya. This student, followed by his own disciples, goes to Srisailam, announces his intention to showcase his powers by transmuting the whole mountain into gold, and begins his work. A local king catches wind of the siddha's arrival and seeks him out. Arriving with a small company, the king explains that he has lost his kingdom to a rival and asks the powerful siddha to help him win it back. The siddha first declines such an alliance, citing the unreliability and dishonesty of kings. The king attempts to renounce his royal claims and become an ascetic. The siddha, moved, restores the king's wealth under the conditions that the king remain a member of the royal class but take the name Tyāganāgārjuna and provide the siddha with protection.[4] Then, learning of Nāgārjuna's student, Viṣṇu takes on the appearance of a brahman and comes to frustrate the siddha's alchemical activities. Meeting the siddha, Viṣṇu inquires into the activities and the merit of the seemingly materialistic activity for a yogi. Unable to dissuade Nāgārjuna's student from an egotistic endeavor, Viṣṇu hurls his cakra and decapitates the siddha. Preventing the alchemical achievement was necessary, he explains, because a golden Srisailam would have produced an excess of wealth in the world which would, in turn, disrupt the social order. The siddha's students mourn his death and the king, learning of the siddha's assassination, is bereft. He installs the siddha's head in a cave, closes the cave's mouth with large stones, and returns to his kingdom.

The work then moves to the narrative of a siddha named Vyāḷi who came to the city of Kalyāṇa upon a time. After giving discourses in the city's temples for some time, he becomes known throughout the area. The city's king catches wind that such a powerful person is within his domain and sends his people to bring the siddha in. Vyāḷi first objects, citing that siddhas should never be in the service of the congenitally corrupt kingly class. The king replies by summoning the siddha in a more honorable fashion, sending for him a golden throne on which he would be carried to the palace, and the siddha accepts the invitation. The king inquires after the siddha's knowledge and powers, and the siddha explains that he is expert in magical herbs. In particular, he recounts a method whereby a person may be fried—and killed—in vat of boiling oil only to reemerge revived with superhuman capacities when cooked with certain substances. Entreated by the king to share this knowledge and the substances, the siddha objects, again citing the corruption of kings and their tendency to betray their compatriots. The two, however, reach a compromise: Vyāḷi will demonstrate the method not to the king but to his ministers. The siddha thus entrusts the substances to the ministers and teaches them the process, which they are then to execute on Vyāḷi himself. They prepare a vat of oil and the siddha then prepares to enter it. Before stepping in, he utters an imprecation: If the royal ministers betray him and let him die, the king's reign will go to ruin. He then steps into the vat. The king then returns to the scene and demands that the ministers leave the siddha to die and teach him the herbal mysteries. They hesitate but begrudgingly come to heel. The siddha dies and, just as he decreed, the king's dynasty is destroyed.

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[4] The text is damaged in this passage, so the narrative events here are not completely clear.

The last two stories turn to students of Gorakṣa, both of them bearing names not unlike their master. The first is Gorakkuḍu, who travels to the Kauḷa country and establishes himself at the Someśvara temple in Saurāṣṭra. The king learns of his presence and invites him to court as an honored guest. Once he is in the siddha's presence, the king asks Gorakkuḍu to display his powers, particularly his power of summoning (*ākarṣaṇasiddhi*). The siddha hesitates but eventually complies at the king's insistence. The siddha demonstrates the power by summoning a woman that had once drawn the king's eye. When the king attempts to engage her, the siddha prevents him, saying it would be inappropriate: The woman had been brought to them through the mantric deity's (*mantradevata*) possession and is not properly conscious. The siddha, however, makes up for this by intuiting the king's favorite woman of his harem and summoning her into his presence. The king, astounded, tries to reward the siddha. Gorakkuḍu—citing his ascetic indifference to material pleasure—rejects the king's offers and sets out again for his station at the temple. The king, after passing some time in erotic enjoyments, comes upon a paranoid thought: With such power, the siddha could take anything from anyone. At his ministers' discouragement, he dispatches assassins to intercept the siddha on his way back to Saurāṣṭra. The killers find Gorakkuḍu, but their weapons are impotent against his bodily siddhis. The assassins flee to report back to their master, but the siddha reaches the king faster. He dresses the king down, lambasting the baronial estate as inherently hateful and unnecessarily hostile to siddhas, whom they should honor. He then curses the king's rule into destruction.

The final story opens on the king Kṛṣṇakandāra of Kandāra city in Mahārāṣṭra. Meticulous in observing the morning, noon, and evening rituals, Kṛṣṇakandāra is honored by the gods. One day, however, while performing his sunrise service, he espies a beautiful woman bathing and momentarily lusts after her. He thinks nothing of it, but for some days after the sun fails to rise. Perplexed, he consults his brahman advisers. They, too, are confused. After further reflection, the king recalls his mental transgression. The brahmans provide an expiatory method. The king executes it, and the sun resumes its normal work. All are relieved. But soon after the king falls ill with a horrible disease. Depressed and too weak to leave the palace unassisted, he has his men take him out as if he were hunting. The party loses its way and, being out in the heat, seeks water. They come to a lake where the king drinks, bathes, and reemerges entirely free of disease. He returns to his city and, after recounting the discovery to his court, orders a public works project to expand the seemingly sacred reservoir. The ministers counsel that such a project would violate dharma, but the king persists. The project begins, but the workers dig too deep, creating a hole to the underworld into which the waters drain. The king's people, recognizing the dire circumstance, wonder how it might be rectified.

At this time, Goraṇṭakuḍu—another student of Gorakṣa—comes to the region with his own disciple. The pair come to take water from the recently drained reservoir, which they know was made magical by Mīnanātha upon a time. But they arrive to find the reservoir to be empty, and others in the vicinity tell them of the king's misdeed. Goraṇṭakuḍu is irritated but offers some solutions. These, however, are ineffectual, as are the king's own attempts to restore the reservoir during the monsoon. The king is piteously perturbed. Contemplating suicide, he falls asleep and is visited in a dream by the deity who presides over the reservoir. The deity explains that she will be appeased and the waters restored only upon receiving a sacrifice according to the following scale: ten thousand śūdras, one thousand vaiśyas, one hundred kṣatriyas, ten brahmans, or a single siddha. The king awakens horrified and relates his vision to his incredulous ministers. The water deity in turn appears in the dreams of all the king's subjects. Terrified, the citizens plot their escapes. The ministers counsel the king against sacrificing loyal subjects of any station and devise a plan to substitute criminals for the deity's desired victims. The water deity rejects the ruse. After the city's classes plan their escape or decide to give in, Goraṇṭakuḍu steps in and offers himself up: He directs the king to have a large Śiva temple built over the chasm to the underworld. The siddha will be locked inside of said temple while the king conducts a choice steed around the area. The waters will follow the steed's path and refill the reservoir, and the siddha will the vacate the temple as soon as possible. The temple is built and the siddha enters. The king executes his part of the plan. The waters return, and the kingdom flourishes on. The text is badly damaged in these final passages, but there is no indication that the siddha ever reemerges. So ends the *Navanāthacaritramu*.

The Navanāthacaritramu and the Nātha Sampradāya

In this way, Gaurana's *Navanāthacaritramu* stands as one of the earliest witnesses to the Nātha Sampradāya. As the summary above details, the work narrates how a lineage of siddhas was established by the Nāthas Matysendra and Gorakṣa. Within this story, the affiliated siddhas engage in a variety of yogic practices and esoteric activities to often marvelous ends. No formal institutional structures are represented in the narrative itself. Nevertheless, two elements of the work and the circumstances of its production resonate with the institutional identity of the present-day Nātha Sampradāya: Matsyendra's disciples disseminate his teachings across the India, speaking to the sampradāya's pan-Indic reach. And the work itself was commissioned by the potentate of such an ascetic institution—Srisailam's Bhikṣāvṛtti maṭha.

Despite these resonances, it is difficult to link Gaurana's work on the Nāthas to the sampradāya as scholars have described it in recent years. Much of the difficulty descends from the character of Gaurana's text. His siddhas rarely offer expository discourses detailing their doctrines. And, with the exception of Goraksa's encounter with Allama Prabhu, the siddhas do not debate or compete with yogis and adepts of rival traditions. Such ambiguity is not unexpected. James Mallinson finds no real articulation of a Nātha identity earlier than the seventeenth century, with the earliest explicit articulation of a Nātha sampradāya coming from a text of early nineteenth-century Jodhpur.[5] And while scholars starting with David Gordon White have remarked that the Navanāthacaritramu contains the earliest list of nine Nāths that echoes lists recognized by the contemporary Nātha sampradāya,[6] this does little to connect Gaurana's work to the more established Nātha tradition of more recent centuries. For one, aside from Matsyendra, Cauraṅgi/Sāraṅgadhara, and Gorakṣa, Gaurana's Nāths do not overwhelmingly match the figures listed elsewhere.[7] Further, Gaurana mentions nothing of the Nāthas' being subdivided into twelve *panths*, which Mallinson takes as a key marker of Nāth identity.[8]

Still, the initial warrant for naming these figures here "Nātha siddhas" is the title of the work itself. But this trend, too, is inconsistent, especially as the *-natha* portion is not emphasized in all

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[5] James Mallinson, "Nāth Sampradāya," in *Brill Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 409.

[6] See David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India* (University of Chicago Press, 1997), 93. The notion is repeated in Mallinson, "Nāth Sampradāya," 409.

[7] The closest parallel comes from Gaurana's contemporary, the Telugu poet Jakkana. In his *Vikramārkacaritramu* he describes a traveling siddha with a series of comparisons where he names the same nine Nātha siddhas at the core of the Gaurana's work. See *Vikramārkacaritramu* 6.4: "Presenting another of Ādinātha's avatars, surpassing Matysendranātha's grandeur, enjoying Sāraṅganātha's potential, bearing Gorakṣanātha's virtue, merging the Siddha Buddha's intellect and will, amplifying Khaṇika's tremendous knowledge, wielding Mekhanātha's mantric fluency, achieving Nāgārjuna's expert glory, surpassing Virūpākṣa himself in devotion, and boasting a body of beguiling form equal to all the nine siddha masters, a fine siddha, his mind of pure consciousness . . ." (*ādināthuni yaparāvatāramu pūni matsyendranāthuni mahimaṁ danari/ sāraṃganāthuni sāmarthyamunu bŏṃdi gorakṣanāthuni guṇamuṁ dālci/ siddhabuddhuni buddhicittaṃbunaṃ jerci khaniku vidyādhikaghanataṁ berci/ mekhanāthuni maṃtravaikhari vahiyiṃci nāgārjununi kaḷāśrī gamiṃci / yā virūpākṣuṁḍitaṁḍana natiśayilli / yarthi navanāthasiddhulakaikyamaina/ mohanākṛti yitaṁḍanu mūrtiṁ danari / cinmayasvāṃtuṁḍagu nŏkka siddhavaruṁḍu*).

[8] Mallinson, "Nāth Sampradāya," 415.

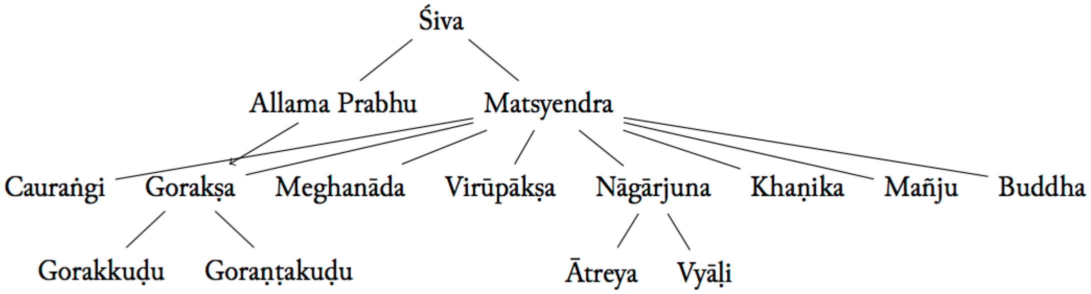

Figure 5.1: Yogis and siddhas featured in the *Navanāthacaritramu*

of the siddhas' initiation names. Some of the siddhas initiated in Matysendra's line do carry *-nātha* as a kind of title in their appellation; but others—for example Buddha and Nāgārjuna—carry *-siddha* instead. *Nātha* thus appears to function as a generic term only in the title. Gaurana more commonly and interchangeably labels the figures using the terms *yogi* or *siddha*. In line with this terminological trend, Gaurana's depiction of the nine Nathas and their company is largely generic. He offers an image of siddhas mostly insofar as they are the possessors of wondrous *siddhis*.

Nevertheless, Gaurana does describe the adepts at the center of his work in ways that distinguish them from other siddhas. These distinctions emerge from the practices Gaurana describes rather than systematic exposition. More to the point, despite the work's generally weak connection to the Nātha sampradāya, these distinctions do establish substantial links between the sampradāya and the tradition Gaurana describes. As I will show below, these include: certain sartorial conventions and an explicitly Śaiva affiliation; engagement with a variety of yogic practices, particularly those resembling a *kuṇḍalinī*-focused *haṭhayoga*; the centrality of celibacy; and the practicing of alchemical techniques.

Siddha attire

Matsyendra and company first stand out in their appearance. Despite—or, perhaps, precisely because of—Matsyendra's enjoining his disciples to go forth in varied and clandestine vestments,[9] Gaurana offers only one description of a Nātha siddha. This comes in the first canto as the cowherd who would be Goraksanātha beholds for the first time the great yogi Mīnanātha:

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[9] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 209.

> . . . eyes sinking in [the cowherd] saw a frosty-hued lustre
> glittering from a slender body; pupils
> not moving in any direction; a focused
> steadfast mind; on the forehead
> a shining triple smear of holy ash;
> a glimmering ivory staff;
> a sparkling red gurija mala;
> delicate, tawny dreadlocks; a horn;
> a fine silken mat; a shimmering
> and lovely jeweled rosary: all of these aglow,
> his hands on his thighs, breathing out hard, stretching
> his back, holding up his lotus-face,
> averting his unwavering gaze from all desires,
> there sat in the majestic concentration of yoga
> Mīnanātha in his cool, luminous majesty. . . [10]

The master siddha here appears as a yogi ascetic with fine accoutrements. The most apparent aspect of the yogi's figure is its radiance. The gentle, lunar quality of this radiance is stated at both the beginning and the end of the passage; and all of his yogi paraphernalia augment the gleaming that descends from Matsyendra's inherent majesty. He bears an ivory staff. He sits, the cowherd sees, on a fine silken mat. His locks and necklaces glitter, too. While Gaurana surely highlights the gorgeous lustre of his tejas and sees the scant ascetic vestments as ornaments (in line with the broader aesthetic inclinations discussed in chapter three), this kind of radiance is simply proper to a person of great power. The ascetic burnished by his spiritual exercises is one variety. Thus, starting with Matysendra's thin body, the description is, in a sense, generic.

Nevertheless, a few features allow an observer to finger the yogi for his affiliations. First, the "shining triple smear of holy ash" on the forehead (*pŏlucu tripuṃḍraṃbu pūṁtavibhūti*) marks him as a Śaiva. While ethnographic research has identified this as a common place among Nāths today, James Mallinson suggests that adorning the body with ash was probably not a regular practice among them until the nineteenth centruy.[11] Indeed, some or all of the Nātha siddhas were claimed by a variety of religious groups. And, while the Nāthas maintained a predominantly Śaiva orientation throughout their history, medieval representations generally lack the Śaiva sartorial elements of the *tripuṇḍra* and *rudrākṣa māla* described above.

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[10] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 27-28.

A second ornament—his horn or *nādamu*—may narrow his identity further. It is reminiscent of—but, as described, not identical to—the sāṅgnād janeū, which is recognized as an ornament particular to members of the Nāth sampradāya. Described as long black woolen thread with a rudrākṣa bead, a ring, and a small siṅgināda, members of the sampradāya wear the singnad janeu around there neck.[12]

Thus, the Śaiva orientation and the wearing of the singinadamu are the only outer marks that connect Gaurana's siddhas with the members of the Nāth sampradāya recognizable since eighteenth century. Other attributes commonly associated with Nātha yogis—in particular the large, ear-splitting piercings that earn many Nāths the alternate appellation Kānphaṭā—are mentioned nowhere in Gaurana's work.

Yoga and the body

Beyond these outward signs, Nāthas are further known by the practices that are said to grant them marvelous powers. First among these practices is yoga. As researchers of the sampradāya have noted, few if any Nāths today can be found practicing haṭhayoga. Nevertheless, the sampradāya's seminal figures Matsyendra and Gorakṣa are also commonly understood to be seminal figures in the history of haṭhayoga. From the beginning of the work, Matsyendra is represented as a practitioner of yoga. He and the other siddhas are shown practicing both contemplative and *prāṇāyāṃa* (or breathing-based) yoga.

First and foremost, Matysendra promotes and practices a contemplative yoga oriented toward extraordinary acts of concentration culminating in samādhi. The devoted cowherd who eventually becomes the chief Nātha Gorakṣa discovers Mīnanātha engaging precisely in this kind of practice. And, later, it is in a contemplative technique that Matsyendra guides the prince Sāraṅgadhara to regenerate his limbs. Here, Matysendra explicitly describes this technique as the best "royal yoga" (*rācūliyoga*). Such labeling identifies it with conceptions of rājayoga in Sanskrit texts on yoga and which the forebears of the Nātha sampradāya would synthesize with haṭhayoga. This contemplative yoga appears as the central path to bodily power in the Navanāthacaritramu. Indeed, a core strength of Gaurana's siddhas are their wondrous bodily powers. To be sure, Matysendra makes it clear that no siddha save Śiva himself possesses true bodily immortality and invulnerability. Nonetheless, the siddhas have rare powers of rejuvenation and endurance.

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[11] Mallinson, "Nāth Sampradāya."

[12] Ibid., 418.

Such powers and techniques are first exhibited in Sāraṅgadhara's regeneration.[13] To start, Matysendra's method relies on the basic nourishment provided by the milk consistently offered by the loyal cowherd. But, after meeting the basic nutritional needs, Matysendra also offers the prince a number of efficacious but unnamed magical herbs (*divyausadha*).

But this alimentary foundation primarily supports yogic techniques. Matysendra puts the mutilated prince into the "*siddha* posture" (*siddhāsanāsīnuṁ jesi*); he then goes into a state of deep yogic concentration to recall Śiva's teachings on yoga, the limbs, their divinities, their number, their sensations; and then, to have the prince regenerate his arms, he tells the young man to look up, throws a stone into the air, and has him concentrate on it to keep it afloat, lest it fall and crush his head. Through this act of concentration, the prince grows his limbs back and gains a perfected body (*siddhadeha*).

Beyond its being a product of magical healing, the further nature of this perfected body is only shown later in the work. And the nature of its perfection varies according to how the perfection is produced. As a product of yogic meditation, the body acquired by Caurangi would be much like the body Goraksanatha and his disciple Gorakkudu display at later points in the narrative. This is a dense, adamantine body that is largely invulnerable to attack and normal ailments of the flesh. Thus, when

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[13] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 94-95.

Allama Prabhu strikes Gorakṣa with a sword, there is no cutting—just clattering. Likewise, when Gorakkuḍu is assailed by assassins, their weapons shatter into hundreds of pieces.[14]

While meditative rājayoga appears to undergird the corporeal perfections described above, an explicitly kuṇḍalinī-focused hathayoga allows the siddhas to manipulate theirs and others' bodies in marvelous ways. Though the word *haṭha-* itself never appears in the work, Gaurana nevertheless deploys its vocabulary in describing how Matysendra enters the body of dead king. Rather than a siddhi to be used at will, the act of entering another's body (*parakāyapraveśa*) is represented as a yogic technique in itself:

> Immediately upon entering a mountain cave
> he [Matsyendra] sat in the siddha posture; and putting his mind
> firmly on Śiva, that foremost of the siddhas—
> bringing his breath under his control—drew it upward,
> made himself firm as the elongated kuṇḍali stretched,
> appropriately broke the restraint bound by habit,
> gently brought the kuṇḍali upward,
> wondrously shined as one rich in ancient yoga,
> and through all the paths of the ten passages
> asssuming an immensely subtle form and then
> taking on a luminous form he went forth.
> As his disciples amazed looked on and on
> and Mīnanātha's *ātma* reached the king's
> body. . . [15]

Nowhere is the label haṭha applied. Nonetheless, Gaurana describes Matysendra's process deploying terminology current in treatises on the kuṇḍalinī-inflected haṭhayoga associated with the figures of Matysendra and Gorakṣa. These references to haṭhayoga are seen as Gaurana marks Matysendra's redirecting the breath (*vāyuvākuñcanamu*) as well as his manipulating and directing the internal serpent goddess (*kuṇḍali*) are clearly stated. These techniques, as Jason Birch has shown, coincide with the first descriptions of haṭhayoga.[16] While Mallinson has shown that *parakayapraveśa* is, on balance, a siddhi—an ability gained through yogic excellence—[17]Gaurana's depiction of the act as an essentially haṭhayoga practice adds another exception to this trend.

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[14] The ethereal body is thus largely beyond the purview of the core Nātha tradition represented in the text. It only comes into view when Gorakṣa submits to Prabhurāya. In this way, the Navanāthacaritramu corroborates the testimony offered from in the expository Sanskrit texts reviewed by Ondrocka. See: Lubomír Ondračka, "Perfected Body, Divine Body, and Other Bodies in the Nātha-Siddha Sanskrit Texts," *The Journal of Hindu Studies*, no. 8 (2015): 210–232.

[15] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 178: *taḍayaka yŏka parvatapu guhaṁ jŏcci/ siddhāsanasthuṁḍai śivuniṁ jittamuna/ siddhamukhyuṃḍu susthiramugā nilipi/ vāyavākuṃcanavaśamugāṁ jesi/ yāyatakuṃḍali karuganūlkŏlipi/ alavaḍa graṃthitayamunu bhediṃci/ yala yūrdhvakuṃḍali kallanaṁ jerci/ yarudugāṁ pūrvayogāḍhyuṁḍai pŏlci/ mariyu daśadvāramārgaṃbulĕllaṁ/ brātigā sūkṣmarūpamu dālci mīṁda/ jyotissvarūpuṁḍai cŏppuna vĕdalĕ/ vemāru śiṣyulu vĕṟaṁgaṃdi cūḍa/ nāmīnanāthuni yātma bhūnāthu/ bŏṃdiṁ jŏccuṭayunu . . .*

In depicting Matysendra's yogic practices so distinctly, Gaurana bears witness to Matysendra's seminal role in the early history of haṭhayoga. Moreover, he directly ties the Nāthas to a textual tradition. He offers a broad recognition of them as authors of texts; and he reproduces the well-known attribution of a text called *Amṛtajñasiddhi* to Virūpākṣanātha.[18] He also presents an understanding of yoga in accord with what may have been available in contemporary or near contemporary Sanskrit texts on the subject. In such manuals—mostly dated to the thirteenth through fourteenth centuries—contemplative rājayoga and *prāṇāyāṃa*-based haṭhayoga do not compete with each other but instead stand as complementary practices in a total system.[19]

A note on celibacy

While holding up his association with yogic traditions, the Navanāthacaritramu does not reflect other early understandings of Matsyendra. In particular, Matsyendra's connection with broader and generally sexual tantric practices does not find a comparable expression in the work. Still, an allusion to Matysendra's sexual history could be read in precisely in the haṭhayoga sequence. It is through the haṭha practice that Matysendra possesses the king's body and loses himself in sexual activity and other worldly pleasures. Here, as in other versions of the story, Gorakṣa intervenes to extract the guru from this material mire. However, these other tellings—wherein Matsyendra loses himself in pleasure in a kingdom entirely of women—set the background to Gorakṣa's role precisely as a reformer who removes the sexual components of Matysendra's tantric system and internalizes them through haṭhayoga.[20]

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[16] Jason Birch, "The meaning of *haṭha* in Early Haṭhayoga," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 131, no. 4 (2011): 534-538.

[17] James Mallinson, "The Yogīs' Latest Trick," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24, no. 1 (2014): 167.

[18] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 213. The *Amṛtasiddhi* has been dated to the eleventh or twelfth century.

[19] Birch, "The meaning of *haṭha*," 542-548. In particular, Birch cites haṭhayoga texts *Dattātreyayogaśāstra, Śivasaṃhita,* and *Amaraughaprabodha* for the earliest articulations of this.

Within the Navanāthacaritramu, then, sexual tantric ritual finds no place from the very beginning. Indeed, Matysendra has no knowledge of sexual activity before possessing the king's corpse and he performs the *parakāyapraveśa* for the express purpose of better understanding the pleasures of the world and, thus, becoming a better advocate for the superiority of ascetic life. In this regard, the narrative of Matsyendra's deeds—and thus the figure of Matsyendra himself—runs parallel to hagiographies of seminal ascetic figures like Śaṅkarācārya.[21]

Following this basic absence of and then confirmed opposition to sexual activity, the Nātha tradition as it appears in Gaurana's text would seem to privilege celibacy. Even so, among the directives that Matsyendra issues to his disciples before sending them into the world, there is no explicit injunction proscribing sexual activity. Here he does though recognize by implication that he and his disciples are celibate: He notes that while he lacks offspring in the strict sense, he nevertheless has progeny (*saṃtati*) in his disciples. The opposition is clear and backed on two fronts. First, sexual activity—as we have seen—is counted among saṃsāra's elements and is a particularly alluring mode of worldly engagement. As such, it is merely a stone in the path of the yogi's development. Second, the work maintains a kind of misogynistic hostility. This is seen primarily in Sāraṅgadhara's story: Before going into Citrāṅgi's chambers, the prince receives a lecture from his quite literally wise companion Subuddhi, the son of the king's minister. Here Subuddhi frames as friendly advice a discourse asserting that women are congenitally licentious and corrupt.[22] Thus, even in the absence of a clear command, refraining from sexual activity is clearly favored. Conversely, the lack of an injunction resonates with the variety of both celibate ascetic and non-celibate Nāth traditions across India.[23]

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[20] On Matsyendra and Gorakṣa's reformations see Mallinson, "Nāth Sampradāya," 410-411.

[21] In the Śaṅkaradigvijaya of Mādhava Vidyāraṇya, Śaṅkara's student Padmapāda admonishes his teacher against the act by adducing Matsyendra's troubling experiene. On hagiographies of Śaṅkarācārya and, particularly, the problems posed by his parakayapraveśa see: Neil Dalal, "Clouding Self-Identity: Śankara, *Saṃskāras*, and the Possession of King Amaruka," *The Journal of Hindu Studies* 5 (2012): 283–292; J. E. Llewellyn, "Knowing *Kāmaśāstra* in the Biblical Sense: The Possession of King Amaruka," *The Journal of Hindu Studies* 5 (2012): 273–282.

[22] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 39-43.

[23] On some of the tensions between ascetic renunciation and worldly life among members of the Nath castes in north India, see: Daniel Gold and Ann Grodzins Gold, "The Fate of the Householder Nath," *History of Religions* 24, no. 2

Alchemy and *siddhis* of substance

Not just practitioners of yoga, the Nāths are also renowned for acquiring magical powers through the use of magical substaces as a complement to yoga's contemplative and corporeal exercises. The Navanāthacaritramu reproduces this image. Throughout the work Matsyendra and his disciples engage in a range of alchemical practices. And while these alchemical activities corroborate the common picture of Nāths, Gaurana's depiction of these episodes also connects Matysendra and company to the wider wilderness world that features in earlier siddha legend.

In contrast to the yoga sequences, there is little description of actual alchemical method. At its most specific, Gaurana shows the siddhas assuming a yogic posture (*siddhāsana*) and visualizing Śiva along with the divinities of mantras and mercuries.[24] Even so, Gaurana emphasizes that the nine Nāthas' alchemical practice is characterized by the manipulation of mercury (*rasa*). In the early cantos of the work, the siddhas engage in no obvious alchemical work. However, the third canto finds them discovering lodes of mercury in the mountainous wilderness. It is only in the story of Nāgārjuna's student Ātreya that a siddha actively engages in an alchemical act. But his precise methods are obscure. And despite their conspicuous interest in mercury, there is no mention of the Nātha siddhas engaging in the practices of the Raseśvara siddhas (or accomplished masters of mercury) who produced tinctures and elixirs consisting of mercury.[25]

In conjunction with the use of mercury, the Nātha siddhas deploy a variety of *auṣadhas* or magical herbs. On the whole, these are only mentioned in a vague manner. For instance, the siddha Ātreya throws a number of such herbs into the fire at the beginning of his attempt to transmute Srisailam, but Gaurana does not specify which herbs the alchemist uses. Specific herbs are only identified twice: First, Matsyendra receives a powerful herb called *saṃjīvakaraṇi* (or the "reinvigorating" plant) as a gift for saving the gandharva who had been cursed into a snake. Second, this same herb is included in a larger group of substances listed by Vyāḷi. These substances all have similar names, each indicating the power

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(November 1984): 113–132.

[24] For example, Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 235.

[25] On the Raseśvara siddhas and their alchemical practice, see White, *Alchemical Body*.

the plant grants when added as seasoning for alchemically cooking a siddha.[26] In addition to magical flora, the narrative of Virūpākṣanātha centers around supernormal fauna—in this case, a magical fowl that grants long life, royal sovereignty, and siddhahood to those who would ingest (respectively) its flesh, heart, and head.

More than method, it is through the Nātha siddhas' use of extraordinary substances that Gaurana indicates their alliance with peoples outside the pale of orthodoxy. To this end, Gaurana emphasizes the role played by members of forest- and mountain-dwelling groups—variously labeled *ĕṟuku, śabara, puḷinda,* and *ḵirāta*—in identifying and accessing mercury and magical flora and fauna. As the summary highlights, it is a man of hunter tribe who leads the siddhas to mercurial lodes and points out a variety of herbs. Similarly, it is another hunter who passes on knowledge of the siddhi-granting bird. These moments in the narrative highlight and echo the siddha tradition's long recognized association with not just the forest and mountain environment but the peoples who lived therein.[27] It is important to note, however, that Gaurana does not show members of these groups being initiated into the Nātha fold, despite the Nāthas' productive interactions with tribal communities.

Siddhas and Power: Moving beyond the Nāth Sampradāya

As the foregoing has explained, Gaurana shows the nine Nathas and their disciples to engage in yogic and alchemical practices in equal measure. This hybrid tradition looks much like that which has been reconstructed by David White, but which more recent philological studies have called into question. Thus, Mallinson has argued that White conflates two separate—and competing—traditions. In support of the claim, he demonstrates that the practitioners of haṭhayoga adopted the language and tropes of alchemy only to show that their yoga was in fact a superior technology.[28] Further, in this conflation of yogic and alchemical practitioners, White is—according to Lubomír Ondračka—simply following a longer scholarly lineage that begins with V. V. R. Sastri's brief article on Nāth siddha doctrine; however, as Ondročka shows, Sastri's account conflates the doctrines of the Tamil Siddhas with those of other siddha and yogi traditions, including the Nāths.[29] So, on one account, while Gaurana does not expressly name the tradition of the Tamil *cittars*, he may nevertheless be witnessing a south Indian tradition of the nine Nāthas wherein the siddhas freely mix alchemical and yogic techniques. In this respect, Gaurana's depiction does not necessarily corroborate White's historical arguments, but it may nevertheless suggest that the well-defined boundaries advanced in systematic texts may have been a bit blurrier in practice.

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[26] See Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 251. So, Vyāḷi lists: *śalyakaraṇi, saṃdhānakaraṇi, vajrakaraṇi,* and *saṃjīvakaraṇi*. As described in the summary, Gaurana says that Vyāḷi goes on to impart a secret recipe for invincibility. As elsewhere, however, he does not go into detail about which herbs are included.

[27] Ronald M. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 224-233.

[28] Mallinson, "The Yogīs' Latest Trick," 173.

Even so, there are limits to what Gaurana's work can say about the Nātha tradition. I would counsel caution in approaching the work as source for the tradition, lest we assume on Gaurana's part a level of access or involvement that he may not have had. That is, I would argue that Gaurana was likely not writing from inside the tradition. He does not explicitly represent himself as a Nātha. And while it would be difficult to assert that he was therefore not involved in the tradition, we can see that he does not directly connect himself to an ascetic or occult tradition anywhere in his works. Consequently, I would suggest that such an absence is striking since claiming these affiliations would have been relevant and expedient in supporting the *Navanāthacaritramu* as well as the Lakṣaṇadīpikā project.

Furthermore, despite the moments of doctrinal specificity highlighted above, Gaurana's depiction of the Nātha siddhas is generic. Actual descriptions of the practices by which their supernatural powers are exerted and gained are few, and it would be difficult to produce a systematic account of their tradition, its teachings, and its texts. On the whole, they are just magical men, much like siddhas described elsewhere. Indeed, as the summary above details, the substance of Gaurana's work is not devoted to doctrine or detailing practices. Instead, Gaurana presents an interlocking set of stories that unravel in a fashion familiar from the *kathā* tradition.

Thus, the Navanāthacaritramu can certainly be read for the way it does and does not anticipate the identities and institutions claimed by the more recent and more established Nāth Sampradāya. But I would bracket these concerns and approach the text from outside the search for such parallels. This means moving beyond doctrinal gleanings to attend to the narrative interests of the text. From such a perspective, the text engages with wider tropes and poetics of representing yogis and siddhas. In particular, it circles around how these yogi siddhas, despite their ascetic commitments, come to be embroiled in worldly affairs. This entanglement arises in part from the perennial paradox of the yogic siddhis: Though they arise as a result of ascetic practice (usually) geared toward some soteriological end, these temporal powers may simultaneously distract the practitioner from their higher goals. The Navanāthacaritramu illuminates this tension clearly in the encounter between Gorakṣa and the Vīraśaiva leader Allama Prabhu. But, more typically, the work refracts this theme by narrating conflicts between siddha traditions and courtly culture. In so doing, the text offers a vision of both the possibilities and peril of ascetic sovereignty in the world.

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[29] Ondračka, "Perfected Body," 221-222.

A new work on an old theme?

In elaborating how ascetic practices and the consequent acquisition of siddhis may entrench spiritual adepts more deeply in the world, Gaurana has not struck upon a novel theme. Manuals on yoga from Patañjali's *Yogasūtras* onward acknowledge the tension between their soteriological ends and the very worldly powers granted by the siddhis gained in the course of rigorous practice. Yogis and others who practice the arts associated with siddhas may be classified as *mumukṣu* or *bubhukṣu*. Mumukṣus practice to gain liberation or *mokṣa* from the entanglements of worldly existence; bubhukṣus practice not for that ultimate goal but instead seek temporal power and pleasure (*bhoga*) in the world itself.[30] Within yogic traditions—including that of haṭhayoga—siddhis in the sense of supernatural capabilities are generally considered incidental and gained as a matter of course. More importantly, they are primarily an obstacle to the ultimate success—the mahāsiddhi—of liberation because the the power and pleasures they grant distract the yogi from that path. Furthermore, displaying siddhis may lead the yogi to attract disciples and thus become entangled in worldly affairs.[31] Manuals of the tantric traditions, on the other hand, generally promote the siddhis as ends in themselves. Thus, their practitioners tend to be bubhukṣu in their orientation. As exceptions, then, some Kaula-inflected haṭhayoga treatises—such as the *Khecarīvidyā* and *Śivasaṃhitā*—present this perspective on the siddhis.[32]

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[30] James Mallinson, "*Siddhi* and *Mahāsiddhi* in Early *Haṭhayoga*," chap. 12 in *Yoga Powers: Extraordinary capacities attained through meditation and concentration*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 328.

Despite celebrating the siddhis—and despite its protagonist Matsyendranātha's connection to Kaula traditions—the *Navanāthacaritramu* does not take the bubhukṣu perspective. So much can be seen in Gorakṣa's ultimate submission to Allama Prabhu, which appear to be the culmination and resolution of the mumukṣu-bubhukṣu conflict. The climax of their debate comes as they compare their bodily siddhis. Gorakṣa, for his part, boasts an adamantine body (*vajradeha*). He pushes Prabhurāya to put the power to the test with a live sword. The saint obliges and swings; the meeting of the blade and the body produces a deafening clang. Prabhurāya offers the sword in turn to Gorakṣa to probe his own corporeal powers. The siddha swings; the sword's edge meets nothing at all. In this, Prabhurāya reveals his ethereal—or, indeed, empty—body (*śūnyadeha*), displaying a pure ascetic achievement that the Nātha Gorakṣa could hardly imagine.[33] Though Gorakṣa's achievement is acknowledged—and even momentarily lauded by Prabhurāya and through Gaurana's figurative largesse—the Nātha's bodily perfection is shown to be wanting in a major way: It is still bound to the world of forms and wants. It is, Gorakṣa learns, only through knowledge of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) that one truly masters the metaphysical teachings of Śiva. Thus, in the end, Gorakṣa is shed of his final layer of pride and becomes the disciple of Allama, here figured as Śiva himself. And so, the Nāthas' tradition of acquiring siddhis is in a sense subsumed to Vīramāheśvara's teachings.

Still, ambiguity hangs around the siddhas' intentions: If temporal power is in the end deemed deficient, what do they seek? Despite their aversion to worldly gain, the siddhas do not fully take the

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31. Mallinson, "*Siddhi* and *Mahāsiddhi*," 328.

32. Ibid., 338.

33. The *Navanāthacaritramu* decidedly places the goal of an ethereal divine body outside of the basic goals of the Naths. This accords with the view of Nātha doctrine that Ondračka presents based on analysis of the Sanskrit corpus. See: Ondračka, "Perfected Body."

mumukṣu, marking the siddhis as practically worthless and even detrimental to a soteriological goal. Indeed, the work's narratives largely show the siddhis to be useful and good: Matsyendra, having come upon the mutilated Sāraṅgadhara, instructs the prince in yoga as a way to restore his body; the Nātha guru goes on heal (but not initiate into siddhahood) the maimed albeit deceitful brahman; the young brahman Meghanāda is given a new place in life after his parents' demise; Nāgārjuna's student attempts to turn Srisailam itself into a mountain of gold for his own renown but also to more widely distribute wealth in the world.

Further, the tradition displayed in the Navanāthacaritramu is not fundamentally averse to attracting and acquiring disciples. Such an aversion can be found in some early haṭhayogic texts like the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*.[34] But in Gaurana's text the Nātha siddhas are explicitly enjoined—first Matsyendra by Śiva himself, then the others by Matysendra—to spread their teachings and court disciples.

In this way, these siddhas with their siddhis are of the world. They do not singlemindedly strive for liberation. Even so, they do not fully orient themselves along bubhukṣu lines. To be sure, the siddhas' movements throughout the text are driven by their search for substances or suitable locales for their yogic practice. Yet they do not strive to deploy their powers for worldly gain, nor is there any indication that they, like the tantric sādhaka, strive after a profound enjoyment that simulates Śiva's divine play.[35] Rather, aside from expanding their powers as an end itself, the siddhas appear to be other-oriented. In each wondrous episode, Matsyendra and company restore another's health or wealth, or they showcase their siddhis to satisfy someone else's desires.

Sinister sovereigns

By and large, the beneficiaries of the siddhas' siddhis are kings. But in these *Navanātha* narratives, treachery typically requites the siddhas' kindness. Even as the siddhas engage their powers for the benefit of kings, these same kings prove themselves to be disloyal at best or—jealous of the siddhas' powers— murderously paranoid at their worst. Siddhas and kings cannot seem to get along. In this recurring conflict, the text refracts the old conflict between the mumukṣu and bubhukṣu perspectives into the figures of the siddha and the royal sovereign. The correspondence is not neat since, as I have suggested, the Nātha siddhas are not quite mumukṣu in their orientation. But, whatever the aims of the Nātha siddhas, they are generally incompatible with the orientations and attitudes of kings and courtiers.

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[34] Mallinson, "*Siddhi* and *Mahāsiddhi*," 328.

[35] Somadeva Vasudeva, "Powers and Identities: Yoga Powers and the Tantric Śaiva Traditions," chap. 10 in *Yoga Powers: Extraordinary capacities attained through meditation and concentration*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 288-289.

Relationships between kings and siddhas are a commonplace in Indian story literature and legend. But in such tales the siddhas largely sit in as suspicious characters. David White has recently argued that in the popular pan-Indic imagination the siddha yogi is fundamentally a "sinister yogi"—an adept who employs occult procedures to gain power and possession of others, but particularly those of royal courts.[36] Ronald Davidson has traced the siddha-king alliances in Indian story literature and argued that the siddha figure is somewhat more ambivalent: Here siddhas appear as adepts performing occult rituals to advance their powers and gain supernormal sovereignty. At times, kings appear to protect the siddha from the fiendish beings engaged in his occult rituals; in return, these princes receive from the siddhas magical swords that amplify their royal fortunes. In more disturbing scenarios, kings arrive on the scene to foil evil siddhas who require human (and often maiden) sacrifices for their dark rites. Even so, Davidson argues that the siddha is essentially "dubious" and "self-absorbed," while the princely figure always stands to secure the moral order.[37]

Exploring history and legend associated with Nātha siddhas in particular, Véronique Bouillier has traced more consistently congenial alliances between Nāths and kings in Himalayan kingdoms. While the siddhas are powerful allies precisely because of their siddhis, Bouillier suggests—based on the rituals performed by priests of the Nāth caste—that the siddhas primarily serve as mediating forces, granting kings a divine legitimacy through methods incompatible with brahmanical orthodoxy.[38] More to the point, the siddha and king are true collaborators, working toward the same end—*artha*, or power and prosperity. Thus, this relationship is distinct from that between the king and the brahman, which is oriented toward the maintainance of dharma.[39] And so, even while the siddha may no longer be dubious, he is nevertheless associated with the subjugation of occult forces and the self-interested acquisition of powers material and metaphysical.

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[36] See especially David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 1-37.

[37] Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 176-7.

[38] Véronique Bouillier, "Des prêtres du pouvoir: les yogīs et la fonction royale," in *Prêtrise, pouvoirs et autorité en*

Little of this is so in Gaurana's text, which inverts these models at every step. Even as the *Navanāthacaritramu* may agree that relations betweeen siddhas and kings are often fraught, it identifies a different source for the problem. The king's pursuit of power and pleasure is at every step deemed dangerous to path of the ascetic siddha. At best, it is simply disruptive or disappointing, as when princes are evaluated for discipleship. Beyond such questions of initiation, however, the siddha's outlook is much worse, and engaging with kings and courtiers can spell the siddha's ruin. Thus, Gaurana offers a portrait not of White's "sinister yogis" but a different class: the sinister sovereign.

Disloyalty and discipleship

The Sāraṅgadhara story is the first iteration of the problem. The conflict hinges on the excesses and decadence of royal life—pridefulness, deceit, and, overall, the disastrous effects of succumbing to one's passions. Even as Gaurana signals his partiality to courtly aesthetics through the southern hunting trope, he also (albeit quietly) invokes the themes of royal vice at the very opening to Sāraṅgadhara's story through the older resonances of the trope. More obvious traces of these kingly traits come with Rājanarendra's hasty and hateful decision to dismember the prince. In this, the prince is left for dead by the royal world, only to be rescued by the siddha Matsyendranātha's brand of compassion.

Yet the problem with kings and princes emerges most clearly after Sāraṅgadhara has been reinvented as the siddha Cauraṅgi. Not long after being initiated, the prince-turned-siddha still appears to hold on to his royal roots. Preoccupied with his new powers, he reneges on a vow so that he might

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Himalaya, ed. Véronique Bouillier and Gérard Toffin, vol. 12, Collection Puruṣārtha (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1989), 193–213.

[39] Véronique Bouillier, "The King and his Yogī: Prithvi Nārāyaṇ Śāh, Bhagavantanāth and the Unification of Nepal in the Eighteenth Century," in *Gender, Caste, and Power in South Asia: Social Status and Mobility in a Transitional Society* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1991), 16.

luxuriate in his siddhis. Gaurana underscores this the theme with an ironic detail: The siddhi that precipitates the prince's promise breaking is precisely that of *vāksiddhi*, through which the speaker is always truthful insofar as reality conforms to their speech. The power presents itself accidently in the wake of the prince Sārangadhara's yogic evolution.[40] Recently initiated as Cauraṅgi, the yogi—out and about—idles at a crossroads. He encounters a traveling pepper merchant. Simply curious, Cauraṅgi asks the merchant what he is carrying. The merchant, mistaking the siddha for a tax-collector lies and says he is hauling grain. Unsuspecting and thus satisfied by the answer, Cauraṅgi confirms the answer aloud and the merchant goes on his way. But, when the merchant reaches his destination and prepares to present his goods, he finds, much to his surprise, that he is carrying grain. He understands that the fellow he met perched on a rock at the crossroads was not a tax-collector but some semi-divine person; he returns to Cauraṅgi, informs him of what happened, and asks him to pronounce his goods pepper again. In this way, the prince-turned-siddha begins to understand that he is a siddha and the vāksiddhi in particular is presented. Having discovered the power quite by accident, the newly-limbed yogi Cauraṅgi comes to wonder what other powers he might possess. Now, after his regeneration had been completed and Matsyendra had completed his yogic instruction and initiation, Cauraṅgi was told to await the return of the cowherd who had, with unfailing diligence, keep the yogis supplied and fed with the choicest milk. When that cowherd arrived, Cauraṅgi was to reward him with a comprehensive yogic initiation and instruction. However, the now curious Cauraṅgi decides to abandon his post—ordered by his guru Matsyendranātha—and explore the extent of his abilities.

But it is precisely at this moment that Cauraṅgi's princely identity—seemingly shed not so long ago—makes itself felt once again. Gaurana narrates: "Cauraṅgi realized that he possessed supernormal powers of speech; wondering what other powers he had received and being a kṣatriya, he arrogantly broke the promise he'd made . . ."[41] Between his transformation and this dereliction of duty, the prince had received the his initiation name Cauraṅgi and been referred to as "foremost of the siddhas"

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[40] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 98-99.

[41] Ibid., 99: *vāksiddhi cauraṃgi tanakuṁ/ galguṭa yĕriṁgi takkaṭi siddhulĕllaṁ/ galigĕn aṭaṃcuṁ dā kṣatriyuṃḍ agucuṁ/ jesina paṃtamuṁ jĕṟaci garvamuna/* . . .

(*siddhamukhyuṁḍu*). But at this moment, the poet reminds of us the siddha's royal past. The moment suggests that, even if the prince is cast out of the kingdom, the kingdom—or better, kingliness—cannot be cast out of the prince.

Crucially, the prince as a kṣatriya—a congenital member of the kingly class—is driven by *garva*, pride or arrogance. This quality—clustered with impetuousness and undo submission to the passions—is already linked to the kingly class in the Navanāthacaritramu. Indeed, it is the same set of qualities that drove Cauraṅgi's father the king to exact such a terrible punishment on his own son.

That the problem is narrowly constricted to Cauraṅgi's kṣatriya background is confirmed when Mīnanātha runs into Cauraṅgi, the latter at the end of his self-involved supernormal adventure. Upon learning that his first disciple had disregarded his command, the Nātha guru dresses down the erstwhile prince:

> If you put a neem seed in the ground,
> does it wonderously grow—bringing such joy—
> into mango tree so sweet and lovely?
> Construct a watering-trench with camphor, fill a golden
> vessel with good water and—pouring it in—
> does an onion grow nicely and lose its earlier odor
> and spread the scent of a flowering tree?

Here Matsyendra suggests that it is simply natural for this type—the kṣatriya—to be prideful, hasty, and therefore undependable. And, no matter the dressing they adopt—even, that is, if you remake them as an ascetic siddha—they will seemingly always be so.

More precisely, we might say that Sāraṅgadhara keeps one eye on pleasure-seeking because he does not intentionally give up his royal identity. Thus, he still appears to have one eye set on pleasure-seeking. Rather, he is involuntarily cast out of his courtly world, and he does not seek Matsyendra specifically, nor does he seek the ascetic or siddha lifestyles. He is instead found, the beneficiary of Matysendra's compassion. Had he not crossed Citrāṅgi and met with such a cruel fate, it is not clear that he would have had the motivation or opportunity to join Matysendra's band. And, moreover, Gaurana reveals nothing of Sāraṅgadhara's motivations until Matsyendra leaves and the new siddha becomes fascinated by his powers. If anything, he seems first to have desired succor from his mutilated condition, and, once a siddha, self-satisfaction in his powers. In this, Cauraṅgi offers an image of the bubhukṣu siddha.

This image is reduplicated faintly in the dying deceitful purohit at the end of the fourth canto. Though he is a brahman, he is also a courtier; and like prince Sāraṅgadhara, he, too, desires succor. But where Sāraṅgadhara was a rather passive victim and patient, the brahman is more active. His whole tale speaks to his commitment to personal gratification. The drive does not subside even as he is about to die. So, he asks not just for healing but for initiation so that he might enjoy the corporeal privileges of the siddha. Matsyendra denies the request, citing the the brahman's bad conduct (*durśīla*) as the cause. In the brahman, the drive for personal gain appears obscene; but the difference is largely one of degree.

The importance of renunciation and Sāraṅgadhara's exceptionality are apparent in the face of the other princes who leave behind courtly life. Among them, Sāraṅgadhara is the only one who does not expressly renounce his royal heritage. The other two princes—Virūpākṣa and Nāgārjuna— are initiated by Matsyendra in spite of the guru's reservations. However, unlike Sāraṅgadhara, they come to Matsyendra willingly and, indeed, seek him out. Their intentions are made clear as Matsyendra voices his suspicions about kings and they respond with open explanations. For instance, Nāgārjuna, who is released from a curse through contact with Matsyendra, expresses his desire to join the siddha company. Matsyendra hesitates, questioning Nāgārjuna's commitment given his royal prerogatives. But Nāgārjuna explains that, being in the presence of the master siddha has driven his mind away from the pleasures of the royal life and would rather live as an ascetic devoted to his guru. Matsyendra is dubious still. But Nāgārjuna's words prove enough for Matsyendra's father Śiva himself, who appears on the scene and, quite pleased, commands Matsyendra to bring Nāgārjuna into the tradition.[42] This exchange is reduplicated later, when Nāgārjuna's student Ātreya is approached by a dispossessed prince.

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[42] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 173.

The erstwhile first asks that Ātreya use his siddhis to restore his kingdom and his wealth. But when the siddha hesitates, the prince expresses a desire to give up his royal claims and become a siddha. However, Ātreya discerns that the prince's decision derives from his being discouraged with his circumstances and not a real indifference to royal life.[43] Thus, the siddha refuses to initiate the king but does oblige the original request with some qualifications (discussed below). In this way, princes must prove their indifference to courtly contentment to be deemed fit for the siddha life.

The bubhukṣu courtier stands in contrast to the steadfast cowherd who is to be transformed from mere devotee to the famed Gorakṣanātha, seminal figure to the Nātha tradition. From the very beginning of their engagement, Matysendra praises the cowherd for the utter consistency of his devotion. This quality is praised again at the cowherd's initiation. Here his constancy is framed as a transferable skill. As Matysendra gives the cowherd the name by which he will achieve immortal fame, he explains: ". . . and since you, deliberating in wisdom, ward the cattle of the senses without letting them wander, I give you the fine name of Gorakṣa [the cowherd]."[44] Being a cowherd, according to Matysendra, is precisely the yogi's employment. This sets Goraksa above the ksatriya-turned-siddha Caurangi from the start. Where a courtier may be wont to let his passions run untamed, the pastoralist is precisely practiced in keeping the senses in check. It is this ability that makes the cowherd the preferred disciple.

But even as the poem seems to privilege the pastoralist, Gorakṣa stands as the only disciple who is neither a kṣatriya nor a brahman. Still, he finds a kind of double in the brahman minister Prabuddha. When Matsyendra possesses the body of Prabuddha's king, the minister does not take advantage of the situation. Rather, recognizing the siddha for the great yogi he is, Prabuddha faithfully renders his services to Matsyendra. He then abandons his courtly life to follow Mīnanātha and his yogi band.

In this, the quality of unwavering devotion to the guru and a corresponding commitment to the ascetic life emerge as foundation of discipleship. However, these principles, the narratives show, are often incompatible with the drives and expectations of courtly life. Thus, the new initiate must have authentically and explicitly rejected the orientations and aspirations associated with courtly life or, as in the case of Gorakṣa, he must already be outside of them.

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[43] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 238.

[44] Ibid., 112: *buddhilopalaṁ dalaposi ĕppu/ḍedigĕdu govala niṃdriyaṃbulanu/ vadalaka rakṣiṃcuvāṁḍu gāvunanu/ accuga gorakṣuṁḍaniyĕḍi nāma / miccitin . . .*

Perilous princes

Beyond the difficulty of making disciples of courtly folk, the narratives also elaborate problems faced by siddhas who might simply associate with royal powers. In this, just as kings prove to be difficult disciples, they also appear as poor—if not treacherous—allies. This largely stems from the self-interested pursuit of power and pleasure that makes them poor ascetics. This pursuit, as Bouillier has shown, is not in itself problematic, and it proves a common cause of siddhas and kings in the materials she has studied. However, in the *Navanāthacaritramu*, kings often see the siddha as a competitor rather than a collaborator in the quest for fortune.

These themes come to the forefront in the stories of Gorakṣa's and Nāgārjuna's students. These siddhas express again and again their deep suspicion of and disappointment in the kingly class. The siddhas nevertheless still offer up themselves and their powers for the benefit of kings and their kingdoms. But save for the king Tyāganāgārjuna, the sovereigns prove themselves to be not just greedy and disloyal but hostile and deceitful.

On the whole kings simply desire that the siddhas work for their own pleasure. But here the kings show themselves to be dishonest and murderous. The theme is first elaborated in the story of Vyāḷi and his powerful herbal techniques. The siddha fundamentally distrusts the king, but ultimately agrees to share the method with the ruler indirectly through the royal ministers. Even so, the king decides to betray the siddha's confidence and let him die in the vat of boiling oil. No explanation is given of the king's decision. Thus, the story offers only a bleak view of the kingly corruption. Furthermore, in the royal ministers we glimpse a dark reflection of earlier portrayals of loyalty to one's master.

While Gorakkuḍu's tale finds the siddha alive at the end, the king is no better. In contrast to Vyāḷi's tale, kingly corruption has its roots in royal greed. Seeing that the siddha possesses perfect powers of acquisition in his *ākarṣaṇasiddhi*, the king imagines that Gorakkuḍu also desires to acquire things. And so, he becomes jealous and seeks to eliminate the yogi. In this, the king sees Gorakkuḍu precisely as the sinister yogi competitor rather than the disinterested ascetic that he is. Gorakkuḍu, after thwarting the king's assassins, makes clear the king's foolishness in baselessly creating enmity between siddhas and kings where there could be friendship.[45]

These themes come to a subtle and arresting conclusion in the story of Goraṇṭakuḍu, said to be another disciple of Gorakṣa. Here the siddha himself is used—in fact, sacrificed—for the king Kṛṣṇakandāra's sake. The siddha allows himself to be, in a sense, interred in the Śiva temple that plugs the chasm to the underworld ripped into the earth at the king's command.[46] In the course of this final tale emerges a dark image of royal power's inherent contradictions.

This awful eventuality descends from a cascade put in motion by royal desire. Recalling the summary above, the story of Kṛṣṇakandāra and Goraṇṭakuḍu opens with the king lusting after the wife of another. He does not pursue the woman, fully recognizes the desire as adharmic, and duly seeks a means of expiation. But this initial act is followed by the king's horrible illness. Though not explicitly acknowledged as such, the illness's narrative proximity to these events suggests that it may be a further consequence of his initial misstep. Seeking some diversion in spite of his disease, the king finds himself in the forest; there he bathes in a reservoir that cures his sickness. Recognizing it as powerful site, the king subsequently seeks to claim it and orders a public works project to expand the reservoir and channel its waters to his city. Thus, despite seeking to maintain some dharmic order, the king nevertheless displays the basic royal drive for acquisition.

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[45] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 262.

[46] There is here, perhaps, a faint image of the Nāth yogi samādhi. Véronique Bouillier has elaborated the affinities between Nāthas, their samādhis, and the underworld. Goraṇṭakuḍu's tale calls to mind some of these themes, particularly in that the temple in which he is sealed plugs a hole to the underworld of snakes (*nāgaloka*). However, there is no indication that the siddha enters a profound yogic state. On the significance of the Nāthas and their samādhis, see: Véronique Bouillier, "Grottes et tombes: les affinités des Nāth Yogīs avec le monde souterrain," *Rivista di Studi Sudasiatici* 3 (2008): 33–48. Another image appears in the story of Nāgārjuna's student Ātreya. At the tale's end, the assassinated siddha is mourned by his devotee, the king newly named Tyāganāgārjuna. The king has the siddha's head placed in a cave which is subsequently sealed with a large rock. These sites, as Bouillier has noted for the Himalayan region, are intimately associated with the establishment of royal claims and kingdoms. On this point, see: Bouillier, "Des prêtres du pouvoir," 198.

But this royal drive comes with a cost. In the course of the king's project, the workers breach the underworld and provoke the deity of the reservoir who demands human sacrifice to restore the reservoir's waters. In the end, the king proves willing to sacrifice his own people to maintain and replenish the site. While the king's ambivalent—and at times impure—position as both an agent of social order and of violence has been an object of attention and critique, the king Kṛṣṇakandāra in spite of himself sets his sovereign force on his own people. His subjects fear for their lives, planning escape or revolt. And, before offering himself as the sacrifice the siddha Goraṇṭakuḍu plainly critiques the king's endeavors: "O King, in killing many people as they wail—/ so that waters might stand here again: what reward/ comes to you through such a cruel act?/ When you imagine the dharma of a world-protector, is this it?"[47] Here the royal prerogative to pleasure and expansion is not simply depicted as the root of greed and deceit. Worse, it is shown to be fundamentally at odds with the imperative to safeguard the realm.

Where the king cannot, the siddha steps in. In this, the siddha's self-sacrifice is for the others who would have suffered at the king's hand. And, further, his act serves—quite literally—to restore the foundation and prosperity of Kṛṣṇakandāra's realm. It is important to note that the king himself does not seek the siddha's help, nor does he express hostility toward the siddha. He is not a sinister sovereign in the manner of the earlier episodes' treacherous kings. And, moreover, the siddha and the king ultimately emerge here as collaborators, with Goraṇṭakuḍu enlisting the king for part of the restorative procedures. But this does not remove the problem. Thus, even when the king is renowned for his nobility, his endeavors may contradict his obligations to his people.

And so, royal power is cast as inherently self-oriented. In certain models of kingship, this poses no problem: The king's personal pleasure and prosperity ramify throughout his realm. But in its final tale, the *Navanāthacaritramu* draws out the potential contradictions of this model and offers an alternative image of sovereignty. It is the sovereignty possessed by the ascetic siddha. This is not to be confused with the aims popularly ascribed to sinister siddhas seeking to be sword-wielding, *vidyādhara* masters of the world. That model is merely a hypertrophic image of royal power. What Matsyendra and company promote and privilege is *yogasāmrājyamu* or yogic sovereignty. Such sovereignty seems to seek power but nonetheless shows disinterest in the direct enjoyment of it. In this way, it is not self-oriented. On the contrary, it is purely generous and benevolent; and it proffers prosperity even at the siddha's expense.

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[47] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 278.

Only the episode of Nāgārjuna's student Ātreya proposes a model of productive and mutually beneficial relations between siddhas and kings. For one, as I mentioned above, if the king cannot authentically renounce his royal identity, he must be rejected as a disciple and practitioner of the siddha tradition. Even so, the king may benefit from the siddha's powers. He may even gain his kingdom with the siddha's help. However, the ruler must nonetheless reform his royal persona. This we see in Ātreya's two conditions for restoring the king's fortunes: First, the king must position himself as the siddha's protector. Second, he must—as his renaming reveals—recast himself as a kind of devotee of the siddha's tradition.[48] Siddhas demand this devotional posturing from kings elsewhere, too, as in the case of both Vyāḷi and Gorakkuḍu who only deal with a king once he has shown the proper deference.

The narrative shows such a process to be difficult albeit not entirely impossible. But the shift is complicated by the fact that the model seems to reimagine the whole social order. And, underlying these two requirements is the further condition that this new social order—made possible by the powers of siddhas—be acceptable. To be sure, Ātreya's attempt to transmute the whole of Srisailam into pure gold is largely driven by a quest for great fame (*bhūrikīrti*).[49] In this regard, the siddha's intent does not exhibit the disinterest demanded by his tradition. Explaining why he foiled the plot, Viṣṇu makes this point clear when he says: "Racked with egotism, he [Ātreya] pursued an improper action."[50] But, more fundamentally, Viṣṇu explains that such a surfeit of gold would disrupt the economic and hierarchical ordering of society: Taking what they will, lowly folk will become kings and social bonds premised on the gift (*pratigrahadānamukhyadharmaṃbulu*) will be undone.[51] The siddha has no problem with this: He is uninterested is in wealth as such and is generally oriented toward generosity. This latter aspect is highlighted in the king's new name, which references this quality—*tyāga* or generosity—explicitly. But this is to no avail. Accordingly, the god killed the siddha to maintain proper order of the world. At every step, then, the siddha models of sovereignty are rendered inconceivable.

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[48] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 238-239.
[49] Ibid., 234.
[50] Ibid., 246: . . . *ataṁḍahaṃkāra/ kalituṁḍai yanucitakarmaṃbu pūnĕ*.

Siddhas, Srisailam, and the Bhikṣāvṛtti maṭha

Given this portrait of siddhas and their brand of ascetic power, how might the Navanāthacaritramu have fit into the larger religious and literary culture of Srisailam? On this point, I have so far suggested some things the Navanāthacaritramu is likely not—or not quite. First, though it includes the story of Goraksa's debate with Allama Prabhurāya in part to celebrate the preeminence of the Vīramāheśvara tradition, it is not a clearly Vīramāheśvara work. Similarly, while we might find evidence of a nascent Nāth Sampradāya in Gaurana's work, simply reading it as a text about the Sampradāya ignores the better part of its content. Perhaps, as Somasekharasarma states, the text may evince the presence of a Nātha cult in Andhra.[52] However, the only grounds ever adduced for this claim are Gaurana's work and Jakkana's using the nine Nāthas as standards of comparison.

Nonetheless, the narrative interests of the Navanāthacaritramu do resonate with the religious and political world of Srisailam in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Specifically, in ruminating on the political potential of ascetics, the text impels us to consider the place of Gaurana's patron, the ascetic potentate Muktiśānta, and the Bhikṣāvṛtti maṭha over which he held sway. Two points are most important in this regard. First, the interest in ascetic power points to what appear to have been the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas' rising political fortunes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; thus, the rāyas emerge in this period as not just patrons of literature and other arts, but potentates holding significant political, economic, and perhaps even military power in the greater Srisailam region. Second, in their role as patrons, the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas initiated major construction projects. Chief among these were the narrative reliefs carved into the massive *prākāra* or walls that surround the complex's Mallikārjuna temple. Stories of ascetics and siddhas predominate on the walls and, I would suggest, speak to a larger project to highlight and promote Srisailam's association with siddha culture. Thus, the Navanāthacaritramu participates in this larger celebration of siddha traditions—if not necessarily siddha practices—under the aegis of Bhikṣāvṛtti power.

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[51] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*, 246.

[52] Somasekharasarma, *Reddi Kingdoms*, 239.

Over the centuries, Srisailam has been home to many maṭhas affiliated with a variety of Śaiva sects. The Bhikṣāvṛtti maṭhas behind Gaurana's work enter the epigraphical record in the middle of the fourteenth century, though they were likely present at the century's beginning.[53] Because the leaders left few textual traces beyond those available in epigraphical materials and poetic prologues, their doctrinal affiliations remain unclear. Some have suggested they were Śaiva Siddhāntin since the Bhiksāvṛtti leaders adopted, as Cynthia Talbot as shown, the titles of Goḷaki maṭha Saiva Siddhantin ascetics who served as gurus and preceptors to kings in Andhra.[54] Despite this nominal institutional heritage, there is no direct evidence that the Bhikṣāvṛtti ascetics affiliated with Śaiva Siddhāntin lineages.

Scholarly consensus has so far taken the further step of declaring the order to be a Vīraśaiva one.[55] Most recently, Elaine Fisher has argued that the Bhikṣāvṛtti order was a less prolific "cousin" to the better known Ārādhya lineages, the brahmanical wing of Vīramāheśvara tradition.[56] While the textual evidence is not robust on this point, there is more than in the Śaiva Siddhānta case. Gaurana's eulogy of Muktiśānta offers two epithets that are associated with the much remarked upon zealousness of the Vīraśaivas: First, Muktiśānta holds the title of "crusher of the king Bijjala's pride"—a reference to the enmity between the Śaiva bhaktas led by Basava and Bijjala, ruler of Kalyāṇa. Second, he is depicted as a scourge to Śvetāmbara Jains.[57] The other major work to recognize Muktiśānta as a patron is Śrīnātha's *Śivarātrimāhātmyamu*. This text includes more explicit references to the Vīraśaiva tradition. However, the connection is, again, somewhat indirect and requires further explication. Typically, Muktiśānta is taken as the Vīraśaiva patron of the work, but this is not quite accurate. In contrast to the Navanāthacaritramu, Śrīnātha's poem rests on two layers of patronage. Muktiśānta here sits as the pre-eminent figure and potentate who sets the fundamental conditions for the work's creation. But he is here only the prime mover. Desirous of hearing Śaiva stories, he orders his disciple and foremost servant (*mūlabhṛtuṁḍu*), a certain Mummaḍi Deva Śāntayya, to commission a literary work.[58] This Śāntayya is Śrīnātha's immediate patron. Now, in this text Muktiśānta is still not directly labeled a Vīramāheśvara. On the other hand, several of Mummaḍi Devayya Śāntayya's progenitors—including his father—are praised for their commitment to the Vīramāheśvara tradition.[59] Thus, even if their own Vīramāheśvara commitments remain ambiguous, the early Bhikṣāvṛtti leader Muktiśānta certainly maintained close relations with leading Vīraśaiva figures.

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[53] Prabhavati C. Reddy, *Hindu Pilgrimage: Shifting patterns of worldview of Shrī Shailam in South India* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 132-135

[54] Cynthia Talbot, "Gōḷaki Matha Inscriptions from Andhra Pradesh: A Study of a Śaiva Monastic Lineage," in *Vajapeya: Essays on Evolution of Indian Art and Culture (Prof. K. D. Bajpai felicitation volume)*, ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri, R. K. Sharma, and Agam Prasad, vol. 1 (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1987), 133–146.

[55] Reddy, *Hindu Pilgrimage: Shifting patterns of worldview of Shrī Shailam in South India*, 133. P. V. Parabrahma Sastry, *Srisailam: Its History and Cult* (Hyderabad: Privately published, 1985), 41-45.

[56] Fisher, "Translating Vīraśaivism," 19.

Beyond the Śaiva affiliations, the crucial element of the Bhikṣāvṛttirāya's religious profile is his status as a leading ascetic with kingly virtues. While nowhere called a Vīraśaiva or the like, he does receive from Śrīnātha the title of "lord of ascetics" (*yatīśvaruṁḍu*). Gaurana's prologue paints a more detailed picture. As I have mentioned, there are traces of a Vīramāheśvara connection. But overall Muktiśānta emerges as an ascetic and a potentate. While Gaurana does not also designate Muktiśānta as *yatīśvaruṁḍu*, he nonetheless describes the ascetic as just such a leader. He is a guru who offers Śaiva initiation; he is another manifestation of Śiva himself; and he is the ultimate resource for yogins. As a political figure, he possesses first of all, according to Gaurana, skill in *nīti* (right conduct): This is a stereotypical but no less necessary attribute. But Gaurana highlights his political prominence more forcefully by praising the Bhikṣāvṛtti ruler for his virtuosity at carrying out the work of sovereignty (*samrājyabhāranirvāhakapraudhi*); and, furthermore, he is a leader among leaders, his commands being honored by good kings (*nṛpavarasvīkṛtanijaśāsanuṃḍu*). Finally, Muktiśānta's ascetic and political faces are fused as Gaurana lauds the *yatīśvara* as one who, through his own magnificent ascetic power, safeguards the delights of all ladies and kings of the Karṇāta country (*baṃdhuranijatapobalaviśeṣānusaṃdhānarakṣitasakalakarnāṭamaṃḍalādhīśaramāvilāsuṃḍu*). And so, he figures as a potentate over and above the others in the region by virtue of a superiority that is simultaneously spiritual and political.

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[57] Gaurana, *Navanāthacaritra*.

[58] Śivarātrimāhātmyamu 1.18.

[59] Śivarātrimāhātmyamu 1.19. Here the first forefather mentioned, one Mallikārjuna Yogi, is praised as possessing the qualities of celebrated devotees in the Vīramāheśvara tradition like Karikāḷa Coḷa and Basava. See also 1.28: Śāntayya's father, Mummaḍi Devayya, is praised for his ceaseless engagement with the "pure Vīraśaiva path."

This eulogistic image mirrors in some ways what little can be gleaned from those inscriptions that feature Bhikṣāvṛtti leaders like Muktiśānta. Indeed, the order of maṭhas emerges as one that achieved an increasingly eminent political profile in Srisailam and southern India. While the poets' representations described above are among the earliest sources for Bhikṣāvṛtti, a Telugu inscription from Srisailam dated to 1448 CE finds Muktiśānta as the head of the Bhikṣāvṛtti maṭha and the general administrator for Srisailam. In particular here, he is said to have met with the leaders of the Vīrabalañja traders from fifty-six neighboring towns to determine their gifts and taxes to be given to the temple during the Śivarātri festival.[60] The inscription introduces Muktiśānta as presiding over the precedings, precisely as a local ruler, sitting on Srisailam's lion-throne in ascetic sovereignty (*muktiśāntabhikṣāvṛttiayyaṃgāru śrīśailasamayasiṃhāsanamaṃḍu taporā-jyaṃ seyucuṃḍḍagānu*).

This political preeminence appears to have grown—albeit with a changed character—through Muktiśānta's successors. An inscription in Sanskrit and Telugu dated to 1512/13 CE features a figure named King Liṅga.[61] This Liṅga is repeatedly presented as "the son of the *rāya* Śānta" and in the lineage of Bhikṣāvṛtti. The Sanskrit inscription, in fact, amounts to a praśasti of Liṅga and it eulogizes him using the rhetorical arsenal of Sanskrit poetics. In this, his epigraphical portrait is richer than that of Muktiśānta, who gains his most luminous representation in the Navanāthacaritramu. Beyond the distinct rhetorical shape of Liṅga's *praśasti*, the image that emerges also lacks the celebration of ascetic power. To be sure, Liṅga is a king and patron in the richest senses that the tropes allow us to imagine. But this itself marks a departure. He is a consummate ruler certainly and adept in intellectual and theological disciplines, much like Muktiśānta. He is also explicitly a supporter of Vīraśaiva devotees (*jaṅgamas*) and holds titles alluding to his ferocity in the face of Bijjala and Jains, signaling his possession of Vīramāheśvara zeal. But he is not cast as a yogin or religious preceptor; he is a devotee and a supporter of other devotees. Further, he is said to exemplify values of martial valor where Muktiśānta does not. This aspect of Liṅga's identity is seemingly corroborated by the *Velugoṭivārivaṃśāvaḷī*, which references a militia maintained by Liṅgayya and its being defeated by a Vijayanagara lieutenant.[62] Thus Muktiśānta's Srisailam kingdom, seemingly maintained only through his ascetic eminence, appears to have transformed into—or been more explicitly recognized at least—as a realm also maintained through the usual military means.

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[60] Parabrahma Sastry, *Srisailam: Its History and Cult*, 141-145. Parabrahma Sastry cites the text he prints as inscription number 40 from the 1915 Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy.

[61] Ibid., 168-171.

It is possible that this slight shift in the character of rule was driven in part by a change in character of the rulers. It is, in fact, ambiguous as to which of the Śāntas Liṅga has for a father. The reference is ambiguous since two Śāntas stand in the Bhikṣāvṛtti lineage at this time. Given what Śrīnātha tells us, there are both Mukti Śānta, the ascetic potentate, and another—his eponymous chief disciple, Śānta the son of Mummaḍi Devayya and Śrīnātha's patron. Prabhavati Reddy claims on the basis of the *Śivarātrimāhātmyamu* that the Muktiśānta had actually passed the rule of Srisailam on to Mummaḍi Devayya and then his son Śānta.[63] In my reading, Śrīnātha's text is not quite clear on this point and, as I have suggested already, still features Muktiśānta as the preeminent figure. However, the second Śānta does stand in a privileged position. And this shift away from emphasizing the ascetic identity of the Srisailam ruler may be coincide with the grafting of Mummaḍi Devayya Śānta's non-ascetic persona into the lineage of Bhikṣāvṛtti.

Ultimately, however, the genealogical and lineage matters must remain unsettled for now, even as the power and geographical reach of the Bhikṣāvṛtti becomes even clearer. Other inscriptions mention further Bhikṣāvṛtti maṭhas—namely Kadali Bhikṣāvṛtti and a Siddha Bhikṣāvṛtti maṭha. These texts corroborate the political importance of Bhikṣāvṛtti from the fourteenth into the sixteenth century, but they also introduce other figures; and the relationships—of kinship, initiation, or even identity—between these figures and those discussed above remain obscure.[64] The later sixteenth century also finds Bhikṣāvṛtti with an epigraphical presence beyond Srisailam and into what is now Karnataka.[65]

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[62] N. Veṅkaṭaramanayya, ed., *Vĕlugotivāri Vaṃśāvaḻi* (Madras: University of Madras, 1939), 80.
[63] Reddy, *Hindu Pilgrimage: Shifting patterns of worldview of Shrī Shailam in South India*, 133.

While the full picture is obscure, Bhikṣāvṛtti's configuration of ascetic and military powers is at least suggestive of the problems articulated in the *Navanāthacaritramu*. The depiction of Muktiśānta as a yogin and an ascetic potentate parallels the references to Mīnanātha and Gorakṣanātha's maintaining a yogic kingdom (*yogasāṃrājyamu*). But the subsequent shift away from the celebration of ascetic power as such echoes the *Navanāthacaritramu's* apparent cynicism about the viability of a truly ascetic-led kingdom. Scholars have so far noted the political importance of temples and sectarian leaders. But these latter have largely been seen as political intermediaries that complement and even undergird the power of martial kings.[66] The maṭha in particular, as Valerie Stoker has shown, becomes a crucial site of religious patronage and imperial expansion under the Vijayanagara empire that rose to preeminence in southern India in precisely this period. In connection with their political importance, she highlights the ways that maṭha potentates served diplomatic functions while also adopting the accoutrements of royalty.[67] Much of this scholarship—at least for southern India—tends nevertheless to see these maṭha and temple leaders as operating primarily in the religious and intellectual domains without fully participating in the activities of rule. However, the epigraphical evidence for the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas suggests a deeper engagement in the work of rule. They clearly developed a kind of courtly identity. Moreover, the roles that Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas seem to have played and the models of ascetic power presented in the Navanāthacaritramu suggests that relationships between temple institutions and courts were not always congenial or complementary; and similarly, when monastic leaders adopted the symbols of royalty, they may have participated more fully in the activities of rule than has so far been imagined.

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[64] Reddy, *Hindu Pilgrimage: Shifting patterns of worldview of Shrī Shailam in South India*, 132-133.

[65] For a survey of these inscriptions, all of which mention potentates affiliated with Siddha Bhikṣāvṛtti, see: G. Kamalakar, "Art and architecture of Renāṇḍu, Cuddapah District, Andhra Pradesh : from the 7th century A.D. to 16th century A.D." (PhD diss., Nagarjuna University, 1984), 63-64.

[66] Appadurai, "Kings, Sects, and Temples."

[67] Stoker, "*Darbār, maṭha, devasthānam*."

Further, as potentates—even overlords—at Srisailam, the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas did not just serve an administrative function. They also acted as patrons for infrastructural, architectural, and artistic projects at the complex. Their standing as patrons of literary production has been discussed above. They also backed irrigation projects in the region. And, most of all, they were patrons to projects for the ornamentation and beautification of Srisailam. Their commissioning the reliefs on the prākāra is among the most striking of these. And, beyond simply representing the extent of their rule, it seems like that the artistic character of the prākāra—much like that of the *Navanāthacaritramu*—corroborates some characteristics of Bhikṣāvṛtti rule.

In particular, the range of narrative traditions present on the prākāra seem to signal an attempt at erecting a larger, more ecumenical domain over which the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas might rule. The reliefs on the Mallikārjuna temple's prākāra depict a variety of Śaiva, ascetic, and siddha motifs. Most studies have traced parallels between the reliefs and evidence from material culture and textual tradition, often noting parallels between the reliefs and narratives available in Gaurana's work.[68] While the precise relation between Gaurana's work and the reliefs remains to be seen, the reliefs are by most accounts later than the *Navanāthacaritramu*. Consequently, Gaurana's text has been used to help identify and interpret these visual works. For understanding the prākāra in its own time and place, this strategy may prove more fruitful than making reference to texts from outside the region. However, even the move to Gaurana's text ought to proceed with care. As the art historical research has shown, the prākāra project has a much wider scope than the *Navanāthacaritramu*, one that extends to a much larger body of lore on ascetics and esoteric adepts. And, given that Srisailam has long been associated with ascetic and esoteric activities, we cannot presume that the prākāra narratives descend directly from Gaurana's elaborations. Indeed, the plastic and poetic representations may just have shared some common ancestor or set thereof. Nevertheless, a detailed comparison of the plastic and poetic narratives is desirable but must await further study.

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[68] For a study focused particularly on Srisailam's siddha iconography, see: Richard Shaw, "Srisailam: Centre of the Siddhas," *South Asian Studies* 13, no. 1 (1997): 161–178. Rob Linrothe examines Srisailam's siddha narratives with special reference to Buddhist and Tibetan sources. See: Rob Linrothe, "Siddha Stories in Stone: Nath Narratives at Shri Sailam," *Orientations* 37, no. 2 (2006): 99–105. Only Prabhavati Reddy makes direct use of the Navanāthacaritramu in her research. On the prākāra, see: Prabhavati C. Reddy, "The Narrative Art of the Śrīśailam Prākāra: A Visual Purāṇa," *Artibus Asiae* 68, no. 1 (2008): 57–99, ISSN: 00043648, `http://www.jstor.org/stable/25261888`.

Beyond the narrative parallels, some scholars have sought to uncover the political and religious motivations behind the prākāra's wide-ranging representations. Richard Shaw has suggested that similarities between the depictions of Śaiva ascetics across the temples at Srisailam, Sringeri, and Hampi/Vijayanagara speak to ecumenical attitudes of the Vijayanagara imperial patrons. Focusing on sectarian dynamics within Srisailam itself, Prabhavati Reddy engages epigraphical and literary materials from the region. According to Sanskrit and Telugu inscription from 1512 discussed above, these sculptures appear to have been commissioned in the early sixteenth century by the king Liṅgayya.[69] Reddy claims that his sectarian affiliations are reflected in the art he commissioned: Specifically, she argues that the prākāra comprises a "visual Purāṇa" that presents a more inclusive vision of the site's Śaiva history as compared to that presented in the textual purāṇa/māhātmya tradition, which favors the brahmanical traditions of the complex's Bhramarāmba temple.[70]

I would follow Reddy in seeing the aesthetic projects commissioned by the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas as a deliberate celebration of the power and significance of the non-brahmanical if not esoteric traditions of Srisailam. But, based on the panegyric profile sketched above, I would also emphasize the apparent inclusiveness of the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas' vision. Thus, I would take literally Śrīnātha's declaration that the Muktiśānta and Mummaḍi Devayya Śānta were simply interested in Śaiva stories. In this light, the work commissioned by Liṅgayya is not—contrary to what Reddy's characterization of him as a zealous Vīraśaiva devotee might suggest—solely Vīraśaiva. Indeed, the prākāra may represent a much bigger and comprehensive tent imagined by the Bhikṣāvṛtti rulers for south Indian Śaiva traditions.

Moreover, the ascetic and siddha tropes also give visual expression to the ascetic power that we have seen Bhikṣāvṛtti claim elsewhere and which Shaw's multi-site study of prākāra finds other temple complexes claiming as well. This may have been especially significant in a religious and political landscape increasingly populated by networks of ascetic orders and their maṭhas. And epigraphical evidence and travelers' accounts from throughout the Deccan and southern Indian speak to a variety of figures claiming to be yogis who lived like kings, possessed supernormal powers, and claimed direct connections to siddha and Nātha traditions.[71]

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[69] Reddy, *Hindu Pilgrimage: Shifting patterns of worldview of Shrī Shailam in South India*, 135.

[70] Reddy, "The Narrative Art of the Śrīśailam Prākāra," 98; Reddy, *Hindu Pilgrimage: Shifting patterns of worldview of Shrī Shailam in South India*, 135-142.

Beyond offering claims in the face of competitor yogi potentates, the prākāra also substantiates the standing and character of Srisailam itself. To be sure, the toponym *Śrīśaila* (and its synonyms, most common among them *Śrīparvata*) has long carried associations with ascetic and esoteric practices. Numerous literary references attest to its importance in this respect, though the precise geographical referent is difficult to identity.[72] In Andhra alone there are multiple candidates. Most prominent and among them are an old Buddhist site, Nagarjunakonda in what is now the Guntur district, and a Śaiva site in Nallamalla hills of the Eastern Ghats. This latter site is the Srisailam to which I have already referred; it has long been recognized as Śaiva site and, more specifically, as one of the twelve jyotirliṅgas and abode to Mallikārjunasvāmi.[73] In this way, the work driven by the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas amplifies long-standing traditions pertaining to Srisailam such that its ascetic and esoteric dimensions are visible for all to see.

Gaurana as a *Śrīśailakavi* and other conclusions

I would maintain then that the *Navanāthacaritramu* participates in this larger project of building up Srisailam and its Bhikṣāvṛtti rulers. While there are suggestive paralles between the text's interest in ascetic power and Bhikṣāvṛtti's ascetic power, I would not argue that Gaurana's work is meant to legitimate the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas' position. Neither a Nātha nor a Vīraśaiva text alone, it extends the vision of Srisailam as a home to a range of Śaiva traditions but especially those of ascetics and esoteric adepts. Furthermore, it propogates the notion that the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas are the rulers that can support a wide range of Śaiva traditions.

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[71] Mallinson, "Nāth Sampradāya," 412-414; White, *Sinister Yogis*, 198-217.

[72] This ambiguity present both in the first and second millennia. For an essay of the difficulty in identifying the site, see: Arion Roşu, "A la recherche d'un tirtha énigmatique du Dekkan médiéval," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, no. 55 (1969): 23–58.

[73] For resumes of these references, see: White, *Alchemical Body*, esp. 50-51; 110-115. For its importance as specifically Śaiva site, see: David N. Lorenzen, *Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas: Two Lost Śaivite Sects* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 51-52.

In this light then, Gaurana may not be a Śivakavi in the strict sense. Yet he is certainly a Śrīśailakavi, a poet enmeshed in the literary and religious cultures of greater Srisailam, and a Śivakavi in the broad sense seemingly encouraged by the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas' expansive vision—a vision that is mirrored in twentieth century scholarship. Gaurana's fluency in the place's range of traditions is apparent: He is adept in Śaiva lore, ascetic and esoteric materials, and even Vīramāheśvara traditions. And, as we have seen here and in previous chapters, he also comprehends the poetic forms most prominent there.

Further, I would suggest that in fashioning himself as a Srisailam poet but not a Śivakavi, Gaurana actually cleaves to the course cut by the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas themselves. Taken together, Gaurana's work and the Bhikṣāvṛtti epigraphical presence suggest an alternative political sphere. It seems to stand above or even in opposition to the courts of the martial rulers traditionally at the center of kāvya. Yet, at the same time, it did not seek to invert and undermine its conventions as the Śivakavis did. Rather, the *Navanāthacaritramu* and the Bhikṣāvṛtti inscriptions suggest an image of the ascetic leader as a more appropriate or even ideal leader in the political realm. Thus, the eminently courtly face of rāyas beginning with Muktiśānta is completely amenable to—and was perhaps even dependent on—transactions with poets like Gaurana who stood outside the Śivakavis' more subversive protocols. There would have been then no reason for Gaurana to obscure or do away with his courtly affiliations.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

Chapters in review

The preceding chapters have advanced an image of a poet (Gaurana) staking a claim for himself in a competitive literary environment. The first part of the dissertation described how Gaurana's work in Sanskrit poetics represents his response to a literary culture transformed by new, socially heterogeneous networks of poets. Thus Chapter Two detailed the manner in which Gaurana revised the occult analysis of poetry to make it consistent with pre-existing Sanskrit scholarship in the linguistic, astrological, and ritual knowledge systems. However, I argued further that his work did not simply seek rigor for rigor's sake: In revising the system, Gaurana advanced a vision of poetic authority that concentrated on the innate purity and consequent professional prerogative of brahman poets over poets from other social backgrounds. Chapter Three built upon the previous chapter's suggestion that Gaurana's work was a reaction to increasing prominent and socially inclusive poetic traditions. Its basic task was to discern more precisely the character of Gaurana's competitors. Here I mapped the history of the other major preoccupation of Telugu-country poetics—the description of quasi-musical prosimetrical compositions called *cāṭuprabandha*. Tracing the use of the term in Sanskrit and Telugu manuals for poets, I placed the category in a larger system of genres, arguing that the poeticians set the forms apart for their recognizable newness, their regional character, and—most importantly—their connection to lower status schools of poetry. In connecting this conceptual history of cāṭuprabandha to the early history of cāṭuprabandha composition, I show that the tradition led by the Vīramāheśvara Śivakavis would have been particularly conspicuous in this regard, especially since they and Gaurana would have worked in the same professional spaces around Srisailam.

The second part of the dissertation turned to Gaurana's own Telugu work. While Telugu literary histories have typically classified Gaurana as a Śivakavi because his only extant poetic works approach Śaiva themes in Telugu dvipada (a form first championed by the Śivakavis), the examination of Gaurana's Sanskrit work in the first part shows that the Śivakavis were more likely his competitors than collaborators. Building on this awareness, the last two chapters then re-evaluate Gaurana's Telugu compositions to understand if and how this competitive relation might emerge in his poetry. Chapter Four in particular takes up Gaurana's poetic style and reads it against the work of the Śivakavi par excellence Pālkuriki Somanātha to understand its metapoetic content. Somanātha's work is shown here to be decidedly hostile to the canons and conventions of courtly kāvya literature. At the same time, it decidedly and counterintuitively adheres to some courtly modes: Hostility to the court does not entail abandoning Sanskrit, even as the poetry's literariness gestures towards and champions a more accessible and oral poetic style. Gaurana's work, on the other hand, maintains in some ways the accessibility of the Śivakavis' poetry insofar as his diction is overwhelmingly Telugu and he makes little use of the intense figuration often found in kāvya. But, even so, he deliberately drives a wedge between his work and that of the Śivakavis by studding his composition with ornate figures of sound, complex syntactical and metrical constructions, and sequences of intense descriptive dilation that draw his composition closer to the canons of courtly prose poetry. Chapter Five ends the analysis of Gaurana's Telugu work by focusing on his *Navanāthacaritramu* as a way of exploring his connection to Srisailam, homebase both to him and the Śivakavis. While the work does anticipate elements of the Nāth Sampradāya's later history, I argue that the work is not so much a Nātha text as it is a rumination on the complexities of ascetic and siddha power with respect to royal power. In this, the text echoes the developments in Srisailam's political culture, which came to be dominated by a lineage initiated by ascetic potentates known as the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas. Though they have often appeared as simply religious preceptors, these rāyas styled themselves in a courtly fashion and seem to have held great spiritual and political power—so much that they entered into direct and perhaps violent conflict with the region's better known military powers (like Vijayanagara). Insofar as they adopted a courtly presentation, the Bhikṣāvṛtti rāyas may have presented an apt target for Gaurana's work, which—much like the rāyas themselves—was wont to bridge seemingly disparate models.

Genre, Society, and Śrīnātha in the age of Gaurana

In the pages that follow, I would like to draw out some of this study's implications for the literary history of the Telugu country and the Deccan. As I discussed in Chapter One, Gaurana has mostly sat in Telugu and Sanskrit literary histories as a minor figure—largely ignored in the case of the latter, dwarfed by his contemporary Śrīnātha in the case of the former. But what might we see differently about the period if we imagine 1323-1450 CE not as the age of Śrīnātha but as the age of Gaurana instead? In particular, how might we understand wider developments in the history of poetic practices in the Telugu country, especially in terms of orality, textuality, and the poetic innovations that Śrīnātha is often said to have inaugurated.

I would like to approach these themes first as they converge in an oral tradition that connects Śrīnātha to the *Palnāṭivīrakatha*, a regional oral epic of the Telugu country. Though the epic is performed and preserved by a class of bards versed in its stories (the *Palnāṭivīravidyāvantulu*), this tradition names Śrīnātha as the originl author of the epic:

> Śrīnātha fell ill because of his youthful liaisons with courtesans and came, in his old age, to worship Cĕnnakeśvara in Mācerla in order to be healed. The oral singers, Piccukuṇṭlu, asked him to compose the Pālnāḍu epic for them, and he did so; but they failed to pay him. In anger, Śrīnātha threw the manuscript in the river. The singers jumped into the river to retrieve whatver they could. They came back with disjoined fragments and, showing them to the poet and begging his forgiveness, they asked him to teach them how

> to sing the songs. Still angry, he said: “Sing it in some weeping raga (*edo ĕḍupu rāgam*).” Performances today may sound a little like crying.[1]

The epic’s attribution to Śrīnātha is in all probability inaccurate: A version of the epic did circulate in manuscript, cast in a loosely-regulated variety of Telugu dvipada called *mañjari*; the colophons to these texts identify Śrīnātha as the author. However, the oral epic is not itself composed or performed in mañjari, and the historical connection between the oral and manuscript traditions remains to be revealed by future scholarship. More likely, says Gene Roghair in his study of the oral epic tradition as it was preserved in the late twentieth century, the attribution marks Śrīnātha’s esteemed position in literary history and the desire to deploy his name as a means of ennobling the epic, which was imbued with a humble stature due to its oral form and the low-caste status of its singers.[2]

But even as the attribution’s accuracy is called into question, I would argue that the story—when framed by the age of Gaurana—nonetheless captures something about the Telugu country’s literary field in this period. To be sure, Roghair’s claim speaks to literary historical processes; however, as he and others suggest, the attribution to Śrīnātha in itself reveals more about the dynamics of the late fifteenth- and sixteenth centuries, particularly as Telugu literary culture responded to Śrīnātha and his influence.[3] And further, the story can be classified among those that represent wider anxieties about textual loss in southern Asia’s premodern literary cultures, which put a certain premium on orality even as they made use of the technologies of writing.[4] But I would like to highlight how it speaks to two aspects of the Telugu country’s literary field in this period: one relates to transformations in literary forms and practices, the other to the social, political, and economic forces that influenced these literary developments.

First, the story presents a familiar figure: an elite if down-on-his-luck brahman poet who has left a courtly environment to engage poets and poetic practices of a seemingly lower social standing and decidedly oral affinities. Set aside the austere outlook that would make this a tale of decadent courtliness and its degenerate deserts and Gaurana's name might be substituted for Śrīnātha's. Admittedly, even beyond this story, the figure of Śrīnātha touches oral poetics. V. Narayana Rao and David Shulman vividly show in their study of the poet that Śrīnātha maintained an intimate yet ambivalent relationship with oral poets and poetics. His own poetry, they argue, is highly literate but marked by a "second-order orality": It is replete with pleasing aural effects and a steadfast "flow" (*dhārā*)—the supreme quality for the oral poet; nonetheless its diction is economical, avoiding the oral poet's inefficient use of words simply to fill out the metrical form and maintain that much cherished flow.[5]

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[1] Narayana Rao and Shulman, *Śrīnātha*, 173.

[2] Roghair, *Epic of Palnāḍu*, 8-9.

[3] Narayana Rao and Shulman, *Śrīnātha*, 152-174.

[4] Pollock, *Language of the Gods*, 82-86.

But placing these oral affiliations in the age of Gaurana allows us to situate Śrīnātha's work in a wider field, making his blending of the oral and the literary particularly wondrous perhaps but also less exceptional. The story of Gaurana foregrounds the fact that all poets in this period would have had to reckon seriously with poetic practices not directly built on the courtly *mārga* model. In the figure of Gaurana himself we find multiple modes of engagement. On the one hand, the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* project shows a theoretical reckoning in its analysis of *cāṭuprabandha*: With this category, Gaurana and other courtly poeticians attempted to accommodate, define, and in some cases regulate the novel forms developed by these other poetic traditions. At the same time, in the arena of composition, we find that Gaurana and other poets of courtly and brahmanical pedigrees actually experimented with these literary practices, inflecting them with their mārga literary modes. Gaurana reveals one significant but ultimately unproductive way of doing this in his deploying dvipada. To be sure, even when Pālkuriki Somanātha inaugurates it in the thirteenth century, the practice of dvipada is functionally literary and possesses a kind of second-order orality, as I show in Chapter Four. Yet, as I have also suggested, the association with non-elite and oral poetics is foregrounded in its metapoetic presentation. Gaurana, however, reworks the form as an elite genre, studding it with the tropes and techniques of courtly kāvya. Śrīnātha exemplifies this strategy in reverse, bringing the stylistic imperatives of Telugu oral poetry to self-consciously Sanskritic mārga literary practices.

As I hope to have shown in reading Gaurana's body of work as a whole, considering literary practices in this way illuminates metapoetic discourse, whether elaborated in discrete systematic treatises or contained within a literary composition. In particular, they remind us to imagine these declarations in the context of larger literary arenas. Their translation of Śrīnātha's *Bhīmeśvarapurāṇamu* 1.12 shows this clearly:

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[5] Narayana Rao and Shulman, *Śrīnātha*, 33.

> Some poets become addicted: they write poems
> as if their tongue is a stylus,
> their mouth a blank palm leaf,
> and whatever they know
> is black ink stirred in the ink pot of their minds.[6]

As Narayana Rao and Shulman note, many commentators class the verse as a simple excoriation of bad poets (*kukavininda*), but the verse is in fact more ambivalent: On the one hand, it describes these oral poets as falling victim to a great addiction (*mahāvyasanamuto*) as they compose, perhaps prattling on about "whatever they know." In this case, it may be a competitive jab at illiterate oral poets. Yet, at the same time, it also seems to esteem these figures as "master poets" (*kavīṃdrulu*) displaying a kind of brilliant and effortless fluency of composition. Thus, Śrīnātha could even be counting himself in their number. As readers of the text artifact, we are not privy to any intonation that might have tipped the semantic scales in an oral performance. But even as the ambivalence remains, it is clear that Śrīnātha set himself above those other poets: Owing to his poetry's simultaneously dense Sanskritic character and idiomatic Telugu expression,[7] he argues that he simply does it better.

Śrīnātha's move here reproduces the gestures of authorial individuation available in classical Sanskrit literary culture; and, as with those cases, literary historians have held it up as evidence of the poet's unique genius. But his declaration of exceptionalism also parallels the way that Gaurana categorically created an elite brahmanical class of poetic professionals in this same period. Both acts are strategies for staking a claim in an environment where competition from poets outside of ministerial networks had become more intense. Looking at these claims through the lens of Gaurana underscores the way that caste- and class-based competition subtends transformations in poetic practices and claims of exceptionalism in the literary field.

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[6] Narayana Rao and Shulman, *Śrīnātha*, 34.

[7] *Bhīmeśvarapurāṇamu* 1.15.

Admittedly, there is a more obvious difference between the two strategies: Śrīnātha's seems to have been more successful. It is he and not Gaurana who has loomed largest in the memory of Telugu and south Indian literary cultures. This may be because he was the better poet, but I will take no claim on that front. However, I would suggest that his success may have some literary historical sources. I described in Chapter One how his articulation of Andhra as a discrete political and literary cultural space fit nicely with the nationalist imperatives of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Telugu literary. But beyond his attractiveness to recent literary historiography, I would focus on the way that Śrīnātha prolifically engaged with the genres of Sanskrit literary culture, going so far as to translate canonical works of kāvya. This has set him apart in the modern period and, I would argue, set him apart in his own time.

That is to say, his stature in part arises from the status of his literary sources. Despite celebrating vernacular accessibility and orality of a kind, he also adhered rather strictly to forms and specific works—like Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhīya*—that were already imbued with prestige through their wide circulation and incorporation into curricula.[8] Even as we see poets like Gaurana bringing dvipada into something like the mainstream—and even as it achieves a modest popularity in seventeenth-century Telugu Nayaka courts—it never carries the cachet of courtly compositions in padya, gadya, or both. Rather, it maintains its lower standing in the generic system of the Telugu country. Thus, even as oral poets and more inclusive poetic schools like the Śivakavis effected lasting change in the literary field, their impact was nonetheless constrained by tenacious aesthetic standards that, underwritten by classical and socially elite associations, have persisted into the present.

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[8] Patel, *Text to Tradition*.

Beyond the age of Gaurana

But even as social dynamics marked the literary field, so too were these both intertwined with transformations in other aspects of political culture. Ultimately, the study of Gaurana and the period draws attention to the increasing importance of monasteries and monastic potentates, whom both the epigraphic and literary record represent as pre-eminent in the domain of the temple and even wider socio-political spheres (for example, Muktiśānta's being described as one to whom the region's kings bow).

Their importance is highlighted especially by the bias of the archive produced by literary professionals—ministerial (*niyogi*) brahmans and kavis—who may have increasingly sought employment within these institutions. In earlier centuries the critical pairing may have been between bhupāla and poet, king and kavi. But with the advent of Islamicate powers in the Deccan, the terrain for political employment begins to change in the fourteenth century. Outside of the small Hindu principalities of the period, to find courtly employment as such would increasing require knowledge and training in the linguistic and literary traditions of the recently arrived Islamicate powers. This is apparent in the work of Śrīnātha. When Śrīnātha dedicates his *Bhīmeśvarapurāṇanu* to a local political minister, this figure is described as, essentially a niyogi-type, not just a potentate but with literary skills himself. However, crucially it seems, he has a different skill set from literary professionals like Śrīnātha and Gaurana; he knows Persian and thus can (and presumably does) engage with or even serve in some capacity the Deccani sultanates (likely the Bahmani kingdom). The domain of power—power over villages and commerce—is then in large part intertwined with the sultanate overlords and Persianate literacies.

The other sphere, the non-Islamicate or, one might say, traditional, royal court—epitomized in legend under the court of good king Bhoja—still exists but its power appears to be on the wane. The courts of our period—the Rĕḍḍis, the Recĕrlas—are productive but small and short lived. The literary record suggests that one may have been able to find "traditional" royal patronage but much less so. Vijayanagara and its Nayaka successors stand out in this regard. As the more recent work on the empire has shown, despite its being lauded as the last true Hindu empire in India and its patronage of Sanskrit and Sanskritic-vernacular literature, it freely partook of Islamicate cultural forms of dress and political expression.[9]

With the shifting culture of courtly politics in the region, the temple and the maṭha emerge as the sites where literary practices claiming a fundamental connection to Sanskrit literary culture held sway. Beyond the court, opportunities for poets were increasingly to be had at the temple itself. Gaurana's work suggests this. Despite his claiming roots in the Recĕrla court, his working career places him at Srisailam. And though he adopts the forms and devices of the temple's literary culture, he does so while maintaining some distance from its devotional communities and without claiming very strongly any affiliations of his own. He comes to the work as, one might imagine, a consummate professional.

The work of other Telugu poets elaborates these dynamics. In the sixteenth century Dhūrjaṭi's literary production evinces a similar shift from court to temple as I have suggested above. Indeed, one could say the same even for the literary production of kings, such as Kṛṣṇadevarāya and his *Āmuktamālyada*. In terms of its own framing, the text is commissioned, as it were, by the temple itself: The king Kṛṣṇa is in a dream incited to compose the work by Āndhra Viṣṇu, the god of the temple at Srikakulam. (This also speaks to the norms of patronage: As a king—indeed, the king—Kṛṣṇadevarāya would have himself been the human patron commissioning the such a work. So, in lieu of his own authority comes Andhra Viṣṇu's.) Even more strikingly, as Ilanit Loewy-Shacham has shown, the king's Telugu masterpiece is, with all of its novel engagements with and experiments upon the canons of Sanskrit kāvya and alaṃkāraśāstra, a text about devotion and a devotional community. Thus, the concerns of kāvya culture as such were increasingly bounded by concerns of the devotional communities that constituted the temple.

Cast in this light, the disaffection displayed by some poets in subsequent periods—such as Dhūrjaṭi in his *Kālahastīśvaraśatakamu*—is not just the Bhartṛharian virakta's world-weary disgust with courtly decadence. Perhaps the poets did not adopt devotional postures simply because they tired of excess and saw through to deeper, more fulfilling divine truths. Even as poets level ascetic excoriations of courtly life, they also lament the state of poetry. Their complaint is double: On one hand, they decry the fact that mortal—and therefore congenitally corrupt—kings should be privileged to poetic exaltation over the true lords their gods. I have highlighted this move in the work of Pālkuriki Somanātha, but it is so common in devotional poetry as to be unremarkable. But Telugu poets of the sixteenth century and later—like Dhūrjaṭi—go on to complain further: Kings are what they are; the real trouble is that they have developed a taste for bad poets. Holding this in mind with the changed literary field suggested by the study of Gaurana, the poet's disaffection toward the court takes on a different tenor. What emerges may be career poets' intense disappointment in the face of a changed cultural climate at courts where the same sorts of opportunities are no longer at hand for a poet of traditional Sanskritic literacies. One can no longer count on being a poet laureate or master epigraphical poet lauding his king. Also, one can no longer count on being privileged over poets with pedigrees that fall outside of exclusively brahmanical networks of learning. Such competitors would have been, as I have argued earlier in this dissertation, precisely poets who affiliate most strongly with their sectarian or devotional community who developed powerful genres of panegyric.

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[9] Exemplary here isPhillip B. Wagoner, "'Sultan among Hindu Kings': Dress, Titles, and the Islamicization of Hindu Culture at Vijayanagara," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (1996): 851–880.

But also in some instances, the breakdown of even the power of the temple may be witnessed by the rise of works in the mode of *vyājastuti* or *nindastuti* (backhanded or rebuking hymns). Some of these works, such as the *Simhādrinarasimhaśatakamu*, seem to speak to cultural politics directly by decrying the impotence and impassivity of temple deities in the face of dwindling support from their worshippers and, often, the increasingly presence of Islamicate forces and cultural practices.[10] Whether these works actually register episodes of temple desecration is uncertain. But, what they do register is at least a sentiment that the temple is a last bastion against this changing climate. But the particular fear seems to be not the destruction of the temple, but the fading of cultural practices—and, arguably, those most cherished by a brahmanical elite. They record an anxiety that the god—but, by extension, the people—have taken on the practices of Muslims and forgotten their old cultural identities. Where the ministerial patron praised by Śrīnātha in the *Bhīmeśvarapurāṇamu* may have been early case and worthy of praise for his being conversant in the *yavanabhāṣa*, by the seventeenth century such engagement is cause for concern.

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[10] Gokulapāṭi Kūrmakavi, *Siṃhādrinārasiṃhaśatakamu* (Ellore: Manjuvani Press, 1906). For later śataka of similar scope see: Vetūri Prabhākara Śāstri, ed., "Veṅkaṭācalavihāra Śatakamu," in *Śrī Veṅkateśvara Laghukṛtulu* (Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanams, 1981), 1–43. For a discussion in English and a translation of a seventeeth-century śataka on the same themes, see: Narayana Rao and Shulman, *Classical Telugu Poetry*, 248-250.

The Telugu case shows a move from the elite courtly literature of kāvya, bound up with royal representation and a pan-Indic tradition (the Mahābhārata) localized only linguistically, to the second vernacular revolution which counters the courtly and Sanskritic ethos in name (if not always in practice, as Palkuriki Samantha's work shows) to a third stage that is still open to the court but, if only because of new socio-political alignments, finds itself turning toward the temple. There is here a maintenance of the Sanskritic tradition but at the same time for the elite actors there is an appropriation of vernacular cultural practices.

In the case of Gaurana and the Recĕrla clan, there may have been a breakdown within the space of a generation. Whereas the mostly independent Recerlas may have maintained attachés with the Sanskrit literacies requisite to courtly life, as they became increasingly involved with Bahmani powers, ministers with Persianate literacies may have been more important, displacing someone of Gaurana's pedigree and inclinations. That is to say, Gaurana might have pursued the Persianate path. However, he did not. Only future research on the social history of the Telugu country can begin to illuminate the factors that may have contributed to literary professionals pursuing one path over another.

Appendix A

Gaurana's Sanskrit *Lakṣaṇadīpikās*

Introduction: Reconciling the Two *Lakṣaṇadīpikās*

D.1494

The first of the Lakṣaṇadīpikās (hereafter abbreviated D.1494) is witnessed here by a single palm-leaf manuscript (GOML D. 1494).[1] The work is divided into five chapters or "illuminations" (prakāśa).[2] The title is clearly given in verse 7 of the first section, where Gaurana says that "[he] will speak a Light on the Properities" (*vakṣye lakṣaṇadīpikām*). Sarasvati Mohan has referred to this text as *Padārthadīpikā* (A Light on words/things). Yet, this title appears nowhere in the colophons of the work. It only appears in verse 8 as, I would suggest, an adjectival clause meant to further describe the work. Another title—*Prabandhadīpikā* (A Light on Composition)—does appear in the colophons to remaining sections of the work. Not insignificantly, all of the sections are consistently attributed to

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[1] Two other manuscripts of this work have been referenced by earlier scholars. One is on paper (Chennai, GOML 12951). I concur with Sarasvati Mohan that this likely a transcription of the palm-leaf held at the GOML. However, it is now lost—cut from the volume into which it had been bound. The second is a palm-leaf (No. 2535, Andhra Sahitya Parishad library) that was reported to me as lost. Hopefully it will turn up in a subsequent search.

[2] Sarasvati Mohan reports that the Andhra Sahitya Parishad manuscript includes another seven chapters, each of which details a single literary form, namely—cakravāla, bhogāvalī, birudāvalī, guṇāvalī, tyāgaghoṣaṇa, raṅgaghoṣaṇa, and jayaghoṣaṇa. Mohan, "Gaurana and his Sanskrit works," 6.

Gaurana.[3]

The first chapter, comprising approximately eighty-two percent (190 verses) of the work, constitutes the bulk of the text. More to the point, it covers all of the topics that Gaurana lays out in his introductory verses as a kind of syllabus: (1) The origin of the phonemes, their manifestation, and their number; (2) their planets and elemental seeds; (3) their proper and improper usage and the distinction between harsh (rūkṣa) and pleasing (snigdha) phonemes; (4) precepts about their use and their consequences (felicitous and infelicitous); (5) the names of the metremes; (6) their presiding deities, their planets, and their consequences; (7) the compatibility and incompatibility of the metremes; (8) their asterisms and their constellations; (9) stipulations regarding the ambrosial periods (amṛtaveḷa), general astrological conditions (grahāvasthā), and the method of worshipping the Mātṛkās; (10) the proper properties of authors and patrons; (11) and the characteristics of literary works themselves.[4] Sections two through five are significantly shorter, each comprising no more than fifteen verses and as few as eight verses; together they amount to thirty-nine verses. These almost seem to be an appendix: While the end of section one (D.1494, ll.389-434) gives a generic description of literature, sections two through five give more precise formal stipulations. Indeed, the first of these (section two) is labeled as a paribhāṣā (that is, a set of interpretative metarules) for the text. These last short chapters are further set apart from sections one and two in that their colophons actually bear another title, *Prabandhadīpikā* (A Light on Composition).

As the preceding shows, the text overwhelmingly focuses on the occult or meta-semantic properties and affinities of poetic language: About seventy-four percent of D.1494 addresses these topics. The balance of the treatise deals with prerequisities for literary practitioners and, primarily in sections two through five, quite technical stipulations of generic form. The topics themselves are predictable, being found as they are in treatises that preceded and succeeded Gaurana's work. Yet, the treatise does stand out precisely for the amount of attention it affords to these topics, which it discusses almost to the exclusion of all other matters.

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[3] This is not, of course, conclusive evidence of Gaurana's authorship. However, it at least suggests that the text as we have it is presented as a coherent whole, if not by Gaurana then by some editorial entity who considers it a work of Gaurana. Moreover—and this cuts to one of the problems at the center of the dissertation—Gaurana's name carries little weight, it would seem, much beyond the 100-150 years after his period of flourishing. Unlike some of his near contemporaries (namely, Śrīnātha and Potana), he does not become a legendary persona; and, while the Lakṣaṇadīpikā is cited by some later poetological texts, Gaurana himself does not, I think, have a name that would give a work a particular weight, authority, or ideological character.

[4] *varṇānām udbhavaḥ paścād vyaktisaṃkhyātataḥ paraṃ | bhūtabījavicāraś ca tato varṇagrahāv api || anarhānahavedhaś ca rūkṣasnigdhavicāraṇā | prayoganirṇayas teṣāṃ śubhāśubhaphalāni ca || gaṇānāṃ cābhidhānāni svarūpāṇy adhidevatāḥ | varṇabhedagrahās tatra śubhāśubhaphalāni ca || mitrāmitravicāraś ca nakṣatrāṇi ca rāśayaḥ | mṛtaveḷāgrahāvasthāmātṛkāpūjanakramaḥ || kartuḥ kārayituś caiva prabandhānāṃ ca lakṣaṇam |*

This syllabus aside, the Lakṣaṇadīpikā is also marked by a huge number of citations. Much of these come from other poetic and poetological sources. For instance, Gaurana's is the first available work that quotes Viśveśvara's *Camatkāracandrikā*. Furthermore, he stands out for citing not just the poetological disciplines but also those of astrology and ritual magic.[5] In his discussion of literary forms (that is, the *cāṭuprabandha* metagenre and its exemplary form *udāharaṇa*), Gaurana echoes the *Alaṃkārasaṃgaraha* of Amṛtānandayogin. He may have had a more direct source in the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*. However, a manuscript of the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* is not forthcoming.

D. 12952: Supplementing the System

The second Lakṣaṇadīpikā is more complicated. As in the case of D.1494, there is only one witness: GOML D. 12952. The manuscript is paper and in Telugu script—likely a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century transcription of a palm-leaf manuscript written in Telugu script.[6] The text itself is quite difficult interpret: I suppose that while the copyist knew the Telugu script of the palm-leaf exemplar, he did not know Sanskrit. Only one title—Lakṣaṇadīpikā—is ever given for the work. The subject matter of D.12952 is much the same as D.1494, except that it excludes the latter's discussion of literary forms. Beyond this, the text also comprises five sections (paricchedas). Unlike D.1494, it does not include a table of contents among its introductory verses. In terms of its discussion, D.12952 only partially overlaps with the D.1494. To be sure, it is concerned with occult aspects of literary language and practice; and, like the D.1494, it is rife with citations. However, the D.12952 either (a) discusses new aspects of the occult and astrological analysis of literary language or (b) where it revisits a topic already addressed in the D.1494, it will usually cite a different source. D.12952 is also remarkable for quoting not just Sanskrit sources but also Telugu language poetological authorities (the now lost *Gokarṇachaṃdamu*).

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[5] An important exception to this claim are the commentators on poetry, who commonly display their familiarity with other śāstras.

[6] Sarasvati Mohan had access to another manuscript (1391, Andhra Sahitya Parishat Library); however, it was reported as lost to me.

As for priority, I would argue that the D.12952 was probably composed after D.1494. The first section bears this out most clearly. It consists of a maṅgalaśloka (to Śiva) followed by what amounts to an auto-commentary and apology for the composition of that verse (particularly its initial sound *pra*); the typology of heroes; stipulations about being a poet; and a justification for a verse in praise of Piṅgaḷa, who is considered the creator of the Sanskritic discipline of metrics. Throughout this section, Gaurana draws on concepts and rules that are only properly explained in the succeeding sections. The maṅgalācaraṇam and its apologia constitute a kind of unit at the beginning of this first section. One might almost read them together as an introductory showpiece, wherein Gaurana shows his chops. The remainder of the first chapter, however, makes little sense. Why describe the types of heroes? The prerequisites for being a poet? And, stranger still, why give a commentary and defense for a verse which is not present in the text at hand? One way to make sense of the first pariccheda is to read it in concert with the introductory verses of D.1494. In these, Gaurana first (1) gives his genealogy, which includes (a) one verse about Recerla king Siṅga II, (b) a verse in praise of his minister and Gaurana's senior uncle Potarāja, and (c) gives his own name and that of his father, Ayyaḷa. Then he (2) further describes himself as having been graced by Śiva and (3) pays homage to Piṅgaḷa. Finally, he (4) gives the title of his work. The first section of the D.12952 aligns with these three verses. The typology of the nāyakas might be read as a theoretical explanation (or, even, justification) of the description of Siṅga II and Potarāja. The abstract definition of the poet makes sense of verses describing Gaurana himself. Similarly, the guidelines about the prerequisites of being a poet might be read against Gaurana's description of himself. The correspondence is most striking, however, when it comes to the defense of his paying homage to Piṅgala. The text reads:

> Subsequently, having assembled various rules and examples, I will teach the *Elucidation of the Principles* in order to enlighten poets who are eager to learn the principles of poesy. Next, I will speak on the metremes and their number, but only after honoring the Piṅgaḷa the Serpent, who is lauded as the bull among the true poets and whose mind is purified through the blessing of Śiva. And why—amongst all the well-known poets (such as Vyāsa and Vālmīki)—is Piṅgaḷa the Serpent to be honored? As the author of the rules on metrics he should be greatly honored![7]

This apology only finds its point of reference in a half-verse at the end of D.1494's introduction, wherein Gaurana honors Piṅgala as a "bull amongst poets".[8]

With this in mind, my discussion in this dissertation draws on both texts. The two texts are certainly distinct. However, given the factors noted above, they are not independent of each other but have instead a cumulative quality. So, I have used D.1494 as my focal point and integrated D.12952 much like the supplementary text it seems to have been.

A note on editorial principles

The printed editions that follow are not—and perhaps cannot be—critical editions in the usual sense of the phrase. They are built on but a single manuscript of each work. Neither, however, have I sought to produce simply diplomatic presentations of the manuscripts. I have instead minimally emended the text, striving primarily for intelligibility. These decisions have been recorded in the first register of footnotes. On the whole, I have based these emendations on textual parallels from within Gaurana's own work and the wider corpus of *alaṃkāra-* and *chandaśśāstra* texts from the greater Telugu country. The second register of footnotes records citations from these textual parallels where they have been discoverable. Some of these references align with Gaurana's own explicit citations; some, however, do not.

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[7] *tasmāt kavitālakṣaṇajijñāsātatvarāṇāṃ kavīnāṃ prabodhanārthaṃ nānālakṣaṇodāharaṇāny ākṛṣya vakṣyate lakṣaṇadīpikā | atha gaṇasaṃkhyāṃ vakṣye haraprasādād viśuddhamatiṃ piṃgaḷanāgaṃ satkavipuṃgavanutaṃ namaskṛtvā | vyāsavālmīkyādiṣu kavīṣu vidyamāneṣu piṃgaḷanāgasya namaskāraḥ kathaṃ kriyate | chandolakṣaṇakartṛtvād ayam avanamaskāryaḥ|*

[8] *praṇamya piṃgaḷaṃ nāma kavipuṃgavasannutam* (D.1494 l.13).

Though these individual instances are recorded in the footnotes, I have systematically emended a number of orthographical idiosyncracies to follow more closely the contemporary printing conventions for Sanskrit:

- Scribe uses ĕ and e interchangeably. All forms standardized to e.
- Scribe often uses *i* for long *ī*. Corrected when sandhi or declension demands.
- *dh* for *th* (most often *adha* –> *atha*, *kadham* –> *katham*, *yadhā* / *tadhā* –> *yathā* / *tathā*)
- Anusvāra (Tel. *sunna*) removed before conjunct where nasal is second member (e.g., verse 6: *saṃnnutam* –> *sannutam*)
- Anusvāra changed to homorganic nasal
- Final anusvāra changed to "m" when appropriate

The main exception to this trend is that I preserve the doubling of consonants before the consonant *r*.

Among the emendations in the body of the text, square brackets indicate editorial additions. Question marks indicate missing or indecipherable akṣaras.

Abbreviations

AS *Alaṃkārasaṃgraha* of Amṛtānandayogin

BJ *Bṛhajjātaka* of Varāhamihira

CC *Camatkāracandrikā* of Viśveśvarakavicandra

KKP *Kavikaṇṭhapāśa* (anonymous)

LS *Lakṣaṇaśiromaṇi* of Pŏttapai Veṅkaṭaramaṇakavi

PS *Prapañcasāra* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya

SC *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* attributed to Pedakomaṭi Vemā Rĕḍḍi

ŚT *Śāradātilaka* of Lakṣmaṇa Deśikendra

VR *Vṛttaratnākara* of Kedarabhaṭṭa

The *Lakṣaṇadīpikās* of Gaurana

Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (Chennai), D.1494

Materials: Telugu script; ink on palm leaf; twenty-three leaves.

=

śubham astu | =

jānakīmukhapadmārkaṃ jānakī[mukha]bhūṣaṇaṃ |
jānakīramaṇaṃ vande jagatāṃ maṅgaḷapradam ||
vande vāmastananyastavallakīvadanotsukāṃ |
vaktrābjavāsanālolabhṛṅgīṃ saṃgītamātṛkāṃ ||
asti praśasto ’vanīpālamauḷiratnāvaḷirañjitapādapīṭhaḥ |
recerlavaṃśārṇavapūrṇacandraḥ mahābalas siṅgayamādhavendraḥ ||
āsīt tasya mahāmātyaḥ svāmikāryadhuraṃdharaḥ |
potarāja iti khyāto rājanītiyugaṃdharaḥ ||
mantricūḍāmaṇes tasya sodarasyāyaḷuprabhoḥ |
gauranāryya iti khyātaḥ tanayo nayakovidaḥ ||
so ’haṃ somakalāmauḷeḥ prasādād gatakalmaṣaḥ |
praṇamya piṅgaḷaṃ nāma kavipuṃgavasannutaṃ ||
udāharaṇaratnāni lakṣaṇagranthasandhiṣu |
samākṛṣya satāṃ bhūtyai vakṣye lakṣaṇadīpikāṃ ||
pātrasnehada[??]kapradoṣatimirāpahā |
padārthadīpikā seyaṃ bhāti lakṣaṇadīpikā ||
varṇānām udbhavaḥ paścād vyaktisaṃkhyātataḥ paraṃ |
bhūtabījavicāraś ca tato varṇagrahāv api ||
anarhānahavedhaś ca rūkṣasnigdhavicāraṇā |
prayoganirṇayas teṣāṃ śubhāśubhaphalāni ca |

---

10 potarāja] pītarāja

17 pātrasnehada[??]] pātrasme[ha / vaṃ]da[?]

18 padārthadīpikā] padārdhadipikā

21 snigdha] sni[?]dh[?]

gaṇānāṃ cābhidhānāni svarūpāṇy adhidevatāḥ |
varṇabhedagrahās tatra śubhāśubhaphalāni ca ||
mitrāmitravicāraś ca nakṣatrāṇi ca rāśayaḥ |
mṛtaveḷāgrahāvasthāmātṛkāpūjanakramaḥ ||
kartuḥ kāra[y]ituś caiva prabandhānāṃ ca lakṣaṇaṃ |
vakṣyate tatra sakalaṃ mayā lakṣaṇavedinā ||
etat sarvam avijñāya yadi padyaṃ vadet kaviḥ |
ketakārūḍhakapivat bhavet kaṇṭakavedhitaḥ ||

kiṃca **sāhityacūḍāmaṇau**—

=

anekachandasāṃ samyag ajñātvā lakṣaṇāni ca |
karoti gadyapadyāni prabhūṇāṃ mṛtyur eva saḥ ||

camatkāracandrikāyāṃ—

=

ekasminn api naṣṭaṃ syād dṛṣṭe doṣe vratāyutaṃ |
doṣasyaitāvatī śaktiḥ sahajā kiṃ nu kurmahe ||

mamaiva—

=

tasmād vismayakāraṇakavitānirmāṇakarmakuśaladhiyā |
sudhiyā viṣavat tyājyo nāyakarājyābhilāṣiṇā doṣaḥ ||

varṇodbhavas **sāhityacūḍāmaṇau**—

=

---

26 mṛtaveḷā] amṛtaveḷā

40 varṇodbhavas] [⁇]dbhavas

---

35 ekasminn . . . kurmahe] CC 1.52

vadanti vibudhās sarve varṇānāṃ janmakāraṇaṃ |
śivayā saha divyaṃ taṃ devaṃ bindvātmakaṃ śivaṃ |

śāradātilake—

=

jātā varṇā yato bindoḥ śivaśaktimayā iti |

varṇavyaktiḥ **prapañcasāre**—

=

samīritās samīreṇa suṣumnārandhranirgatāḥ |

varṇasthānāni **rūpāvatāre**—

=

aṣṭau sthānāni varṇānām uraḥ kaṇṭhaḥ śiras tathā |
jihvāmūlaṃ ca danttaś ca nāsikoṣṭhau ca tālu ca ||

teṣāṃ saṃkhyā **śāradātilake**—

=

svarāḥ ṣoḍaśavikhyātāḥ sparśās te pañcaviṃśatiḥ |
vyāpakā daśa te kāmadhanadharmapradā[y]inaḥ ||

ity anena varṇānām ekottarapañcāśatvaṃ | akārādikṣakārāntā varṇāḥ **camatkāracaṃdrikāyāṃ** ekonapaṃcāśatvaṃ | triṣaṣṭiś catuḥṣaṣṭir vā varṇāḥ śaṃbhumate matāḥ iti tribhāṣyaratnākaravacanena bhāvyā saṃkhyā pratīyate | asmin mate tu akārādikṣakā[rānttā] varṇāḥ paṃcāśad eva hi

---

46 samīritās . . . gatāḥ] samīraṇasāṣaṃnāraṃdhra[?]tāḥ |

52 daśa] da[x]

---

44 jātā . . . mayā] Cf. ŚT 1.113ab: *jātā varṇā yato bindo śivaśaktimayād ataḥ* |

46 samīritās . . . gatāḥ] PS 3.59: *samīritāḥ samīreṇasuṣumnārandhranirgatāḥ | vyaktiṃ prayānti vadane kaṇṭhādhisthānaghaṭṭitāḥ* ||

51 svarāḥ . . . pradā[y]inaḥ] ŚT 2.3cd, 2.4cd

| akārādikṣakārāṃttam ekapaṃcāśad akṣaraṃ | laḷayor abhedo ’ntarmātṛkāyāṃ ḷakārasyānuktatvāc ca | apare kṣakārasya kaṣayor antarbhāvaṃ vadantti | tad uktaṃ **prapañcasāre**—

=

kaṣato bhuvanaṃ mattaḥ kaṣayos saṃgamo bhavet |
kṣakāras tena saṃjāto nṛsiṃhas tasya devatā ||

iti śaṅkarācāryyeṇa pārthakyenoktatvāt tasmād varṇāḥ pañcāśad eva | tad uktaṃ prapañcasāre pañcāśadvarṇabhedair iti |

mantradarpaṇe ’pi —

=

pañcāśadvarṇānāṃ cāpi kalās sarvasamṛdd[h]idāḥ |

api ca **sāhityacūdāmaṇau**—

=

pañcavaktrasamudbhūtā pañcabhūtaguṇānvitā |
pañcavarṇā jvalābhāti pañcāśadvarṇamālikā ||

atibhūtabījāni **śāradātilake**—

=

kāraṇāt pañcabhūtānāmudbhūtā mātṛkā yataḥ |

---

56 abhedo] abhedaḥ |

56 ’ntarmātṛkāyāṃ] aṃttarmātṛkāyāṃ |

58 bhavet] bhavat

60 pārthakyenoktatvāt] pārdhakyenoktatvāt

61 pañcāśadvarṇabhedair] [?]ṃcāśadvarṇabhedair

66 pañcavarṇā] paṃcavarṇo

68 kāraṇāt pañcabhūtānāmudbhūtā mātṛkā yataḥ] kāraṇatvaṃ ca bhūtānāṃ madhyatāmātṛkā yataḥ

58–59 kaṣato . . . devatā] PS 4.53

68 kāraṇāt . . . sandhisaṃbhavā] ŚT 2.9-10: *kāraṇāt pañcabhūtānāmudbhūtā mātṛkā yataḥ | tato bhūtātmakā*

atibhūtātmikā [? ? ?]ca pañcavibhāgataḥ ||
vāyvagnibhūjalākāśāḥ pañcāśal lipayaḥ kramāt |
pañcahrasvāḥ pañcadirghāḥ bindvanttās sandhisaṃbhavā || iti

prapañcasāre—hrasvāḥ pañca pare ceti | tathā **sāhityacūḍāmaṇau**—

=

samīrahutabhudātrijalavyomaguṇānvitā |
paṃcapaṃcavibhāgena daśavargākṣarakramāt ||

vargākṣaragrahāḥ—

=

tadā svareśas sūrryo [?] kavargeśas tu lohitaḥ |
ca[vargeśo] bhavaḥ kāvyaṣ ṭavargeśo budhaḥ smṛtaḥ |
tavargeśas suraguruḥ pavargeśaḥ śanaiś ca raḥ |
yavargeśas tu śitāṃśur iti saptagrahā matāḥ |

teṣāṃ mitrāmi[tra]vivekas **sāhityacūḍāmaṇau**—

=

tiryya[? ? ?] kāradaśarekhāvinimigate |

---

72 **sāhityacūḍāmaṇau**] sā[??]cūḍāmaṇau

77 ca[vargeśo]] ca[? ? ?]

77 smṛtaḥ] smrutaḥ

78 tavarge] ta[? ? ?]

80 mitrāmi[tra]vivekas] mitrāmi[?]vivekas

---

varṇāḥ pañca pañca vibhāgataḥ || vāyagnibhūjalākāśāḥ pañcāśallipayaḥ kramāt | pañca hrasvāḥ pañca dīrghā bindvantāḥ sandhisambhavāḥ ||

72 hrasvāḥ pañca pare] PS 3.70: *hrasvāḥ pañca pare ca sandhivikṛtāḥ pañcātha bindvantikā kādyāḥ prāṇahutāśabhūkakhamayā yādyāśca śārṇāntikāḥ | hāntāḥ ṣakṣalasāḥ krameṇa kathitā bhūtātmakās te pṛthak tais taiḥ pañcabhir eva varṇadaśakaiḥ syuḥ stambhanādyāḥ kriyāḥ ||*

śodhayed arimitrāṇi sudhiḥ ṣodaśacakrake |

tatra varṇavinyāsaprakāraḥ **śāradātilake**—

=

iti te dvi[vi]dhā matāḥalpaprāṇā mahāprāṇā |
budhās tatra mahāprāṇam āhur ūṣmacatuṣṭayaṃ |
vargeṣu samavargāś ca ḍavargaṃ kecid ūcire |
alpaprāṇāś ca śeṣāś ca śasāv api eka pare smṛtau |
ubhaye te 'pi kathithāḥ snigdhā rūkṣā iti dvidhā |
alpaprāṇās sajātīyair uktā snigdhā iti smṛtāḥ |
svair anyair vā mahāprāṇā yuktā rūkṣā paraiḥ punaḥ |
alpaprāṇāś ca kathitā rūkṣā yalavair yutāḥ |
sānusvāratayā snaigdhyaṃ yānti rūkṣā iti kvacit |
bhedo jñeyas tasya saṃkhyā gadyapadyādike budhaiḥ |
yathocitam ime varṇā rasādes tūpayōgina | iti

teṣāṃ prayogavivekaḥ **prapañcasāre**—

=

staṃbhanādyam atha pārthivair apām akṣaraiś ca parivarṣanādikaṃ |

---

84 alpaprāṇā mahāprāṇā] alpaprāṇe mahāprāṇe
84 dvi[vi]dhā] dvi[?]dhā
85 ūṣmacatuṣṭayaṃ] a[? ? ?] dvayaṃ
87 smṛtau] smrutau
89 iti smṛtāḥ] i[? ? ?]
91 alpaprāṇāś] alpaprāṇaiś
94 yathocitam ime] yathocita[? ? ?]bume
96 pārthivair] pārdhivair

---

96 staṃbhanādyam . . . ākṣaraiḥ] PS 3.73: *stambhanādyam atha pārthivair apām akṣaraiś ca parivarṣaṇādikam | dāhaśoṣaṇasaśūnyatādikān vahnivāyuviyadakṣaraiś caret* ||

dāhaśoṣaṇasaśūnyatādikān vahni [⁇?] ddhitākṣaraiḥ ||

=

ekamātro bhave[d] dhrasvo dvimātro dīrgha ucyate |
trimātras tu pluto jñeyo vyañjanaṃ cārdhamātrakaṃ || ity
etal lakṣaṇaṃ bhavet—

=

akāraṃ sarvadaivatyaṃ raktaṃ sarvavaśīkaraṃ |
ākāraḥ syāt parāśaktiḥ śvetam ākarṣaṇaṃ bhavet |
ikāraṃ viṣṇudaivatyaṃ śyāmaṃ rakṣākaraṃ paraṃ |
māyāśaktir iti [īkār]aṃ pītaṃ strīṇāṃ vaśīkaraṃ |
ukāro vāstudaivatyaḥ kṛṣṇo rājavaśīkaraḥ |
ūkāraṃ bhūmidaivatyaṃ śyāmaṃ rājavaśīkaraṃ |
ṛkāraṃ brahmaṇo jñeyaṃ pītaṃ grahavināśanaṃ |
śikhaṇḍīrūpaṃ ṝkāraṃ añjanaṃ jvāranāśanaṃ |
aśvinībhyāṃ ḷḹ cobhau sitaraktau jvarāpahau |
ekāraṃ vīrabhadraṃ syāt pītaṃ sarvārthasiddhidaṃ|
aṃkāraṃ tu maheśaṃ syāt raktavarṇaṃ sukhapradaṃ |
aḥkāraṃ kālarudraṃ ca raktaṃ pāśanikṛntanam |
prājāpatyaḥ kakāraḥ syāt pīto vṛttiprādayakaḥ |
caturbhyaḥ kādivarṇebhyo lakṣmir apayaśas tu ṅā |

---

104 [īkār]aṃ] [⁇]aṃ

109 ḷḹ] lulū

112 pāśanikṛntanam] pāśanikṛṃtinā

---

110 ekāraṃ . . . siddhidaṃ] The other complex vowels may have been omitted. However, this could be a shorthand for the whole set of four complex vowels. Compare PS 3.64ab: *sandhyakṣarāḥ syuś catvāro mantrāḥ sarvārthasādhakāḥ* |

prītisaukhye cachau putralābho jo bhayamṛtyudau |
jhañau ṭaṭhau khedadukhe śobhāśobhākarau ḍaḍhau |
bhramaṇaṃ ṇād api tathau syād yudhyāt sukhadau dadhau |
naḥ pratāpī bhītisaukhyamaraṇakleśatāpakṛt |
pavargo yas tu lakṣmido ro dāhaṃ vyasanaṃ lavau |
śaḥ śukhaṃ tanute ṣas tu khedaṃ sas sukhadāyakaḥ |
ho dāhakṛd vyasanado ḷaḥ kṣas sarvasamṛddhikṛt |

sāhityacūḍāmaṇau—

=

akāraḥ prītidāyī syāt niṣedhe tu viparyyayaḥ |
ākāro harṣadaḥ so 'pi krodhetyādiṣu nocitaḥ |
ikārādi catuṣkaṃ tu kuryāt tuṣṭimanorathau |
ṛkārādicatvāri santtatistaṃbhahetavaḥ |
ekārādyās tu catvāraḥ kāmapāramokṣabhūtidāḥ |
lakṣmīkaraḥ kavargaḥ syāt cakāraḥ kīrtināśanaḥ |
chajakārau rogaharau jhañau tu ma[raṇa]pradau |
ṭaṭhakārau khedakarau ḍaḥ śubho ḍhas tu kāntikṛt |
vastulābhakaro ṇas tu takāro vighnanāśakaḥ |
thakāro yuddhakārī syāt dadhau tu dhṛtidāyakau |
nakāras tāpakṛt klaiśyasya niṣedhe śubhaḥ smṛtaḥ |
[rakṣādāyī] pakāraḥ syāt phakāras sādhvasapradaḥ |
ārogyakṛd bakāraḥ syāt bhakāras tv atibhāgyakṛt |

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129 ma[raṇa]] ma[??]]

133 smṛtaḥ] smṛutaḥ

134 [rakṣādāyī]] Text completely illegible here. Corrected on the basis of CC 1.18-27.

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123 akāraḥ . . . viṣānnavat] CC 1.18-27

makāraḥ kṣobhakṛd yas tu śrīdo rephas tu dāhakṛt |
lo jāḍyakṛd vakāras tu nānārogyāyuṣākhaniḥ |
ūṣmāṇas sukhaduḥkhaśrīnirvāṇanidhayaḥ kramāt |
kṣaṃ vinā krūrasaṃyuktā saumyā tyājyā viṣānnavat |

ity anena kvacit kvacid asmaduktārthaḥ pratīyate |

tad apy amūlatvāt paraspa[rā]vijñānam upekṣaṇīyam | kiṃ ca vāyubījaprayogeṇa vinā śodhāharaṇaṃ | astyuttarasyāṃ –**kāḷidāsaḥ** | āsidaśeṣanarapati – **bhaṭṭabāṇaḥ** | tarhi karabadarasadṛśaṃ – **subandhuḥ** | pra[?]matasarasigaṃ dantamatyādināṃ samīcīnatvaṃ | ādau nagaṇa prayogatvāt |

tathā **sāhityacandrodaye**—

=

prayukte nagaṇe cādau duṣṭavarṇaḥ śubho bhavet |
ayaḥ kāñcanatām eti sparśādeḥ sparśavedina || iti

ākāśabījaprayoge tu namodurvārasaṃsāreti vādīndravacanādayaḥ | kiṃca śriyaḥ patiḥ śrīmatir iti | caturmukhamukhetyādinā niṣiddhagaṇamukhagatākāśavāyubijatve ’pi devatāvācakatvāt śreyaskaratvam | [tad uktaṃ] **kavikaṇṭhapāśe**—

=

devatāvācakāḥ śabdā ye ca bhadrādivācakāḥ |
te sarve naiva nindyā syur lipito [gaṇato] ’pi vā || iti

camatkāracaṃdrikāyām api—

=

---

140 asmaduktārthaḥ] asmaduktārdhaḥ

141 paraspa[rā]vijñānam upekṣaṇīyam] paraspa[x]vijñānaṃ cāpekṣaṇīyaṃ

149–150 śreyaskaratvam] śreyaskaratva[?]

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151 devatā . . . ’pi vā] See also: AS 1.35

[maṅ]gaḷārthābhidāne ca devānām aṅkane ’pi vā |
gaṇo na dūṣyo varṇaś ca devatādhiṣṭhitāśmavat ||

evam avijñāya prayukte doṣaḥ **kavikaṇṭhapāśe**—

=

akṣare pariśuddhe tu nāyako bhūtim ṛ[c]chati |
anyathā doṣabāhulyam ubhayo syān na saṃśayaḥ ||

camatkāracaṃdrikāyāṃ—

=

nyastāḥ kāvyamukhe varṇāḥ tattaddaivatamūrtayaḥ |
karttuḥ kāra[y]ituś caiva kalpayantti śubhāśubhaṃ ||

gaṇābhidhānāni chaṃdasi | mayarasatajabhanalagaṃ sammataṃ | bhramati vāṅmayaṃ jagati yasyeti gaṇasvarūpāṇi | tasminn eva gaṇaprakāraḥ | ādimadhyamānteṣu | gaṇadevatā sāhityaratnākare —

=

bhūjalāgnimarudvyomasūryyasomātmasaṃjñikāḥ |
mūrtayaḥ śaṅkarasyāṣṭau gaṇānāṃ devatāḥ smṛtāḥ ||

keṣāṃ varṇāḥ **sāhit[ya]cūḍāmaṇau**—

=

---

154 [maṅ]gaḷārthābhidāne] [⁇]gaḷārdhābhidhāne

155 gaṇo na dūṣyo varṇaś ca] gaṇā na dūṣyā varṇāś ca

163 ādimadhyamānteṣu] ādimadhya[⁇]ṣu

163–164 sāhityaratnākare] sāhityaratmākare

166 smṛtāḥ] smrutāḥ

---

155 maṅgalārthā . . . āśmavat] CC 1.42

160 nystāḥ . . . śubhāśubhaṃ] CC 1.18cd-1.19ab

myārastajabhnasaṃjñānāṃ gaṇānāṃ kramaśo bhavet |
svasvādhidevatānāṃ ye varṇās te ceti viśrutā ||

mamaiva—

taṭidvallīmallikanakaharinīlotpalalasat japāgu[c]chasva[c]chasva[c]chasphaṭikaharitāḷo[hita]śuciḥ | umābhartu[r] mūrtiḥ puruṣaśaśisūrryāṃbaramarunmarunmitrādhātrir ||

iti vadati cāṣṭ[??] dha ganaḥ | apare mattakekikalāpā iti bhūmeś citravarṇatāṃ varṇayantti | tatra yayāpi tadvarṇavarṇitāḥ | tathaivānyatra **prapañcasāre**—

= . . .

mapisuṣiraciṃhnasamīraṇaḥ syāt calanaparaḥ paripāravākṛśānuḥ |
jalam api rasavat ghanādharāsitisitipāṭala[?damage] śubhrapitabhāsaḥ |

śāradātilake—

=

svabhaṃ viyat marut kṛṣṇo rakto ’gnir viśadaṃ payaḥ |
pītā bhūmiḥ pañcabhūtāny aikaikādhārato viduḥ ||

gaṇānāṃ grahās **sāhityaratnākare** |

=

vahnikṣmākhāṃbumarutāṃ [va]dantti ha manīṣiṇaḥ |

---

168 myārastajabhnasaṃjñānāṃ] vyārastajabhasaṃjñānāṃ

171–172 taṭidvallīmallikanakaharinīlotpalalasat japāgu[c]chasva[c]chasva[c]chasphaṭikaharitāḷo[hita]śuciḥ | umābhartu[r] mūrtiḥ puruṣaśaśisūrryāṃbaramarunmarunmitrādhātrir ||] taṭidvallimallikanakaharinīlotpalalasat japāguchasvachasvachasphaṭikaharitāḷo[??]śuciḥ | umābhartu mūrtiḥ puruṣaśaśisūrryāṃbaramarunmarunmitrādhātrir||

178 kṛṣṇo] kriṣṇo

180 gaṇānāṃ] na[?]nāṃ

---

168 myārastajabhnasaṃjñānāṃ] Compare Vṛttaratnākara 1.6a: *myarastajabhnagair lāntair*

178–179 svabhaṃ . . . viduḥ] ŚT 1.21cd-1.22ab grahān bhaumādikān tattatgaṇānāṃ ca yathākramaṃ ||

tathā **bṛhajjātake**—

=

śikhibhūkhapayomarutgaṇānām adhipā bhūmisutādayaḥ krameṇa |
jagaṇabhagaṇau [. . .] nijādhidevatāgrahau |

tad uktaṃ **sāhityacandrodaye**—

=

mayarasatajabhagaṇānāṃ budhakavikujasaurijīvaravicaṃdrāḥ |
vicarās te ’pi vidhānaṃ teṣāṃ vidur guṇādyavasthānaṃ ||

atra [⁇?] grahādidoṣarahitatvāt nagaṇo na gaṇyate |

tathā **sāhityacūḍāmaṇau**—

=

na grahā na ca na[kṣa]traṃ na rāśir na ca mitratā |
nākṣarānarhacinttā syāt prayoge nagaṇasya tu ||

tathaiva prasiddhakaviprabandhādau prayogaṃ darśanāt **śivabhadre**— praṇamateti | **nalodaye**— hṛdayasadayeti |

atha gaṇānāṃ śubhāśubhaphalāni **camat[kāracandrikāyāṃ]**—

=

kṣemaṃ sarvagurur dhatte magaṇo bhūmidaivataḥ |

---

182 grahān] gaṇān

189 rahitatvāt] rihitatvāt

191 na[kṣa]traṃ] na[?]traṃ

193 **nalodaye**] na[⁇]ye

184–185 śikhi . . . grahau] BJ 2.6

196 kṣemaṃ . . . candradaivataḥ] CC 1.32-1.34ab. In accordance with the preceding statement on the *na-gaṇa*, he has omitted CC 1.34cd: *dhanaṅaraḥ sarvalaghur nagaṇo yajñadaivataḥ* |

karoty arthān ādilaghur yagaṇo jaladaivataḥ |
bh[ūti]dāyī madhyalaghū ragaṇo vahnidaivataḥ |
kṣayaṃ karoty antyagurus sagaṇo vāyudaivataḥ |
|
bhū[ti]m antyalaghur dhatte tagaṇo vyomadaivataḥ
rujākaro madhyagurur jagaṇo bhānudaivataḥ |
ādau gurus saukhyadāyī bhagaṇaś candradaivataḥ |

kecit tagaṇaprayogaṃ nindanti | tathā **sāhityaratnākare**— vyoma śūnyaṃ tanuta iti | **kavikaṇṭhapāśe** – to dyaur anttalaghur ayaṃ | **sāhi** vāyugaṇaṃ bhadram iti | gagane śūnyam iti | etad amitragaṇayuktagaṇaviṣayaṃ || tathā **sāhityacandrodaye**—

=

saumyagrahādhiṣṭhatatvāt tagaṇas sugaṇo hīnaḥ |
mitrāmitragaṇais sā[ra?ka?]ṃ śubhāśubhaphalapradaḥ ||

tathā mitragrahārdhatagaṇaprayogaḥ | amaruke— jyākṛṣtibaddhakhaṭakāmukheti | magaṇaprayoge 'pi kvacid apavādo dṛśyate | **sāhityacandrodaye**—

=

saumyo 'pi magaṇaḥ krūraḥ krūraṃ gaṇam upāśrita[ḥ] |
krūragrahasamāyuktas tadadhīśo budho yathā ||

---

197 arthān] ardhān

203 tagaṇaprayogaṃ] tu gaṇaprayogaṃ

204 vāyugaṇaṃ] vāyu[?]ṇaṃ

208 amaruke] amarake

208 jyākṛṣtibaddhakhaṭakāmukheti] [?j/b]yākṛṣṭibaddhakadikāmukheti

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204 **sāhi**] The citation here is ambiguous given that three *sāhi* texts have been cited so far (viz. *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi, Sāhityaratnākara, Sāhityacandrodaya*).

208 jyākṛṣtibaddhakhaṭakāmukheti] Amaruśataka 1.1

tathā **saṃhitāsāre**— budhaḥ pāpagrahayutaḥ pāpa iti | etad amitragrahādhiṣṭhitagaṇayuktaviṣayaṃ | tathā coktaṃ **sāhi**—

=

kartuḥ kāra[y]ituś caiva magaṇo budhakartṛkaḥ |
sagaṇena samāyuktas sarvakāmaphalapradaḥ |
sagaṇo [. . .] patiḥ krūra iti prasiddhaḥ |

saṃhitāsāre— pāpāmaṃdārabhāsmarā iti | tathāpi budhasaurimaitriviśeṣāt sagaṇānugato magaṇaḥ sutarāṃ śubhapradaḥ | mahākavibhir aṅgīkṛtaḥ— vāgarthāv iva saṃpṛktāv iti kāḷidāsaḥ | cūḍāpīḍakapāla iti bhavabhūtiḥ | niṣpratyūham upāsmaha iti murāriḥ ||

ragaṇaprayoge tv ayaṃ viśeṣaḥ | **sāhityacandro[daye]**—

=

ragaṇaḥ śrīkaraḥ puṃsāṃ sagaṇānugato yadi |
gadya[pa]dyaprabaṃddhādau tatrodāharaṇaṃ bruve |

saptapadārthyaṃ | hetave jagatām eveti | kiṃ ca eta[?] gaṇasyādhidevatayor analānilayoḥ maitrivi[. . .] vāyusakha ity amarasiṃhavacanaṃ | api ca janyo 'tra janakanikaṭe sutavad vitan-

---

212 pāpagrahayutaḥ] pā[. . .]yutaḥ

218 vāgarthāv] vāgardhāv

219 cūḍāpīḍakapāla] cūḍāvelakapāla

224–225 'tra janakanikaṭe sutavad vitanoti nāśubhaṃ] ktattajanakani[?]sutanur vitanoti sāśubhaṃ

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213 **sāhi**] Another ambiguous reference. See earlier note to l.195

218 vāgarthāv iva saṃpṛktāv] Raghuvaṃśa 1.1

219 cūḍāpīḍakapāla] Mālatīmādhava 1.1

219 niṣpratyūham upāsmaha] Anargharāghava 1.1

224 vāyusakha] Amarakośa 1.1.128

224–225 janyo 'tra janakanikaṭe sutavad vitanoti nāśubhaṃ karmeti] CC 1.30

oti nāśubhaṃ karmeti camatkāracandrikāyām uktatvāt janyajanakabhāvāc ca vāyor agner iti kṛtaḥ prasiddhaḥ | evam api [. . .] pūrve vahnau bhayam iti kavikaṇṭhapāśavacanād bhayajanakatvaṃ yady āśaṅketa tad api na yuktaṃ | mārutaḥ pūrvo yasyeti bahuvrīhisamāsasya vivakṣitatvāt tathaiva | anilānalasaṃyogaḥ [? ? ?] bhumandiraṃ | mahānalabhayaṃ bhīmajvālamālāsamākulaṃ sāhityaratnākaroktatvāt | kiṃ ca lakṣmīpradātā hutāśanaḥ | tathā manuḥ – śriyam i[c]cheddhutāśanāt | manunā yaduktaṃ [. . .] grāhyam eva | yad vai kiṃ ca manur avadat tad beṣajam iti śrutiḥ | tasmāt sagaṇānugato ragaṇaḥ śrīkara[ḥ] |

jagaṇaprayoge viśeṣaḥ—

=

jagaṇaḥ sūryyadaivatvāt rujaṃ haṃti na doṣakṛt |
gaṇānām uttamo jñeyo grahāṇāṃ bhāskaro yathā |

api ca – hiraṇmayapuruṣasya kṛpākaṭākṣaleśna vigatāmayo mayūraḥ sadyo bhūt dyotamānakanakābhaḥ | atra ca śruti smṛti ca | hṛdrogaṃ mama sūryyo harimāṇaṃ ca nāśaya | ārogyaṃ bhāskarādi[c]ched iti viṣṇuḥ | śrutismṛti mamaivājñeyas tūllaṅghya pravartate | ājñ[??]vam anudveṣi madbha[?: r? k?]to 'pi na vaiṣṇavaḥ |

etat tagaṇānugatajagaṇaviṣayaṃ | tathā **sāhityaratnākare**—

=

nityaṃ tagaṇasānnidhyāt sarvābhiṣṭaphalapradaḥ |
kartuḥ kāra[y]ituś caiva [ja]gaṇo bhānudaivataḥ ||

---

225 agner] agnir

225–226 kṛtaḥ prasiddhaḥ] kṛto prasiddho

227 bahuvrīhi] bahuvrihi

236 śruti] śṛti

236 smṛti] smruti

237 śrutismṛti] śṛtismruti

mahākaviprayogaḥ bhāravikāvye – [śri]yaḥ [ku]rūṇām iti | nyāyasāre – praṇamya śambhuṃ jagataḥ patim iti | naiṣadhakāvye – nipīyya yasya kṣitirakṣiṇa iti |

bhagaṇaprayoge tv ayaṃ pravādaḥ | **sāhityacandrodaye**—

=

kavinā gadyapadyādau prayukto mūḍhacetasā |
kṛtānto bhagaṇo bhartuḥ kṛṣṇavarṇiniśākare |

nanu candraḥ kṛṣṇavarṇa ity aitihyāṃ | salilātmaka iti prasiddhaḥ | tathā varāhamihiraḥ—

=

salilamaye śaśini raver dīdhitayo mūrchitās tamo naiśaṃ |
kṣapayanti darpaṇodaranihitā iva mandirasyāntaḥ ||

salilasya śuklarūpatvam eva | śuklamadhurasitā evā [. . .] vaiśeṣikair uktatvāt caṃdro ’pi tejastatidhavaḷa eva sitabhāsvaraṃ tejas iti tair evoktatvāt ca | api ca **saṃhitāsāre**—

=

bhāskārāṅgārakau raktau śvetau bhṛguniśākarau |
pitau budhasurācāryyau kṛṣṇau śa[? ?]dhuṃtudau |

sata [. . .]m evaṃ | tathā japākusumāsānnidhyāt sphaṭikasya raktateti | śaśini ca tattadupādhivaśāt tattadrupatā vidyata eva | tathā **saṃhitāsāre**—

=

śanaiścaraḥ tattadupādhivaśāt tattadrūpatā vidyata eva |

---

246 kṛṣṇa] kriṣṇa

247 kṛṣṇa] kriṣṇa

248 salilamaye . . . mandirasyāntteti] salilamaye śaśiniraverdadhitayor mūrchitās tamonaiśaṃ | kṣapayanti darp[. . .]darapatitam iva maṃdirasyāṃtteti ||

253 kṛṣṇau] kriṣṇau

---

248 salilamaye . . . mandirasyāntteti] Bṛhatsaṃhitā 4.2

raktaṃ pītaṃ sitaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ [can]dravarṇacatuṣṭayaṃ |
grahavarṇena varṇāś ca śaśāṅkasya prajāyate |

tasmāc candrakṛṣṇavarṇatvaṃ saṃbhavaty eva kṛṣṇacandro mṛtyukṛt | etad apy uktaṃ yathā tasminn eva—

=

raktacandre bhaved yuddhaṃ kṛṣṇe mṛtyur na saṃśaya[ḥ] |
pite śubhaṃ vijānīyāt śvete śubhataraṃ bhavet |

iti candrādhiṣṭhito bhagaṇaḥ tattadvarṇānurūpaphalaṃ dadāti | **sāhityaratnākare**—

=

dinakaramukhagrahāṇāṃ yena śa[śi][. . .]nar tejasā bhajate |
guṇagaṇavarṇās tadvad bhagaṇo gaṇānāṃ ca |

yagaṇaprayoge ’pi sāhityaratnākare—

=

prakṛtyā yagaṇo nityaṃ śrīkaraḥ vidyate budhaiḥ |
sa eva vikṛtiṃ yāti tagaṇānugato yadi |

etac cet tadadhīśagurubhārgavayos sahajavirodhāt | tad uktaṃ **sāhityacūḍāmaṇau**—

=

gaṇānāṃ śatṛtāmaitrivijñeyā kavipuṃgavaiḥ |
tadīśānāṃ grahāṇāṃ ca mitratvā[c]chātravātsadā ||

---

257 kṛṣṇaṃ] kriṣṇaṃ

259 candrakṛṣṇa] caṃdrakriṣṇa

259 kṛṣṇa] kriṣṇa

261 raktacandre] raktacandra

261 yuddhaṃ] yadhaṃ

261 kṛṣṇe] kriṣṇe

evam eva sagaṇaḥ sva[bhā]vaduṣṭo ’pi mitragaṇasambandhād abhayajanaka iti vijñeyaṃ | grahamaitri yathā **gārgyaḥ**—

=

sū[r]ya[sya] mandaśukrautuśatrū proktau budhas samaḥ |
devamantriniśānāthaḥ pṛthvyās sūnuś ca bāndhavāḥ |
[? ? ? ? ? ?]naivaṃ mitrasūryaśaśāṅka[?] |
bhūmiputrasūrācāryaśukramanddās samāḥ smṛtāḥ |
bhūputrasya budhaḥ śatruḥ śukramandāu samau smṛtau |
dinanātho niśānātho devācāryaś ca bāndhavāḥ |
budhasya himakaro mitrobhāskarabhārgavau |
bhūmiputrāmarācāryasūryaputrās samā smṛtāḥ |
guroḥ śanir udāsinaḥ śatrū śaśijabhārgavau |
nakṣtranāthas tikṣṇāṃśur dharāputraś ca bāndhavāḥ |
śukrasya sūryyahimagū śātravau samudāhṛtau |
jīvāṅgārāv udāsinau mitrabudhaśanaiścarau |
śaner gurur udāsino mitrabhṛguśaśāṅkajau |
śātravo medinīputradivākaraniśākarāḥ |

atha gaṇānāṃ ca nakṣatrāṇi **sāhityacandrodaye**—

=

gaṇānāṃ tārakā jyeṣṭhā pūrvāṣāḍhā ca kṛttikā |
svāti puṣyottarā caiva mṛgamūrdhā ca rohiṇī ||

---

277 smṛtāḥ] smrutāḥ

278 smṛtau] smrutau

280 budhasya himakaro mitro] budhasya himaś[⁇]ḥ mitra

281 smṛtāḥ] smrutāḥ

287 medinīputradivākaraniśākarāḥ] medinīputradivā [? ? ?] śākarāḥ

asmi[n]n [arthe] **kavikaṇṭhapāśe**—

=

[jye]ṣṭhā me bharaṇī bhe ca mṛgo ye se ca vāruṇaṃ |
je syāt punarvasū re ca kṛttikā svāti te ’pi ca ||

tagaṇe śravaṇaṃ jñeyam ity anayā paraśloke tagaṇajagaṇanagaṇānāṃ śravaṇapuna[rva]sūbharaṇīnakṣatrāṇy [uktāni] | tad ayuktaṃ gaṇasyādhidevatāgrahayor ekasmān nakṣtraṃ bhavati darśanāt | yathā jayadevaḥ—

=

uktāni grahād vā yadi vā svasvādhidevatāyāś ca tā[. . .] |
bhaveyus teṣāṃ doṣāya na ced vadantti doṣajñāḥ || iti |

gaṇānāṃ rāśayaḥ—

=

vṛścikaś ca dhanurmeṣau tulākarkaṭakau hariḥ |
vṛṣabhaś ceti vijñeyā gaṇānāṃ rāśayaḥ kramāt ||

teṣāṃ amṛtaveḷā ca **sāhityacandrodaye**—

=

jas tama[si] ca marasabhanā rajasi yatau cāśuvirahitau sa[t]tve |
tasmāt tagaṇādīnāṃ jñeyā mṛtajīvasa[ṃ]jñikāveḷā || iti |

tathā **saṃhitāsaṃgrahe**—

=

cāpajhaṣakarkaṭākhyāḥ sa[t]tve meṣāḷivṛṣatulā rajasi |
tamasi ca kanyāmṛgarāṭmithunamṛgāṅganā gataprāṇāḥ |

grahāvasthāḥ—

---

291 [arthe]] [?]rdh[?]

292 [jye]ṣṭhā] [?]ṣṭhā

=

dīpaḥ svastho muditaḥ śaktaḥ śānttaḥ pradipito di[. . .] vikalaḥ kalyo bhītaḥ saṃjñeyā daśāvasthā

|

evam avicāryya kṛte doṣaḥ | **sāhityacūḍāmaṇau**—

= ? ? ? ?

gaṇānāṃ ca grahāvasthāḥ punaḥ punaḥ |
viśodhya racayet padyaṃ no ced bhūyād asāṃpratam ||

. . .

ca **sāhityaratnākare**—

=

grahāvasthām avijñāya kavitāṃ yo vadet kaviḥ |
sadūrataḥ parityājyo nṛpair jīvitakā[ṅkṣi]bhiḥ ||

atha mātṛkāpūjā **sāhityacūḍāmaṇau**—

=

varṇābjakarṇikāsināṃvāṇīṃ vīṇādivādinīṃ |
abhyarcya kavitāṃ kartum ārabheta tataḥ kaviḥ | iti mātṛkāpūjā |

varṇāc ca eva kartavyā | **sāhityacandrodaye**—

=

varnāc ca eva kartavyaṃ mātṛkāpūj[anaṃ] niśi |
kavinā gadyapadyādivarṇadoṣāpahāriṇā ||

---

318 varṇābjakarṇikāsināṃ] varṇā[?]karnikāsināṃ

318 vāṇīṃ vīṇādivādinīṃ] [?]ṇiṃviṇādināviniṃ

320 varṇāc] varṇāj

321 varnāc] varṇāj

321 mātṛkāpūj[anaṃ]] mātṛkāpūja[??]

322 āpahāriṇā] āpanāttaye

śāradātilake—

=

varṇābjenāsanaṃ dadhyānmūrttiṃ mūlena kalpayet |
āvāhya pūjayettasyāṃ devīmāvaraṇaiḥ saha |
aṅgair āvaraṇaṃ pūrvaṃ dvitīyaṃ yugmaśaḥ svaraiḥ |
aṣṭavargais tṛtīyaṃ syāt tacchaktibhiranantaram |
pañcamaṃ mātṛbhiḥ proktaṃ ṣaṣṭhaṃ lokeśvaraiḥ smṛtam |
lokapālāyudhaiḥ proktaṃ vajrādyaiḥ saptamaṃ tataḥ |

vidhinānena varṇe śivam upacāraiḥ prapūjayet | varṇābje lakṣaṇaṃ **prapañcasāre** ’bhihitaṃ—

=

vyomāviḥsacaturdaśasvaravisargāntasphuratkarṇikaṃ
kiṃjalkālikhitasvaraṃ pratidaḷaprārabdhavargāṣṭakaṃ |
kṣmābimbena ca saptamārṇavayujāsrāśāsu saṃveṣṭitam |
varṇābjaṃ śirasi smṛtaṃ viṣagadapradhvaṃsi mṛtyuñjayam ||

evam akaraṇe doṣaḥ | **sāhi[tya]can[drodaye]**—

=

yo vadet padyam unmādād akṛtvā mātṛkārcanaṃ |
mṛtyurūpibhave [. . .] na sa kartāvadham ṛ[c]chati ||

---

324 varṇābje . . . tataḥ] varṇābjenāsanaṃ dadyāt mūrttiṃ mūlena kalpayet | āvāhya pūjayet tasyāṃ devim āvara[ai]s saha | aṃgair āvaraṇaṃ pūrvaṃ dvitīyaṃ yugmaḷaḥ svaraiḥ | apavargais tṛtīyaṃ syāt ca[?] bhir anaṃtaraṃ |paṃca[ma]ṃ mātaraṃ mriktaṃ ṣaṣṭhaṃ lokeśvaraṃ smrutaṃ | lokapālāyudhaiḥ [?pro]ktaṃ vajrādyais saptamaṃ tata[?] |

331 vyomāviḥ . . . mṛtyuñjayam] vyomādissacaturdaśasvaravisargāsphuratkarṇikākiṃjalkālikhitaṃ svaraṃ pratidaḷaprārabdhavargāṣṭakaṃ | kṣmābiṃba [. . .] saptamārṇavayujā[. . .] śusaṃveṣṭitaṃ varṇābjaṃ śirasi sthita[ṃ][. . .] dapradhvaṃsimṛtyuṃjayaṃ |

---

324 varṇābje . . . tataḥ] ŚT 6.12cd-15

331 vyomāviḥ . . . mṛtyuñjayam] PS 7.7

sāhi[tya]ra[tnākare]—

=

prabhūn uddiśya padya[ṃ] vā prabandhaṃ vā kadācana |
na vaktavyaṃ na vaktavyaṃ mātṛkāpūjanaṃ vinā ||

kavilakṣaṇaṃ **sāhi[tya]cū[ḍāmaṇau]**—

=

śucir dakṣaḥ śāṃttas sujanavinutaḥ sū [. . .] taparaḥ kaḷāvedi vidvān kalamṛduvadaḥ kāvyacaturaḥ |
kṛtajño daivajñas sadayas satkulabhavaḥ śubhākaraś chandogaṇaguṇaviveki sa hi kaviḥ |

kiṃ ca **sāhi[tya]can[drodaye]**—

=

na ś[ūdro] na ca vaiśyas tu na narendraḥ kadācana |
vipra eva kavir nūnam atrodāharaṇaṃ śrutiḥ ||

kavirājāṅkuśaḥ—

=

gavām i[va] payo [grāhyaṃ] kāvyaṃ vipreṇa nirmitaṃ |
gadyapadyaprabandhānāṃ racitānāṃ kaviśvaraiḥ ||

=

catvāro nāyakā jñeyā dhirodāttādayaḥ kramāt |

teṣāṃ lakṣaṇāni **sāhi[tya]cū[ḍāmaṇau]**—

=

yaśaḥpratāpasubhago dharma[kāmārtha]tatparaḥ |
dhuraṃdharo guṇāḍhyaś ca nāyakaḥ parikīrtitaḥ |

---

344 chando] caṃddo

346 ś[ūdro]] ś[??]

347 śrutiḥ] śṛtiḥ

evaṃvidhaguṇopeto nāyakaḥ sa caturvidaḥ |
dhīrodātto ’tha lalito dhīraśānttoddhatāv api |
[? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?] satyavāg avikatthanaḥ |
[mahā]prabhā[vo] vinayī dhirodātto sa [kath]yate |
te rāmacandrapurūravaprabhṛtayaḥ |
darpāhaṃkāramātsaryyamāyāchadmavikatthanaiḥ |
paruśaś capalaś [caṇḍo] [dhīroddhata] u[? ?]taḥ |
rāvaṇaparaśurāmādayaḥ |
nirjita . . . mṛduḥ nirjitāśeṣaśatrutvān niścintto niru[? ? ?] |
sacivanyastasaṃrājyabhāras sukhaparāyaṇaḥ |
kānttāparavaśo seta [? ? ? ? ? ?] mṛduḥ |
vatsarājāgnivarṇādayaḥ |
vijñānavinayopāyaḥ kṣamāsaujanyasaṃyutaḥ |
madhurapriyavādī ca dhiraśāntto dvijo vaṇik |
mādhavasaugandhikādayaḥ |

---

355 nāyakaḥ sa caturvidaḥ] nā[? ? ? ?]turvidaḥ

358 [kath]yate] [?]dyate

361 [dhīroddhata]] [? ?]ddata

363 nirjitāśeṣaśatrutvān] nirjitāśeṣaśatṛtvān

366 vatsarājāgnivarṇādayaḥ] vatsarājānnivarṇādayaḥ

---

357 [? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?] satyavāg avikatthanaḥ] Compare AS 4.4cd-5ab: *kṣamavānatigambhīro mahāsattvo ’vikatthanaḥ | kṛpāluranahaṃkārī dhīrodātto mato yathā ||*

360 darpāhaṃ . . . taḥ] Compare AS 4.7cd-8ab: *māyī mātsayavān dṛptaścaṇḍaścapalamānasaḥ | vikatthano vañcako ’haṃkārī dhīroddhato yathā |*

363 nirjitāśeṣaśatrutvān niścintto niru[? ? ?]] Compare AS 4.5cd-6ab: *sacivāyattasiddhiśca niścinto bhogatatparaḥ | sukhī mṛduḥ kalāsaktaḥ syāddhīralalito yathā |*

pratyekamẹṣāṃ śṛṅgārāvasthayā caturātmatā|
dakṣiṇaś ca śa[ṭh]o dhṛṣṭo ’nukūlaś ceti kīrtitaḥ |
ity udāttādinetṝṇāṃ bhedāḥ ṣoḍaśakirtitāḥ |
jyeṣṭhamadhyādhamatvena teṣām eva trirūpatā |
evaṃ netṛgaṇāś cāṣṭacatvāriṃśat prakīrtitāḥ |

atha rasākṛtiḥ—

=

hāsyaḥ śṛṅgārasaṃbhūtaḥ karuṇo raudrasaṃbhavaḥ |
virād adbhuta utpanno bhībhatsotthā bhayānakāt |
samyak [. . .] na samudbhūtaḥ śāntto [. . .]ṛ ha nāyakaḥ |

atha rasavarṇā[dhidevatā]ḥ—

=

śṛṅgāra utpalābhaḥ syāt viṣṇus tasyādhidevatā |
hāsyaḥ sudhāśubhravarṇo heraṃbo ’syādhidevatā |
adbhutaḥ kamalachāyo braṃhma tasyādhidevatā |
bhībhatso nīlameghābho nandī tasyādhidevatā |
dhūmro bhayānakas tasya mahākāḷo ’dhidevatā |
śānttaḥ sphaṭikavarṇaḥ [?] parabrahm[o ’dhidevatā] |
ātmano manasā yoge manasas tv indriyais saha |

---

370 pratyekamẹṣāṃ] pra[? ? ? ?]

373 trirūpatā] trirū[. . .]

386 ātmano manasā] [?]m[?]no manaso

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370 pratyekaṃ . . . parikīrtitāḥ] AS 4.9; 4.12cd-13

380 śṛṅgāra . . . brahmādidevatā] AS 3.58-62

386 ātmano . . . smṛtaḥ] AS 3.1-2ab

indriyāṇāṃ tattadarthair iti jñānodayakramaḥ |
jñāyamāḷair vibhāvādyair vyaktaḥ s(th)āy[?] rasaḥ smṛtaḥ |
pā[. . .]ya kriyāvyastasaṃkīrṇapravibheda[. . .] |
śṛṅgāraḥ pañcadhā prokto rasas ta[c]chāstrakovidaiḥ |
vāgrūpakakriyābhedaiḥ tridhātyaṣṭaurasāḥ smṛtāḥ |
śṛṅgārabhibhatsarasau tadhā vīrabhayānakau |
raudrādbhutau tadhā hāsyakaruṇau vairiṇau mithaḥ |
śānttas sarvottamas tasya na maitri na virodhatā |
sādhupākamanāsvādyaṃ bhojyaṃ nirlavaṇaṃ ya[thā] |
tadhaiva nirasaṃ vākyam iti brūte ra[sā]n iha |

atha cāṭuprabandhāḥ—

=

kāvyaṃ kīrtyādiphaladaṃ syāt tato doṣavarjitaṃ |
śabdārthau sadguṇau samyag alaṃkārair alaṃkṛtau |
sat[? ? ? ? ?] pady[?] saṃmiśrabhedena trividho bhavet ||
gaṇamātrāvibhedena padyaṃ dvedhā pradarśitaṃ |
syātāṃ tad bahudhā loke muktakāni vibhedataḥ ||
purastāt saṃpravakṣyāmi tatsarvaṃ tu kra[? ? ?] |
gadyaṃ tad yadapādaṃ syāt sukliṣṭapadagumbhanaṃ ||
saptadhā kathyate tat tu cūrṇakaṃ pu[? ? ?]vi ca |
kalikotkalikācitralalitaṃ khaṇḍam ity api ||

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387 tattadarthair] tattadardhe

388 smṛtaḥ] smrutaḥ

391 smṛtāḥ] smrutāḥ

399 śabdārthau] śabdārdhau

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392 śṛṅgāra . . . virodhatā] AS 3.64

padyair vyastais samastaiś ca ya tadbandha[? ?] vā tat |
pa[? ? ? ? ? ?]syāt ya[t] gadyaṃ pṛ[? ? ?]t ||
yaiḥ kaiścit tāḷayatibhir nibadhya daḷaśobhitāṃ |
ādyantaṃ sa saṃyuktadaḷayos tadvayor dvayoḥ ||
[? ? ?] [ba]ndhayam ita[s] saṃbhavet kalikāhvayā |
caturdaḷāṣaḍdaḷā ca syās saivāṣṭadaḷā tathā ||
proktānyā syāt ṣoḍadaḷādvātriśaddaḷakāparaṃ |
tāḷaṃ tu [pro]ktaṃ kālamāsātmakaṃ viduḥ ||
yatis tu daḷamadhyasthagaṇāder bhedarūpakaḥ |
daḷāni tāḷavibhedasthānāny āhur vipaścitaḥ ||
kalikotkalikābhede tv evaṃ tāḷalakṣaṇaṃ |
nibaddhatāḷayatir [vi]bhaktyābhāsalāñchitā ||
yadvābhāsasamāyuktā saptavākyasamāgatā |
paścāt pallavavākyā ca kalikāprāsaśālinī ||
seyam utkalikā ramyā sy[ād a]ṣṭadaḷasaṃyutā |
bahubhaṅgivicitroktir yat gadyapadyam ucyate ||
yaḥ pañcaśaiḥ padai[r] baddhaiḥ samasyair laḷitaṃ hi tat |
[y]atibhaṅgasamāśliṣṭaṃ gadyaṃ tat khaṇḍam ucyate ||
kalādisandhibhedena sarvam atra pradarśyate |
miśraṃ tat gadyapadyaiś ca miḷitaṃ sā[? ? ?] tat ||
cāṭuprabandhās tadbhedās tān pratyeva pa[?] kramaḥ |
kāvyaṃ tu trividhaṃ proktaṃ uttamaṃ madhyamaṃ tathā ||

---

417 tāḷa] tā[?]

422 gadyapadyam ucyate] gadyaṃ pady[am u]cyate

423 pañcaśaiḥ] pañcaṣaiḥ

adhamaṃ ceti tatsarvam anyatra triprakārakaṃ |
prabandhās tu dvi[dhā]s santti mahāntt[o] laghavas tathā |
te mahānttaś caturvargaphalam yeṣv abhidīyate ||
sphura[ti te] rasās sarve nagarādisthalāni ca |
laghavas te caturvargeṣv eka eva prakīrtitaḥ ||
samagraikarasā[pi] ca [?] cānekarasāśritāḥ |
teṣām āśīḥprabhṛtikaṃ mukhaṃ kuryāt suśobhanaḥ ||
varṇaṃ gaṇaṃ ca tatraiva pariśuddhaṃ [prakalpayet] |
kavinetṛprabandhānām aunnatyaṃ tena [jā]yate ||
na cet teṣām aniṣṭāptir bhavaty eva na saṃśayaḥ |
tasmāt prakathyate teṣāṃ varṇādīnāṃ śubhāśubhaṃ ||
evaṃ sarvaprabandhasya mukhaṃ tu pariśodhaye[t] |
[pa]riśuddhe mukhe tasmāt śucis sarvatra jāyate ||

iti lakṣaṇadīpikāyāṃ kāvyasvarūpanirūpaṇaṃ nāma prathamaḥ prakāraḥ |

=

likhyate paribhāṣātha yasyāṃ sarvaṃ prakāśitaṃ |
tas[. . .] mātrāyāṃ prabandhās sukarāḥ smṛtāḥ ||
yasya yasya prabandhasya yatra yatra nirūpyate |
yā yā vibhaktiḥ kartavyā sā sā nāya[? ? ?]yur ||
tatraiva kalikādīnāṃ tāḷādiniyamo [yathā] |

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429 triprakārakaṃ] triprakā[? ?]ṃ

431 yeṣv] eṣv

435 āśīḥprabhṛtikaṃ] āsiprabhṛtikaṃ

436 [prakalpayet]] pra[⁇]yet

444 smṛtāḥ] smrutāḥ

447 [yathā]] y[? ?]

kathitas tatra kartavya[s] tathaiva [ka]vipuṃgavaiḥ ||
vastunetṛrasādīnāṃ nāsti yatra vinirnayaḥ |
tatra te tu prakartavyā yathā yogyaṃ yathāruci ||
granthasaṃkhyā yato nāsti tatra syāt ṣaṣṭi saṃmitā |
śato saṃkhyāthavā naiva tadūrdhvaṃ nītinirṇayaḥ ||
granthasaṃkhyoktiniyamaḥ kaiścin nāstīti coditaḥ |
saṃkhyāsaṃsyā[??]tatra prabandh[? ? ? ?] guṇo[j]jvalā ||
sarveṣāṃ pañcamaṃ te[?] gadyaṃ vā kalikādikaṃ |
kavinetṛprabandhānāṃ nāmnā yuktaṃ prakalpayet ||

iti lakṣaṇadīpikāyāṃ paribhāṣānirūpaṇaṃ nāma dvitīyaḥ prakāśa[ḥ] [. . .]

=

? ? ?]kṣaṇabhedānāṃ lakṣaṇaṃ tan nirūpyate |
ekasmin chandasi sveṣṭe vākyārthāptir hi muktakaṃ ||
muktakadvitayena syāt yugaḷaṃ tu tribhis trayī |
caturbhir vedamāloktā pañcabhiḥ pañcaratnakaṃ ||
ṣaḍbhi[? ? ?] mālaṃ syāt saptabhis tu rāgāvaḷī |
aṣṭabhir gajamāloktā bhaved aṣṭakam eva ca ||
ratnamālā tu navabhiḥ daśabhir daśakaṃ bhavet |
ekādaśabhir uktā syāt rudrāḷī cāṭukovidaiḥ ||
syāt dvāda[śa]ḥ tu cāṭūnāma[??]māleti kīrtyate |
ojaḥkānttiguṇopetaiḥ gauḍarītisamanvitaiḥ ||
aṣṭabhiḥ kathitaiḥ padyaiḥ kalikotkalikākramaiḥ |
padyena navamenānte hṛdyaṃ sarvavibhaktitaḥ ||
jayety upakrā[mya] pūrvam udāharaṇam[? ? ?] |
atra sarvāṇi padyāni netṛnāmāṅkitāni ca |

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459 vākyārthāptir] vākyārdhāptir

śakvarryādīni baddhāni mālinīvṛttamādimaṃ ||

iti prabandhadīpikāyāṃ tṛtīyaḥ prakāśaḥ |

=

athodāharaṇādinām uddiṣṭānāṃ yathā kramaṃ |
lakṣaṇaṃ kriyate saṃyak pūrvācāryyānusārataḥ ||
vibhaktiḥ prathamā paścāt evaṃ saṃbodhanāntimā |
dvitīyāpramukhās sapta[? ? ?] syur vibhaktitaḥ ||
śakvaryyādimahāchandonibandho yatra dṛśyate |
padye padye kramopetanetṛnāmavibhaktiyuk ||
jayetyādipadopetaṃ mālinīvṛttamādimaṃ |
kiṃcādyā vāpi cāntyā vā kalikāṣṭadaḷā smṛtā ||
kalikā to [? ?] mātrā vā kiṃcid ūnāpi so[j]jvalā |
vibhaktyābhyāsasaṃyuktā caturdhā vā suśobhanā ||
bhaved utkalikāvete pūrvoktāṅkasya te ubhe |
ojaḥpradhānāḥ śabdā[s] syur yatra netṛguno[j]jvalāḥ ||
syād yatra gauḍarīti[r] yā yatra bandho[? ?] dhuraḥ |
bhaveyur yatra netāraḥ surāsuramahīsurāḥ ||
guravaḥ kṣoṇipālāś ca sāmanttās sacivādayaḥ |

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481 smṛtā] smrutā

484 pūrvoktāṅkasya] pūrvoktāṃkāsya

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475 athodāharaṇā . . . udāharaṇaṃ bhavet] Compare AS 11.6-12: *athodāharaṇādīnāṃ lakṣaṇaṃ kathyate ’dhunā | kalpanīyāni padyāni sapta saptavibhaktibhiḥ || saṃbodhanātmikā cānte vibhaktistvaṣṭamī bhavet | śakvarīprabhṛtīni syuśchandāṃsyasya yathāruci || rītiḥ pradhānā gauḍīyā gatiḥ syād drutamadhyamā | ojaḥprasādhanāḥ śabdāḥ sānuprāsāḥ kvacitkvacit || vibhaktighaṭanā cātra yathākāmaṃ krameṇa vā | tatrādyaṃ mālinīvṛttaṃ jayetyādisamanvitam || gadyātmakadalānyaṣṭau pratyekaṃ sayatīni ca | ante tūtkalikā kāryā samastaikapadātmikā || ante padyasamāyuktā yatyanuprāsaśobhinī | caturutkalikā syādvā vibhaktyābhāsalāñchitā || kalikotkalikāmṛṣṭanavyatālalayakramā | pratipadyaṃ bhavennetṛnāma tattadvibhaktimat ||*

yatra syād rasasaṃpūrttis tadudāharaṇaṃ bhavet ||

kalikotkalikāyāḥ svarūpaṃ nirūpayati yathā—

=

ādyanttatāḷamātrā [? ? ? ?] ṣṭaṃ daḷāṣṭakaṃ |
dvaye dvaye ca daḷayor ādyanttaprāsacitritaṃ ||
śrāvyastabakasaṃyuktaṃ kāvyaṃ tat kalikocyate |
tāḷas tattanmātrāgaṇānurūpakriyāmānaṃ ||
mātrānāmadaḷeṣu sāmyenāvasthitaḥ |
sāmaṃtā [. . .]trāgaṇaḥ yatir daḷamadhyagato vi[c]chedaḥ |
tadardhamātrakaṃ kiṃcit ūnamātram athāpi vā |
samastaikapade saptadaśamāṅke pṛthag daḷaṃ ||
sarvatra vā caturthyāṃ vā vibhaktyābhāsabhāsuraṃ |
tāḷāsu prāsayatibhi[? ? ? ?]m ivo[j]jvalaṃ ||
kāvyam utkalikāṃ prāhur netāraś cāmarādayaḥ |
etadevāṣṭabhāṣāḍhyā udāharaṇamātṛkā ||
aṣṭavibhaktiskandhānty[aṃe]tadevodāharaṇaṃ |
ekasmin vibhaktiskandhe yathākrameṇa saṃskṛtādiyogi[. . .]
taṃ bhavati |
ekasmin vibhaktiskandhe yathā krameṇa |
tadudāharaṇamātṛketi |

iti prabandhadīpikāyāṃ caturthaprakāśaḥ |

=

yasmin tatkalikāmātrārdhānyāvyastā padādikā |
bhaved utkalikā tat syād udāharaṇama[? ?] ||
[udā]haraṇamātrasya syād vibhaktyaṣṭakā yadā |
saṃskṛtādyaṣṭabhāṣāḍhyā udāharaṇamātṛkā ||

udāharaṇamātrā syād yadā saṃbuddhivarjitā |
tadā syāt śladhari nāmnā sarvatra paritoṣitā ||
kalikā[? ? ? ? ?] mevaṃ syāt yadyutkalikayā vinā |
kalyāṇīti tadā nāmnā vikhyātā bhuvanāntare ||
yadudāharaṇaṃ khyātaṃ bhavet kalikayā vinā |
utp[h]ullakam iti khyātaṃ nāmnā cāṭuviśāradaiḥ ||
kai[? ? ? ? ?] sthāne kevalāryyāṃ pracakṣate |
kecid utkalikālopi kalikālopi kecana |
kecit sāṃbuddhilopyaitadavyayaṃ bahavo ’bhidāḥ ||

atraikaṃ bahavo ’bhidād ity anena prathamādyaikaikavibha[. . .] mena nibadhyamānād u[dā]haraṇabhedāḥ kaiścid utkalikā sūcitā |

=

antte ’nuṣṭubham āryyāṃ vā kavikṛtyākhyayānvitāṃ |
kuryyāc cāṭuprabandhānāṃ ayaṃ sādhāraṇo vidhiḥ ||

iti prabandha[dīpi]kāyām udāharaṇabhedanirūpaṇaṃ nāma pañcamaprakāśaḥ |

=

svānyāsādhāraṇe ceti strīṇāṃ ādau trirūpatā |
mugdhyāmadhyāpragalbātvabhedāt tāsāṃ trirūpatā ||

anena prakāreṇa navavidhā— dirā adhirā dirādhirā iti ekaikā trividhā | evaṃ saptaviṃśatiḥ | svādhinapatikā[?] aṣṭāvasthābhedena ekaikāṣṭavidhāditā | evaṃ ṣoḍaśādhikaśatadvayaṃ [. . .]

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522 atraikaṃ] atra ekaṃ

Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, D.12952

According to Sarasvati Mohan, this manuscript was bound in the same paper volume with a (now missing) transcript of D.1494.

On the whole, the manuscript is very confused. From the sorts of mistakes made in it, it seems that the scribe may have known Telugu script but not the Sanskrit of the text. Because the problems are too numerous to account for at present, I have included only the first section (*pariccheda*) of the text since, as I have argued, it demonstrates the relationship between the two manuscripts.

Materials: Telugu script; ink and pencil on paper.

=

praṇamya vidvajjanakalpapādapaṃ kaviṃ kavīndrāś citapādapaṃkajaṃ |
vibhuṃ prabhuṃ viśvasṛjaṃ maheśvaraṃ pravakṣyate lakṣaṇadīpikeyam ||

anyagadyapadyaprabandhānāṃ chandolakṣaṇaniyāmakasya granthasyādau tatprakāraḥ parikathyate | pakāraprayoge doṣo 'sti | kathaṃ ucyate | naḥ pratāpī bhayāsaukhyamaraṇakleśadāhakṛt pavarga ity **alaṃkārasaṃgrahe** | padyādau vinyastāt bhajaparaṇadākṣ[ar]ādirahitād iti **kavikaṇṭhapāśe** ||

api ca doṣāntaram āha | pakāro rephasaṃyukto 'py atidoṣakaraḥ smṛtaḥ **camatkāracandrikāyāṃ** — kṣaṃ vinā krūrasaṃyuktaḥ saumyas tyājyo viṣānnavad iti | kiṃca — ro dāhī vyasanaṃ lavāv iti | api ca — yo lakṣmīdharaś ca dāham iti | nanu prakāraprayoge doṣo nāsti | kathaṃ rakṣayā prakāraḥ syād iti | hrasvaprakārasyāmṛtākṣaratvāc ca | tathā akacaṭatapayaśavargā amṛtāḥ proktā

---

2 lakṣaṇadīpikeyam] lakṣaṇadipikāyāṃ

3 parikathyate] parikadyate

4 pakāraprayoge] vakāraprayoge

4 naḥ . . . pavarga] napratāpibhayāsaukhyamaraṇakleśatāpakṛtī|t|

7 kṣaṃ vinā krūrasaṃyuktaḥ] krūrasaṃyuktoḥ

7 saumyas tyājyo viṣānnavad] saumyāstyājā viṣāntavad

7 ro dāhī vyasanaṃ lavāv] ro dāhivyasanālavād

8 yo] yā

8 nanu] anu

9 prakāraḥ] prakaraḥ

---

3 anyagadyapadyaprabandhānāṃ chandolakṣaṇaniyāmakasya granthasyādau tatprakāraḥ parikathyate] This is seemingly a commentary on the benedictory verse that opens the work.

4 naḥ . . . pavarga] AS 1.28cd-29a

7 kṣaṃ vinā krūrasaṃyuktaḥ saumyas tyājyo viṣānnavad] CC 1.27cd

7 ro dāhī vyasanaṃ lavāv] AS 1.29b

8 yo lakṣmīdharaś ca dāham] Compare AS 1.29a: *yas tu lakṣmīdo*

8–9 rakṣayā prakāraḥ syād] A reference, perhaps, to CC 1.25a: *rakṣādāyī pakāraḥ* viṣāṇi dīrghāṇi | api ca rephayukto ’pi śubhapradaḥ | pakāro rephayukto ’pi sphuṭaṃ kāvyamukhe śubha iti|

tathā coktaṃ kavibhiḥ— **nyāyasāre** — praṇamya śaṃbhum iti | **bharataratnākare** — prasaktari pātram iti | **yogaratnālaye** — praṇamya śirasā devam iti | ityādivacanabāhuḷyāc ca doṣād bhedakavacanālpatvāc ca granthādau viracitarephayuktapakāraḥ śubhaprada eva | tathā **kumārasaṃbhave** |

eko vā doṣo guṇasannipāte nimajjatīndoḥ kiraṇeṣv ivāṅka |

athavā āvyādarśa 1.1caturmukhābhidhānau tu cavarṇo jagaṇo ’pi ca brahmanāmnāṅkitatvena kāvyādāv api śobhanau | **camatkāracandrikāyāṃ** —

=

maṅgaḷārthābhidhāne ca devanāmāṅkite ’pi vā |
gaṇo na dūṣyo varṇaś ca devatādhiṣṭhitāśmavat |

api ca—

=

devatāvācakāś śabdā ye ca bhadrādivācakāḥ |

---

10 rephayukto ’pi] rephayuktāpi

10 śubhapradaḥ] śubhapradā

10–11 rephayukto ’pi sphuṭaṃ kāvyamukhe śubha] repayukto ’pi sphaṭaṃ kāvyamukhe śaṃbha

12 **nyāyasāre**] syāyasāre

16 caturmukhābhidhānau] catumukhābhidhānau

19 dūṣyo varṇaś] māṣyo varṇāś

19 devatādhiṣṭhitāśmavat] devādhiṣṭhitavipravat

21 śabdā ye ca] śabdāyaca

10–11 rephayukto ’pi sphuṭaṃ kāvyamukhe śubha] CC 1.45cd

15 eko vā doṣo guṇasannipāte nimajjatīndoḥ kiraṇeṣv ivāṅka] Kumārasaṃbhava 1.3

16 caturmukhābhidhānau] K

18 maṅgalārthā . . . āśmavat] CC 1.42. Compare CC 1.42ab: *maṅgalārthe abhidhāne vā devanāmāṅkane ’pi vā*

21 devatāvācakāś . . . ’pi vā] AS 1.35

te sarve naiva nindyāḥ syur lipito gaṇato ’pi vā ||

maṅgaḷaśabdās sāhityacūḍāmaṇāv uktāḥ | atha siddhapraṇavāśīḥśrīparvatasūryacandradīrghāyurārogyakuśalasāgaramekhalādyā maṅgaḷaśabdāḥ |

atha nāyakalakṣaṇam āha — kalamṛduvacanaracanaḥ karuṇābhāvaḥ kaḷānidhir vinayo vitaraṇakaraśīlo vicakṣaṇo nāyako jñeyaḥ | tathā **sāhityacandrodaye**—

=

kaḷāpratīto bhāvajño vadānyaḥ kavitāpriyaḥ |
mahānubhāvo vinayī nāyakaḥ parikīrtitaḥ ||

anena dhīrodāttādīnāṃ lakṣaṇam āha | tathā **sāhityaratnākare**—

=

gadyapadyaprabaṃdhānāṃ racitānāṃ kavīśvaraiḥ |
caturdhā nāyakā jñeyā dhīrodāttādayaḥ kramāt || tatra—

=

ṛjuḥ kṛpāvān madhuras satyavādī jitendriyaḥ |
mahāprabhāvo vinayī sa dhīrodātto nigadyate || rāmacaṃdrodayaḥ |
darpāhaṃkāramātsaryamāyāchadmavikatthanaiḥ |

---

22 te] re

25 vinayo] vinayā |

25–26 vitaraṇakaraśīlo] vitaraṇakaraśīlalo

33 sa] na

33 nigadyate] nigadyatau

34 chadmavikatthanaiḥ] cadmavikaddhanaiḥ

---

32 ṛjuḥ . . . mādhavasugandikādayaḥ] Compare D.1494 ll.351-361. The definition of the dhīrodātta type is thematically similar but the precise wording differs. The two manuscripts share the same definition for the other three types.

paruṣaś capalaś caṇḍo dhīroddhata udāhṛtaḥ || rāvaṇajāmadagnyādayaḥ |
nirjitāśeṣaśatṛtvān niścito nirupaplavaḥ |
sacīvanyastasāmrājyabhāras sukhaparāyaṇaḥ |
kāntāparavaśo netā syād dhīralalito mṛduḥ || vastsarājāgnivarṇādayaḥ |
vijñānavinayopāyacaṇaḥ saujanyasaṃyutaḥ |
madhurapriyavādī ca dhīraśānto dvijo vaṇik || mādhavasugandikādayaḥ |

evaṃ vidher nāyakaiḥ kavīśvarāṇāṃ kulagotranāmadheyayaśomaha[t]tvavṛttāni parīto vicārya prabandho 'ṅgīkartavyaḥ |

kavīśvaralakṣaṇam āha **śiṅgabhūpālīye**—

=

śucir dakṣaś śāntas sujanavinutaḥ [. . .] kaḷāvedī vidvān kalamṛduvadaḥ kāvyacaturaḥ |
kṛtajño daivajñas sadayahṛdayaḥ satkulabhavaḥ śubhākāraḥ chandoguṇagaṇarasajñas sa hi kaviḥ |

asya padyasyādau prayuktena śuciśabdena vipra ucyate | tathā śrutiḥ – śucir vipraś śuciḥ kavir iti | tasmād vipra eva kaviḥ | na tu śūdrādayaḥ | tathā hi —

=

na śūdro na ca vaiśyas tu na narendraḥ kadācana |

---

35 capalaś caṇḍo] ca laghuś caṃdo
35 rāvaṇajāmadagnyādayaḥ] rāvaṇamāmadagdhyādayaḥ
36 nirupaplavaḥ] nirupallavaḥ
37 sukhaparāyaṇaḥ] sukhaparāyaṇāḥ
38 vastsarājāgnivarṇādayaḥ] vatsanābhāgivarṇādayaḥ
40 madhurapriyavādī] madhurapriyavādhī
40 dhīraśānto] dhīraṇauṃto
44 sujanavinutaḥ] sujanavinutarataḥ
44 vidvān] vidyān
44 kalamṛduvadaḥ] kalamṛdupadaḥ
45 kṛtajño daivajñas] kṛtaj[ñ]o ???śnidaivas
46 śuciśabdena] śuśiśabdena

vipra eva kavir nūnam atrodāharaṇam śrutiḥ |

yajuṣi | śuciḥ kavir iti | **kavirājagajāṅkuśe**—

=

śunadugdhaṃ yathā tyājyaṃ padyaṃ śūdrakṛtaṃ budhaiḥ |
gavām iva payo grāhyaṃ kāvyaṃ vipreṇa nirmitaṃ |

kavī ravir iva nānāgranṭhaprayogeṣu tattaddeśīyabhāṣālakṣaṇodāharaṇeṣu ca pravīṇo bhavitavyaḥ | tathā tathā **sāhityaratnākare**—

=

anekachandasāṃ saṃyag ajñātvā lakṣaṇāni ca |
karoti gadyapadyāni prabhūṇāṃ mṛtyur eva saḥ ||

tasmāt kavitālakṣaṇajijñāsātatparāṇāṃ kavīnāṃ prabodhanārthaṃ nānālakṣaṇodāharaṇāny ākṛṣya vakṣyate lakṣaṇadīpikā | atha gaṇasaṃkhyāṃ vakṣye haraprasādād viśuddhamatiṃ piṅgaḷanāgaṃ satkavipuṃgavanutaṃ namaskṛtvā | vyāsavālmīkādīṣu kavīṣu vidyamāneṣu piṅgaḷanāgasya namaskāraḥ kathaṃ kriyate | chandolakṣaṇakartṛtvād ayam avanamaskāryaḥ | tathā **sāhityaratnākare**—

---

49 atrodāharaṇam] aṃdrodāharaṇaṃ

50 **kavirājagajāṅkuśe**] kavirājagajāṃkuśa

52 payo] ? yā

53 nānāgranṭhaprayogeṣu] nānāgraṃdhaprayāgeṣu

53 bhavitavyaḥ] bhavītyaḥ

55 anekachandasāṃ] anena caṃdasāṃ

55 ajñātvā] pthnātvā

55 lakṣaṇāni ca] lakṣaṇam āditaḥ

56 karoti] karori

56 saḥ] naḥ

57 kavitālakṣaṇajijñāsātatparāṇāṃ] kovitālakṣaṇajijñāsātatvarāṇāṃ

59 vidyamāneṣu] vidyamāniṣu

60 kathaṃ] kadha

60 chandolakṣaṇakartṛtvād] chaṃdolakṣaṇakatrutvād

=

chandojñānam idaṃ marātrināl[?]libe śubhaṃ
[⁇?]naṃdiṟtatāprapa sanatkumārakavir agastyas tato vākpatiḥ |
tasmād devapatiḥtataḥ phaṇipatis tasyānugaḥ piṅgaḷaḥ
stakhyaṣyairmunikharmah[ā]tmabhir idaṃ bhumau pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ ||

gadya | iti kavinutavitaraṇavijitapārijātapotanāmātyasahajāta cāturyaguṇābhirāmaśrīmadayyalumantriśekharagarbharatnākaraśrīgauranāryaviracitāyāṃ lakṣaṇadipikāyāṃ prathamaḥ pari[c]chedaḥ ||

---

62 agastyas] āgatyas

63 devapatiḥ] devapatik

65 kavinuta . . . sahajāta] kavinutavitaraṇavijitapārijātapotanāmātyasahadāta

Appendix B

A Light on the Properties: English Translations from the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā*

GOML D. 1494

Lotus-faced Sītā's sun, for whom Sītā's the only one,
Sītā's sweetheart: him do I praise for the goodness he brings the world.

I praise the goddess of Song who, fond of playing the lute resting on her left
breast, is much like a bee rollicking in the fragrance of his lotus-face.

There was a famed king, feet are tinted by the array of other kings' crown-jewels,
the full moon over the ocean of the Recĕrla dynasty—the powerful Lord Mādhava, son of Siṅga.

He had a great minister who bore the burden of his lord's command.
Pota the noble was his name, and he bore the yoke of royal politics.

And that great crown-jewel of counselors had a younger brother, the eminent Ayaḷu;
and he had a son named Gaurana who was skilled in politics.
I am he—and freed of any stain by moon-crowned Śiva's grace.

Now, bowing first to Piṅgaḷa, the well-praised and most-prized bull among poets,
and having assembled the best examples from the key sections of the rulebooks
I now deliver this illumination of those rules for the benefit of the best folk.
Warding away the darkness of [poetic] faults with [. . .] oil from a vessel,
this here rule-illuminator—a veritable lamp of words—shines.

The phonemes' origin, then their manifestation and after that their number, then
a discussion of their elemental seed, then their colors and planets.
Then their [?], then distinguishing the harsh from the pleasing,
then stipulations on their usage, and their consequences good and bad;
Then the metremes—their definitions, their form, and their presiding deities;
their colors, their incompatibilities, their planets, and their consequences good and bad.
Then a discussion of their compatibilities and incompatibilities, their sidereal and tropical zodiacs,
and then, in turn, the deadly times, the planetary positions, and worshipping of the Mātṛkās.
And then the definitions of authors, patrons, and genres.

Everything shall be taught here by me, for I know all the rules.
Should a poet utter a verse without knowing all of this,
he'll be stabbed through with thorns like a monkey up a screw-pine.

On this, see the *Crown-jewel of Literature*, too—

"He is truly the death of kings who crafts prose and verse
without properly understanding the rules of all the meters."
And *Moonlight on Astonishment*—
"When even a single fault is found, a set of observances is spoiled.
Precisely this is a fault's inherent power. And so—what are we to do?"
And as I myself say— "Thus, the wise-man who has cultivated the craft of fashioning amazing poesy, and who longs after a leader's sovereignty—he should avoid a fault as if it were poison."

The phonemes' origin according to the Crest-jewel of Literature—
"All knowledgeable folk say the phonemes' source
is the divine god Śiva who consists of the Singularity with the goddess Śivā."
According to the Forehead-mark of Śāradā—
"The phonemes are born from the singularity which is made of Śiva and Śakti."

The phonemes' elaboration according to the *Essence of the Emenation*:
"Expressed by aspiration out through the hole of the suṣumnā."

The phonemes' places of articulation according to the *Manifestation of the Forms*:
"The phonemes' eight places of articulation are the chest, the throat, the soft palate,
the root of the tongue, the teeth, the nose, the lips, and the hard palate."

Their number according to the *Forehead-mark of Śāradā*:
"The vowels are sixteen, the consonants twenty-five,
the quasi-consonants ten. They all give pleasure, wealth, and dharma."

By this account, there are fifty-one phonemes. According to *Moonlight on Astonishment*, the phonemes beginning with *a* and ending with *kṣa* are forty-nine. By the statement made in the *Sea of Three Commentaries*—that according to Śambhu the phonemes are thought to be either sixty-three or sixty-four—one finds that those numbers are possibile. But the opinion here is that the phonemes from *a* to *kṣa* are precisely fifty: the graphemes from *a* to *kṣa* are fifty-one; and there is no difference between the dental *la* and the retroflex *ḷa* since nothing has been taught in the matter of the retroflex's inherent phonemic goddess. Others say that *kṣa* is absorbed within the constituent phonemes *ka* and *ṣa*. But, according to the *Essence of the Emenation*:

"After ka and ṣa, the earth. It is thought that there would be a coming together of ka and ṣa. Through that, the kṣa phoneme is produced. Its deity is the man-lion."

Because Śankarācārya has in this way said that it is distinct, there are precisely fifty phonemes. That is actually said in the *Essence of the Emenation*, where it says "according to the differences of the fifty phonemes." See also the *Mirror of Mantras*—

"The phases of the fifty phonemes offer all prosperity."

And also see the *Crest-jewel of Literature*:
"Born out of five faces, endowed with the qualities of the five elements,
the garland of the fifty phonemes blazes like a fire in five colors."

For their most essential elemental seeds, see the *Forehead-mark of Śāradā*—
"The mātṛkās arise from the cause of the five elements;
and from them the phonemes, born of the elements and classed five by five—
Wind, Fire, Earth, Water and Ether: so go the fifty graphemes in order,
with the five short vowels, the five long, the nasalized, and the diphthongs."

The *Essence of the Emenation* also has, “five short vowels . . . .” See also the *Crest-jewel of Literature*:

“[They] are endowed with the qualities of Wind, Fire, Earth, Water, and Sky
distributed five-by-five throughout the ten classes of graphemes.”

On the planets of the syllabic classes—
So then: the Sun for the vowels; Mars for the gutturals;
Earth for the palatals; Venus for the retroflex class; Mercury for
the dental class; Jupiter for the lablials; Saturn for ra;
and the Moon for the semivowels: Thus are the seven planets to be known.

In the *Crown-jewel of Literature* is a statement of their affinities and enmities:

[damaged]

On that point, the manner of deploying the phonemes according to the *Forehead-mark of Śāradā*:

“Weak-breathed and great-breathed are two types.
The wise say here that the great-breathed are four sibilants.
Some say the same as well as the retroflex class among the consonantal classes.
The weak-breathed are the remainders, though others even count śa and sa.
Both are also labeled in two ways according to whether they are pleasing or harsh.
Weak-breath phonemes pronounced with their own kind are considered pleasing.
Whether combined with their own kind or another, great-breathed ones are harsh.
Some weaked-breath phonemes are called harsh when combined with ya, la, or va.
Some say that harsh phonemes become pleasing with a nasal.

The difference must be known; and their number at the beginning of prose or verse is counted by the wise.
These phonemes are employed as is appropriate to the rasa and so forth."

Insight into their usage is given in the *Essence of the Emenation*:
"One mora is defined as short. Two morae is long.
Three morae should be known as extended. A consonant adds a half-mora."

Given this, the principles should be:

The phoneme *a* contains all the gods, red its color, universal subjugation its power.
The phoneme *ā*: Parāśakti its divinity, white its color, attraction its power.
The phoneme *i*: Viṣṇu its divinity, black its color, and protection its power.
Mayāśakti is the divinity of the phoneme ī; yellow is its color, the subjugation of women its power.
The phoneme u: Vāstu its divinity, black its color, the subjugation of kings its power.
The phoneme ū: Earth its divinity, black its color, the subjugation of kings its power.
The phoneme ṛ: Recognizably of Brahman, yellow its color, eradicating afflictions its power.
With the form of [śikhaṇḍin] is the phoneme ṝ, its color of collyrium, eliminating fever its power.
From the Aśvinīs come the phonemes ḷ and ḹ, white and red their respective colors, forestalling fever their power.
The phoneme e: Vīrabhadra its divinity, yellow its color, granting power and success its power.
The anusvāra: Maheśa its divinity, red its color, bestowing happiness its power.
The visarga: Kālarudra its divinity, red its color, severing the bonds its power.
With Prajāpati as its divinity, the phoneme ka: yellow its color, conferring a livelihood its power.
From the four guttarals, Fortune; but there is ignobility from the phoneme ṅa.
Delight and happiness from ca and cha; the boon of a son from ja; danger and death

from jha and ña. From ṭa and ṭha strain and hardship; beauty and unattractiveness from ḍa and ḍha.
And confusion from ṇa. Ta and tha would be the cause of war. Da and dha give happiness.
Na gives torment. Danger, contentment, death, dificulty, and pain are what
labials do. But ya gives fortune. From ra, pain. Addiction from la and va.
Śa proffers happiness, but ṣa gives hardship. Sa provides happiness.
Ha causes pain. Addiction is given by ḷa. Kṣa causes total prosperity.

And in the *Crown-jewel of Literature*:

a gives pleasure; but used in negation, it's the opposite.
ā gives joy; but is inappropriate in the sense of anger and the like.
i, ī, u and *ū* lead to satisfaction and desires.
ṛ, ṝ, ḷ and *ḹ* are causes for the obstruction of lineages.
e, ai, o, and *au* bring pleasure, ultimate release, and wealth, respectively.
Velar consonants generate prosperity. *c* destroys fame.
ch and *j* eliminate disease. *jh* and *ñ* bring death.
ṭ and *ṭh* cause depression; *ḍ* is auspicious; *ḍh* hurts beauty.
ṇ causes the attainment of goods. *t* destroys obstacles.
th causes to war. *d* and *dh* generate steadfastness.
n causes suffering; but when it proscribes difficulty, it can be auspicious.
p gives protection. *ph* terrifies.
b causes good health. *bh* causes very good fortune.
m disturbs. *y* gives glory. *r* burns.
l causes dullness. *v* is a mine of health and long life.
The three sibilants and *h* offer happiness, discontent, prosperity and ultimate joy, respectively; combined with *k* to produce

kṣ, there is cruelty: though pleasant it should be avoided like poisoned food.

Here and there the things I have taught are available; even though it lacks proper sources, some mutual agreement is to be expected.

And what is more, without the use of a wind element, there is the [conveyance of purification]: There is in the North . . ." (Kālidāsa); "There was a lord of all . . ." (Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa); Then, "Just like a jujube . . ." (Subandhu); [. . .]: All these and others are correct because of the use of the na-metreme at the beginning.

As it said in the *Moonrise of Literature*:

If the na-metreme is used at the beginning, a base phoneme becomes auspicious:
iron takes on the gold by touching that which can be rubbed.

But when the ethereal element is used, there is in Vādīndra's statements like "Honor to hard-toward *samsāra's* . . ."; and also with words like "Glory's lord in the glorious" [of Māgha] or "On the face the Four-faced . . ." [of Daṇḍin], even though there are ethereal and wind elements at the beginning of a proscribed metreme, because there is reference to a divinity, there is prosperity. This is said in *The Leash for Poets*:

"Words that refer to divinities or blessed things,
they are never to faulted whether written or spoken."

See also *Moonlight on Astonishment*:

“When denoting an auspicious thing or referring to gods,
a metreme or phoneme is not faulty, much like a stone installed as a divinity.”

Thus, there is a fault when these are used ignorantly. According to *The Leash for Poets*:

“And when the letters are purified, the patron gains wealth.
Otherwise, there are many problems for both, no doubt.”

And in *Moonlight on Astonishment*:

“Placed at the beginning of poem phonemes—the embodiment of various divinities—
produce fortune and misfortune for the poet and patron both.”

The technical designations of the metremes are commonly given in metrics as *ma, ya, ra, sa, ta, ja, bha, na, la,* and *ga*. The form of the metremes is that in which literature roams the world. On that same point, the classification of metremes is in terms of their beginning, middle, and end positions.

The divinities of the metremes are given in the *Ocean of Literature*:

Those named as Earth, Water, Fire, Wind, Sky, Sun, Moon, and Soul
are the divinities metremes and the eight manifestations of Śaṅkara.

Their colors are given in *The Crown-jewel of Literatre*:

The metremes, named *ma, ya, ra, sa, ta, ja, bha, na* respectively,
their colors of those of their individual divinities.

And according to me:

[. . .]
are the colors of Soul, Moon, Sun, Sky, Wind, Wind's friend Fire, Water, and Earth, the manifestations of Umā's lord."

So I have said the . . . And it is similarly said elsewhere in the *Essence of the Emenation*:
–

And in *The Forehead-mark of Śāradā*:

"Self-illuminating is the Ether; Wind is dark; Fire is red; Water is clear;
Tawny is the Earth: Thus are the five elements known according to their respective bases."

The planets of the metremes are given in the *Ocean of Literature*:

"Speaking of Fire, Earth, Ether, Water, and Wind, the sages say
the planets of those particular metremes are, respectively, Mars and so on."

And so, according to the *The Big Book of Nativities*:

"For the metremes of Fire, Earth, Ether, Water, and Wind, the presiding deities are, respectively, Mars and so forth."
So for the ja and bha metremes . . . for their planets are just their own presiding deities.

Thus it is said in *The Moonrise of Literature*:

“For the ma, ya, ra, sa ta, ja, and bha metremes, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Saturn, Jupiter, the Sun, and Moon
are all the planets. Their regulation is known according to their condition—such as their qualities.”

Here . . . because it lacks any fault in terms of its planet and so on, the na metreme is not considered, for as the *Crest-jewel of Literature* says:

“No planets, nor zodiacs sidereal or tropical, nor affinity,
nor worry over the unsuitability of phonemes should there be with respect to using the na metreme.’

And, furthermore, it is used at opening of compositions by well-known poets: In the work of Śivabhadra there is “Now I bow” and in *Nala’s Triumph*, “The house of the heart.”

Now: the auspicious and inauspicious produce of the metremes is given in *Moonlight on Astonishment*:

“All heavy, the ma metreme gives security, its god the Earth.
Light in the beginning, the ya metreme produces wealth, its god Water.
Giving propserity and light in the middle is the ra metreme, its god Fire.
Heavy at the end, the sa metreme brings destruction, its god the Wind.
Light at the end, the ta metreme produces prosperity, its god the Ether.
Heavy in the middle, the ja metreme produces illness, its god the Sun.
Heavy at the beginning, the bha metreme gives contentment, its god the Moon.”

Now, some condemn the use of the ta metreme. For example, in *The Ocean of Literature*, it says: “The Ether holds out nothingness.” And in *The Leash for Poets*: “Ta: Ether, light at the end, [empty].”

And in [a work on] *Literature*: "The metreme of Wind, auspiciousness; Sky—null and void."

This is a matter of a metreme connected with a hostile metreme. *The Moonrise over Literature* says:

"When it is governed by a benefic planet, the ta metreme is a good metreme. Deficient
it brings auspicious or inauspicious results depending on its connection to friendly or hostile metremes."

So, for example, there is a use of the ta metreme for an agreeable purpose in Amaru's work: "Hand to face with taut bow-string . . ."

Similarly, in some places a disagreement over the use of the ma metreme is evident. For example, in *The Moonrise over Literature*:

"Though benefic, the metreme is harmful when connected to a harmful metreme,
just as is the case with its presiding planet Mercury when it is connected to a harmful planet."

As the *Essence of the Compendium* says: "Mercury joined with a bad planet is bad." This is a matter of a metreme influenced by a hostile planet. And on this it is said in [a work on *Literature*]:

"For the poet and the patron, too, the ma-metreme, which is determined by Mercury,
brings a result of all pleasures when connected with the sa-metreme.
But it is well-establed that the sa metreme [. . .] the lord is harmful."

According to the *Essence of the Compendium*: [. . .]. And, just in this way, because of the exceptional compatibility of Mercury and Saturn, the ma-metreme followed by the sa-metreme prodigiously produces auspiciousness. This has been accepted by the great poets: “As sound and sense are bound,” says Kālidāsa; and “Skull impressed on crown,” says Bhavabhūti; and “Unimpeded I revere,” says Murāri.

But there is an exception in the use of the ra-metreme according to the *Moonrise over Literature*:

“The ra-metreme brings glory to men when followed by the sa-metreme
at the beginning of prose and verse compositions. On that point, an example.
“*hetave jagatām* eva” (to the cause of the worlds).

And what is more, there is a [special] affinity between Fire and Wind, the presiding deities for the metremes. In the words of Amarasiṃha, [fire] has wind for a friend. Because, as Moonlight on Astonishment has said, the effect—like a son—can extend no inauspiciousness in the presence of its cause, and because the condition of effect and cause obtains between wind and fire, it is well established. That being so, if one should object that it’s dangerous because of a statement in the *Leash for the Poet’s Throat* which says “When fire is first, danger,” that view is not accepted because it contains a bahuvrīhi compound that means “that which has the wind before it”—which is exactly like the Ocean of Literature says: “The union of Wind and Fire [. . .] the Earth [with] the danger of a great fire thronged with wreathed with a horrible blazes.” However, Fire, eater of the sacrifice, brings good fortune. As Manu says: “The eater of the sacrifies shall bestow good fortune.” That which is said by Manu [. . .] is simply to be accepted. “For, inded, that which Manu has said is a remedy,” says Śruti. Therefore, the ra-metreme followed by the sa-metreme creates good fortune.

Now, the particulars of using the ja-metreme:

The ja-metreme, because the Sun is its divinity, destroys disease but makes no faults.
It should be recognized as the best of all the metremes, just as the Sun is supreme among the planets.

Furthermore, by the merest trace of the Golden One's compassionate glance, Mayūra became devoid of blight and seemed like glittering gold. There are also Śruti and Smṛti on this point: "O Sun, vanquish my heart disease and jaundice. One should seek good health from the Illuminator," says Viṣṇu. Śruti and Smṛti [. . .] This is in the sphere of the ja-metreme followed by the ta-metreme. As it is said in the Ocean of Literature:

"Next to the ta-metreme, all desired ends always
does the ja-metreme, the Sun its divinity, grant to poet and patron."

The usage of great poets: In Bhāravi's poem, "śriyaḥ kurūṇāṃ"; in the *Essence of Logic*, "praṇamya śambhuṃ jagataḥ patim"; in the Naiṣadha poem, "nipīyya yasya kṣitirakṣinaḥ."

However, there is disagreement over the usage of the bha-metreme. In the Moonrise of Literature, it is said:

"Used at the opening of a prose or verse work by dim-witted poet,
the bha-metreme spells the end to the patron because it is dark-colored and of the Night-making Moon."

Yet, tradition has it that Moon is dark in color; but it has been well-established that it consists of water. According to Varāhamihira:

"Reflected in the Moon, which is made of water, the rays of the Sun destroy
the nighttime darkness as if set within a mirror in the middle of a house."

[So,] water is actually transparent in color. . . . As a crystal is red in the presence of the China

Rose, so does the Moon's color depend on the influence of this-or-that conditioning factor. As it is said in the *Essence of the Compendium*: "The Moon's color depends on the influence of this-or-that conditioning factor. Red, yellow, white, and dark: these are the four colors of the Moon. The colors of the Moon are produced by the colors of the [other] planets." Therefore, the Moon's being black in color is actually possible; [and] a black Moon is fatal. Even this statement is made according to the very same text: "When there's a red Moon, war. When it's dark, death—no doubt. When it's yellow, there's good fortune. When it's white, the most auspicious circumstances." Thus does the Moon-governed bha-metreme bestow fruit in accordance to its color.

And in the *Ocean of Literature*:

"Among the planets headed by the Day-maker . . . the Moon . . . shares with lustre . . .
like that does the bha-metreme [share] among all the metremes . . . qualities and colors."

And again, the *Ocean of Literature* on the usage of the ya-metrme:

"Wise-folk know that naturally the ya-metreme is always fortunate,
but if it is followed by the ta-metreme even it becomes warped."

And this is because of a natural opposition between their superintending powers Jupiter and Venus. That is stated by in the *Crown-jewel of Literature*:

"The best poets must understand the enmities and affinities of all the metremes
as always being due to the affinity or enmity of their superintending powers, the planets."

It is precisely for this reason that the sa-metreme, though inherently faulty, is understood to produce security when joined with a compatible metreme. The affinities of the planets according to

Gārgya:

“For the Sun, Saturn and Venus are pronounced enemies; Mercury is similar.

Jupiter, the Moon, and Mars are its compatriots.
damaged

precisely friendly Sun and Moon [damaged]

Mars, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn are considered the similar.

Mercury is enemy to Mars; Venus and Saturn the same.

The Sun, the Moon, and Jupiter are compatriots.

The Moon is friend to Mercury. The Sun and Venus,

Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn are considered similar.

For Jupiter, Saturn is neutral; Mercury and Venus are its enemies.

The Moon, Sun, and Mars are compatriots.

The Sun and Moon are deemed enemies to Venus.

Jupiter and Mars are neutral. Mercury and the Moon are compatible.

To Saturn, Jupiter is neutral, Venus and Mercury are compatible.

Mars, the Sun, and the Moon are enemies.”

Then the metremes’ sidereal constellations as given in the *Moonrise of Literature*:

“For the metremes, Tārakā, Jyeṣṭhā, Pūrvāṣāḍhā, and Kṛttika,

Svāti, Puṣyottarā, Mṛgamūrdhan, and Rohiṇī.”

To this same meaning, the *Leash for the Poet’s Throat*:

“Jyeṣṭhā for the ma-metrme; Bharaṇī for bha; Mṛga for ya; and for sa, Vāruṇam.

For ja should be Punarvāsu; for ra, Kṛttikā; and Svāti for ta."

According to the notion that Śravaṇam should be remembered for the ta-metreme, in another verse, the constellations Śravana, Punarvasū, and Bharaṇī are given for the ta-, ja-, and na-metremes. But that is incorrect. Because of the metreme's presiding deity and planet are identical, the constellation is according to the observation. As Jayadeva says:

"[damaged]."

The tropical constellations for the metremes:

The Scorpion, Bow, Ram, Scales, Crab, Lion,
and Vṛṣabha are, in order, to be understood as the tropical zodiacs for the metremes.

And their ambrosial (?) periods given in the *Moonrise of Literature*:

"The ja-metreme at tamas; the ma-, ra-, sa-, bha-, and na-metremes at rajas; the ya- and ta-metremes, which are devoid of quicknesss, at sattva.
Thus are the periods of death and life to be known for the metremes."

As the *Compendium Abbreviated* says:

"The Bow, the Fish, the Crab at sattva; the Ram, the Bull, the Scales at rajas;
and at tamas the Virgin, the Lion, the Pair, the Doe are death."

The conditions of the planets:

Bright, alone, gladdened, capable, peaceful, inflamed, [damaged], distorted, healthy, and frightened are the names for the ten conditions.

When a deed is done without considering them in this way, there is fault. So it is said in the Crown-jewel of Literature:

“[damaged] again and again investigating the conditions of the planets of the metremes
one should compose a verse. If not, there would be much impropriety.”

And in the *Ocean of Literature*:

“The poet who performs poery without considering the condition of the planets
should be cast far far away by kings who care for their own survival.”

Now, the puja for the Mātṛkās according to the *Crown-jewel of Literature*:

“Having exalted Speech, enthroned on the phoneme-lotus, sounding the vīṇā and so on,
only then should the poet begin to compose poetry.”

And this must be done only after the consideration of the phonemes, as is said in the *Moonrise over Literature*:

“And right after the phonemes is the puja of Mātṛkās to be performed [damaged]
by the poet for the removal of phonetic flaws in prose, verse, and the like.”

According to the *Forehead-mark of Śāradā*:

“One should visualize the throne with the phoneme-lotus. One should the figure using the *mūla*-mantra.
Having invoked it, one should worship the goddess there with her attendants:

First, the enclosure of appendages; second with vowels in pairs;
third with the eight consonantal classes; after that according to their Powers;
fifthly pronounced with the Mother-deities; sixth, calling the lords of the worlds to mind;
and then pronouncing the lords' weapons—like the Thunderbolt—seventh."

According to that method should one propitiate Śiva in the phoneme with the proper services. The character of the phoneme-lotus is defined in the *Essence of the Emanation*:

"Pericarp presenting the fourteen vowels up to the *visarga* in open space,
vowels inscribed on the filaments, the eight consonantal classes begun on each petal,
and well-endowed with [damaged],
the phoneme-lotus at the head is recalled as the Death's Conquerorer, destroyer of poison that is the mace."

When it is not done in this way, there is a defect, as it is said in the *Moonrise over Literature*:

"One who pronounce a verse recklessly without doing proper reverence to the Mātṛkās,
that poet, in the form of Death himself, brings harm [damaged]."

And according to the *Ocean of Literature*:

"If addressed to a potentate—whether a single verse nor an entire composition—
it should never ever be performed without worshipping the Mātṛkās."

The poet's character, according to the *Crown-jewel of Literature*:

"Pure, clever, calm, respected by good folk, [. . .], cultured, learned, a sweet talker, and poetically adept, responsible, educated in omens, gracious, born of a good clan, auspicious in body, and versed in the virtues of prosodic forms—only he is a poet."

Moreover, according to the *Moonrise on Literature*:

"Never a śūdra nor vaiśya nor a kṣatriya should he be.
Only the inspired—the brahman—is a poet. Scripture is proof here."

The *Royal Goad for Poets* says:

"As one ought take the milk of the cow, so should one receive brahmin-crafted poetry.
Amongst all the prose and verse compositions of the lords of poets."

The four heroic types—the steadfast noble, and so on—should be known. in order. Their characteristics, according to the *Crown-jewel*:

"Fortunate in fame and valor; devoted to dharma, kāma, and artha;
responsible and virtuous: such is the renowned hero.
The hero, endowed with such virtues, has four types.
damaged
truthful, not boastful,
of great power, disciplined: he is called the brave and noble hero.
For example, Rāmacandra, Purūravas, and the like.
Prideful, egotistic, jealous, deceitful, boastful;
harsh, fickle, and furious: He is called the brave and arrogant hero.
For example: Rāvaṇa, Paraśurāma, and so on.

Because of conquering all his foes, he is without worry [damaged]
the burdern of his rule entrusted to his ministers, he is focused on pleasure;
and fully submitting to his lovers, [damaged], he is sweet.
For example, Vatsarāja and others [would be the noble lover type].

Possessed of discernment and decorum, forebearance and amiability,
and speaking words sweet and kind is the peaceful noble type, which may be brahman or a vaiśya.
For example, Mādhava, Saugandhika, and others.

For each of these, there are four types in accordance with stages of Passions, namely:
the Dakṣiṇa, Śaṭha, Dhṛṣṭa, and Anukūla.
And some say there are sixteen types of the hero.
And even these have three subtypes according to whether they are high, middling, and low.
Thus forty-eight heroic classes are pronounced.

Now, on the form of Rasa:

Comic is born from the Passionate. The Piteous is born from the Furious.
From the Heroic arises Wonder. And from the Fearsome springs the Revolting.
The Quiescent [. . . damaged].

Now, the colors and deities of the Rasas:

The Passionate is dark-blue. Viṣṇu is its deity.
The Comic is ambrosia-white. Ganesh is its deity.
The Wondrous is lotus-colored. Brahma is its deity.

The Revolting is the color of the storm cloud. Nandin is its deity.
The Fearsome is the color of smoke. Time, the destroyer, is its deity.
The Quiescent is the color of crystal. Brahma the Supreme is its deity.
When the soul is joined to the mind and the mind with the senses,
and the senses with various objects—that is the process of cognition.
Rasa is known as the enduring [emotion] manifested as the subsidiary emotions, etc. are cognized.

[damaged]
The Passionate Rasa is said to be fivefold by thos who are masters of that science.
The eight Rasas are known to have three further permutations according to differences their verbal, formal, and active aspects.
The Passionate and the Revolting; the Heroic and the Fearsome;
The Furious and the Wondrous; the Comic and the Piteous. These pairings are incompatible.
The Quiescent—the best of them all—is neither compatible nor incompative with anything.
As a meal without salt, however well-cooked, is tasteless,
so, too, is an utterance without rasa. So, one speaks of Rasas [even] here.

Now, for Cāṭuprabandha:

Poetry should produce things such as fame. Thus, it should be free of flaws.
Sound and Meaning should have good qualities and be properly adorned with rhetorical ornaments.
It is of three kinds—mixed, verse, [and prose].
Verses has been shown to be of two kinds, delimited according to either syllabic or quantitative feet.

I will further explain all of that below [damaged].
Prose, which lacks metrical feet, would be a sequences of words strung tightly together.

It is said to be of seven kinds—Cūrṇaka, [damaged: two types missing],

Kalika, Utkalika, Citra, Lalitam, and Khaṇḍam.

[damaged] with verses either separate or together

[damaged]

Beautified by Daḷas composed with certain rhythms and breaks,

at the beginnin and end, and fit with pairs of Daḷas,
damaged

would be called the Kalikā.

Thre may be four or six or even seven Daḷas.

Another could be of sixteen or thirty-two dalas.

Tāḷa is said to be composed of twelve beats.

Yati is kind of break at the beginning of metreme in the middle of a Daḷa.

The learned declare the daḷas as being in different places than tāḷa.

Thus the definition of the tāḷa with respect to the difference between Kalikā and Utkalikā:

Composed with tāḷa and yati, marked by the semblance of some grammatical inflection,

or else—endowed with that appearance and combined with seven utterances,

and then followed by a Pallava with the Kalikā-style rhyme—

That is the lovely Utkalikā, composed of eight daḷas.

An utterance that is flashy and of multiple styles is called gadyapadyam.

Lalitam is is that which has five words bound in compound.

Khaṇḍam is prose separated by breaks and caesuras.

All of these here are shown according to differences in sandhi, according to time an.

Mixed is that has a combination of prose and verse.

The types of cāṭuprabandhas, each one individually, in order:

Poetry is said to be of three kinds: Superior, Middling, and

Low. This whole tripartite typology [is seen] elsewhere.

Compositions, though, are of two kinds—Major and Minor.
The Major types are addressed to the fruits of the four ends of man.
They display all the Rasas and [descriptions] of places like cities.
The Minor types proclaim just one of the four ends of man.
They can be focused on one Rasa or hold many Rasa.
One should start them with a benediction,
And fashion completely pure syllables and metremes there.
Thus is there the ennobling of the poet, patron, and the composition.
If not, there would certainly be the attainment of undesirable things.
For that reason is the auspiciousness and inauspiciousness of syllables and the like described.
Accordingly, one should purify the opening of all compositons.
When the opening is purified, purity is achieved everywhere.

This was the first section on the description of the basic form of poetry in the Light on the Properties.

Supplementary rules are now written on this matter so that everything is clear.
[damaged]
For whichever composition wherever a grammatical case
is described it should be done [damaged]

On that very matter, as the regulation of tāla and so forth for kalikā and the like
is described, just in that way should it be composed by the best of poets.

Where there is no strict rule in matters of topic, protagonist, rasa, and so forth
those should be produced according to propriety and taste.

Where there is no number of granthas [a unit of thirty-two syllables], the limit should be set at sixty
or else one hundred: It is a judicious decision to never go higher.

Certain people aver that there is no rule stipulating the number of granthas.
[damaged]

In the fifth of them all, or in the prose section in kalikā or the like,
one should work in the name of the poet, patron, and the composition.

This was the second section called the definition of the supplementary rules in the Light on the Properties.

[damaged] the character is defined.
The resolution of a statement's meaning in a single verse alone is an independent verse.
A pair is when there are two muktakas. A trio has three.
A Veda-garland has four; five and its a five-jeweled.
a [damaged]-garland has six. A set of *rāgas* has seven.
An elephant-garland has eight; it's also called an octet.
A garland of jewels has nine. A decatet has ten.
A set of Rudras has eleven: So say those skilled in *cāṭu*.
Among the cāṭus, twelve would be celebrated as [damaged].
With eight verses following kalikā and utkalikā, filled the qualities of energy and beauty and endowed with the Gauḍa style;
and then made beautiful at the end with a ninth verse with all the grammatical cases;
and starting out with the word "Victory!": [that is an] Udāharaṇa.

In it, every verse is marked by the name of the patron,
and is composed in a long Śakvarī meter, and the first should be in Mālinī or the like.

This was the third second in the Light on Composition.

Now, in order, the definition of the udāharaṇa and so on
which have been mentioned already will be given in accord with earlier authorities.

There should be the first declension and so forth, and the Vocative should be last.
Starting with the second, seven [damaged] according to the declension.
The first verse should include the word "Victory" and be in the Mālinī meter.
And what is more, the first and/or the last should have a kalikā of eight daḷas.
Kalikā [damaged] measures, or a little less [is] brilliant.
Or in four ways urnished with the semblance of a case ending and lovely
it should be. [Both kinds of] utkalikā [. . .]
The diction should primarily be energetic such that the protagonist's virtues shine forth.
There should be the Gauḍa style. There is [damaged].
The protagonists can be either a god, an oppononent of the gods, or a brahman,
a guru, a king, a vanssal, a minister, or the like.
There should be rasa. With things together there is an udāharaṇa.

Similarly, the form of the kalikā and utkalikā is defined:
[damaged], possessed of eight daḷas,
decorated with alliteration at the beginning and end of every pair of daḷas,
and fit with bouquet of beautiful sounds: such a poem is called a kalikā.
Tāḷa, which is created according to the metremes of various measures,

is similarly positioned [damaged and confused for the next two lines]

When it is shorter by half or even a whole mora,
when each daḷa is a single compounded word [of seven to ten elements?],
when everywhere or only in the fourth a splendour of the semblance of grammatical case,
and in the tāḷas [damaged] shining forth:
that poem is an utkalikā. And its protagonists are gods and so on.
And the very same filled with all eight languages is udāharaṇamātṛkā.
Contained sections for the eight declensions, this is just an udāharaṇa.
In one section for the declension, in order, Sanskrit [damaged].

[damaged]

This was the fourth section of the Light on Composition.

That in which the first line is cast at half the length of the kalikā
that is an utkalikā. The udāharaṇa would be [damaged]
When there are eight declensions of length of an udāharaṇam,
and it is filled with the eight languages like Sanskrit and the rest, it is an udāharaṇamātṛkā.
When it is just an udāharaṇa lacking the vocative section,
then it should everywhere be called the Ślathari.
[damaged] if it is without the utkalikā,
then it is known throughout the world as kalyāṇi.
An udāharaṇa without the kalikā
goes by the name of utphullakam according to those adept in cāṭu.
[damaged] they can kevalāryam.

Some call it “lacking utkalikā,” some say ”lacking kalikā,”
other say “lacking vocative.” There are many designations.

[damaged]

At the end, there should be a verse in anuṣṭubh or āryā containing the names of the poet and the poem.
This is the general practices for cāṭu compositions.

This was the fifth section on the definition of the types of udāharaṇa in the Light on Composition.

D. 12952

Leading poets bow to the wish-granting tree of learned folk, the Poet and his revered lotus-feet
and pronounce Maheśvara the pre-eminent lord, creator of the world.

The method is describe at the beginning of the book on text containing regulations about prosody for other compositions in prose and verse. There is a flaw in the use of the phoneme *pa*: "*na* torments and the labial class causes danger, contentment, death, difficulty, and pain [respectively]" says Poetics Digest. "At the beginning of the verse are placed except for the phonemes *bha, ja, pa, ra, ṇa*, and *da*," says the Leash for the Poet's Throat.

Moreover, another flaw is noted. The phoneme pa connected with the *ra* is considered extremely faulty in the Moonlight on Astonishment: "Except for *kṣa*, a pleasant connected with a cruel is to be abandoned like poisoned food." Also: "*ra* burns; *la* and *va* for addiction." And more: "*ya* bears good fortune; pain." Yes, but there is no flaw in using the phoneme *pra*. [To the question of] how *pra* could be for protection: because the short vowel and *pra* together are an ambrosial phoneme. For the short vowel, velars, palatals, retroflex, dental, labial, semivowel, and sibilant classes are called ambrosial and the long vowels poisonous. Further, even though it is conjoined with the ra, it is auspicious. Pa, even connected to ra, is clearly auspicious at the opening of a poem.

And it is pronounced by the poets: In the Essence of Logic, "praṇamya śambhum"; in the Bharata's Ocean, "prasaktari pātram"; in the Ocean of Yoga, "praṇamya śirasā devam." Because of so many statements like those anothers, and because of the shortness of the brevity of the statement differientiating it from a flaw, at the beginning of the text, pa written as a conjuct with ra definitely brings auspiciousness. As it is said in the Origin of Kumāra: "Or as a single flaw in a host of virtues is submerged as is the moon's spot in its rays."

Or else: as the phoneme ca and ja-metreme in the case of the designation "caturmukha" [four-faced] [which opens Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa] are also felicitous at the beginning of poem insofar as they indicate the name of Brahma. As it is said in Moonlight on Astonishment:

“When denoting an auspicious thing or indicating the name of a god,
neither a metreme or phoneme is faulty—like a stone installed as divinity.”

And, further:

“Words expressing a divinity or auspicious things and so forth
are all of them never to be censured whether written or pronounced.”

Auspicious words are given in the Crown-jewel of Literature: “*siddha, praṇava, āśīḥ, śrī, parvata, sūrya, candra, dīrghāyuḥ, ārogya, kuśala, sāgara, mekhala*, and so on are auspicious words.”

The characteristics of the protagonist are given: Crafting gentle sweet words, compassionate, wealthy in the arts, decorous, wont to generosity, and discerning is the patron known to be. As is said in the Moonrise of Literature:

“Versed in the arts, insightful, well-spoken, fond of poetry,
greatly compassionate, and decorous is the patron known to be.”

The definition of the steadfast and noble and so forth are given with that. As it is said in the Ocean of Literature:

“The four types of protagonists—the steadfast and noble and so on—should be known
for the prose and verse compositions created by master poets.”
And on that point—
Upright, compassionate, sweet, truthful, senses mastered,
of great eminence and decorous: he is called steadfast and noble.
Like Rāmacandra and so forth.
Prideful, egotistic, jealous, deceitful, boastful;

harsh, fickle, and furious: He is called the brave and arrogant hero.
For example: Rāvaṇa, Paraśurāma, and so on.
Because of conquering all his foes, he is without worry [damaged]
the burdern of his rule entrusted to his ministers, he is focused on pleasure;
and fully submitting to his lovers, [damaged], he is sweet.
For example, Vatsarāja and others [would be the noble lover type].

Possessed of discernment and decorum, forebearance and amiability,
and speaking words sweet and kind is the peaceful noble type, which may be brahman or a vaiśya.
For example, Mādhava, Saugandhika, and others.

Accordingly, possessed of such a protagonist and considering the kula, gotra, name, fame, and greatness of master poets, a composition ought to be accepted.

The definition of a master poet is give in the work of King Siṅga:

"Pure, clever, calm, respected by good folk, [. . .], skilled in the arts, learned, a sweet talker, and poetically adept,
responsible, educated in omens, of compassionate heart, born of a good clan, auspicious in body, and versed in rasa and the virtues of prosodic forms—he is a poet."

By the word "pure" used at the beginning of the verse, brahman is intended. As Śruti says, "Pure is the brahman, pure is the poet." Therefore only a brahman is a poet, and not a śūdra or the others. That is to say,

"Never a śūdra nor a vaiśya nor a king of men
but, truly, only a brahman is poet: Śruti is the example for this."

In the Yajurveda it is said, “Pure is the poet.” And in th Royal Goad for Poets:

“As dog’s milk should be abandoned by wise men so is a verse made by a śūdra,
and as milk from a cow is acceptable, so is a poem created by a brahman.”

The poet and is like the sun should be aware of the usages of many texts and the examples of rules and languages of various regions. As is said in the Ocean of Literature:

“Without knowing correctly the definitions of meters,
one who makes prose and verse is surely the death of kings.”

Therefore, having assembled various examples and rules for the purpose of enlightening poets who are devoted to the desire to learn the characteristics of poetry, I teach this Light on the Properties. Then I teach the number of metremes having given honor to the serpent Piṅgaḷa, who is of pure mind because of Hara’s grace and who is praised by the best of the true poets. But how is honor given to the serpent Piṅgaḷa out of all the other famous poets like Vyāsa, Vālmīki, and so on? Because he is the author of the rules for poetry, he is to be honored very deeply. As it is said in the Ocean of Literature:

[damaged]

Thus, this was the first section in the Light on the Properties composed by the noble Gaurana, his glory mined from the glorious minister Ayyalu, skillful and virtuous, and the brother to the royal minister Potana, who is praised by poets for overtaking the heavenly wishing-tree in his generosity.

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