The *Gītike*

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Contents

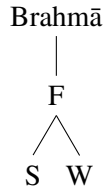
Quick overview of the *dēvagaṇa* system 1
Brahmā (Nāgavarma) = Rati/Ra (Jayakīrti) = Sūrya (Rēcana and Appakavi) 1
Viṣṇu (Nāgavarma) = Madana/La (Jayakīrti) = Indra (Rēcana and Appakavi) 2
Rudra (Nāgavarma) = Śara/Dha (Jayakīrti) = Candra (Rēcana and Appakavi) 2
Metrical handbooks 3
Jayakīrti's *Chandōnuśāsana*, 7.20 3
Nāgavarma's *Chandōmbudhi*, 5.18 3
The Sanskrit/Prakrit *gīti* 3
Discussion 4
Kāvyāvalōkanaṁ of Nāgavarman 5
Discussion 7
Kavirājamārgaṁ 8
The "regular" *gītike*s (3+4) 9
The "other" *gītike* (4+4) 10
Combinations? 13
All the rest 13
Conclusions 16

Quick overview of the *dēvagaṇa* system

Syllable shapes in gray are not allowed by the Telugu metrical writers.

Brahmā (Nāgavarma) = Rati/Ra (Jayakīrti) = Sūrya (Rēcana and Appakavi)

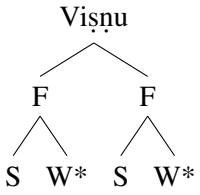
Shapes	Mnemonic
SS	brahmā
IIS	purapaṁ, druhiṇaṁ
SI	dhātṛ
III	ajane, surapa



A single metrical foot (F = SW), with a branching S position (i.e., a moraic trochee) and a non-empty W position; **probably** final consonants are extrametrical.

Viṣṇu (Nāgavarma) = Madana/La (Jayakīrti) = Indra (Rēcana and Appakavi)

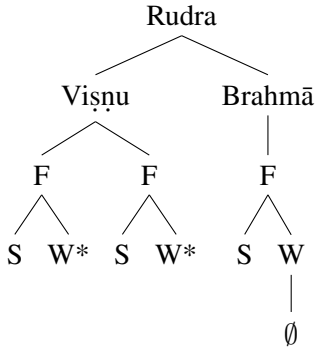
Shapes	Mnemonic
⏑⏑⏑	gōvindaṁ
‖⏑⏑	hṛdayēśaṁ, jalajākṣaṁ
⏑‖⏑	nāgikaṁ, mādhavaṁ
‖‖⏑	parahitaṁ, smarapitaṁ
⏑⏑‖	kaṁsāri
‖⏑‖	narakāri
⏑‖	śrīpati
‖‖	murahara, mararipu



Two metrical feet, in which the weak position of each can be empty.

Rudra (Nāgavarma) = Śara/Dha (Jayakīrti) = Candra (Rēcana and Appakavi)

Shapes	Mnemonic
⏑⏑⏑⏑	gaṅgādhīśaṁ
‖⏑⏑⏑	girijānāthaṁ
⏑‖⏑⏑	nīlakaṇṭhaṁ
‖‖⏑⏑	vṛṣabhalakṣmaṁ
⏑⏑‖⏑	kāmāntakaṁ
‖⏑‖⏑	prathamādhipaṁ
⏑‖‖⏑	śūladharaṁ
‖‖‖⏑	puramathanaṁ
⏑⏑⏑‖	kandarpāri
‖⏑⏑‖	madanadhvaṁsi
⏑‖⏑‖	candramauḷi
‖‖⏑‖	bhujagadhāri
⏑⏑‖‖	bhūtāgraṇi
‖⏑‖‖	trijagadguru
⏑‖‖‖	kāmaripu
‖‖‖‖	madanaripu



A *viṣṇu* with one catalectic foot at the end.

Metrical handbooks

Jayakīrti's *Chandōnuśāsana*, 7.20

[vi.][bra.] [vi.]
[ˈ ˈ ˇ # ˈ][ˇ ˇ]#[ˇ ˇ # ˈ]#
ra**g**aṇō dvi- tī yē ṣaṣṭhē ca

[ru.][ru.] [bra.] [ru.]
[ˈ ˈ ˇ # ˈ ˈ][ˇ # ˇ ˇ ˈ]#[ˇ ˇ]#[ˇ ˈ ˇ # ˈ]#
la**g**aṇō dhaga- ṇō vānyatra pañcasv ardhayōś ca

[vi.] [bra.][ru.]
[ˈ ˈ ˇ # ˇ]#[ˈ ˈ ˇ][ˇ # ˈ ˈ ˇ]#
tri**g**aṇō ʼyuk samapā- dō ʼbdhigaṇō

[vi.] [ru.][bra.] [ru.]
[ˈ ˈ ˈ ˇ]#[ˇ ˈ ˇ ˇ][ˇ ˇ]#[ˈ ˈ ˇ ˇ ˇ]#
ni**g**aditā gītikālaṅ- kā rē prabhusēnīyaiḥ

A *ra*-group in the second and sixth;
a *la*-group or *dha*-group
in the other five,
and in the two halves,
a three-group odd quarter,
and four-group even quarter:
the *gītikā* is so defined
by the followers of Prabhusēna
in *alaṅkāra*.

Nāgavarma's *Chandōmbudhi*, 5.18

The definition in the *Chandōmbudhi* is puzzling:

[ru.] [bra.] [vi.]
[ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ # ˇ]#[ˇ ˈ]#[ˇ ˈ ˇ]#
e**r**aḍaṛoḷ āṛ em ba saṅkhyeyoḷ

[vi.] [vi.][bra.][ru.]
[ˈ ˈ # ˇ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ # ˈ ˈ][ˈ ˈ # ˇ][ˈ ˈ # ˈ ˈ ˇ]#
ba**r**e padma - bhavan uḷi- duvu mac- cuva teṛadind'

[vi.][bra.] [vi.]
[ˈ ˈ # ˇ ˈ][ˈ # ˈ ˇ]#[ˇ ˈ # ˇ]#
i**r**e munda- ṇa padaṁ munnin' ant'

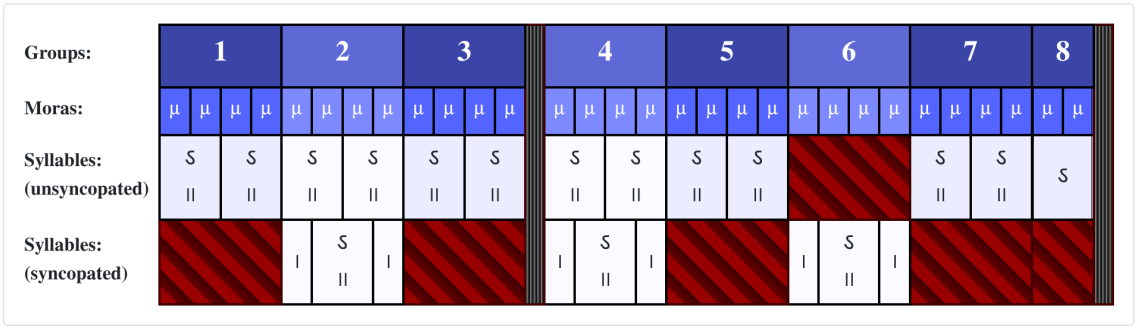
[vi.] [vi.] [bra.][vi.]
[ˈ ˈ # ˈ ˇ]#[ˇ ˈ ˇ]#[ˇ # ˇ][ˇ # ˈ ˇ]#
i**r**e karaṁ gītikey int' ak- kuṁ sakhī[1]

When a *brahmā* group occurs
in two [and] in the number
called "six," [and] the remaining
in whatever way one pleases,
and that the next line
is like the one before it (?),
that indeed is the *gītike*, friend.

The Sanskrit/Prakrit *gīti*

Venkatachala Sastry (2008: 424) suggest there is a connection with the Sanskrit/Prakrit *gīti*, which may have been "vernacularized" by adopting it into the *dēvagaṇa* system. The *gīti* is a mora-counting meter with two lines, each of which has the following schema (note that the *āryā*/*gāthā* is just a *gīti* with a shorter second line):

1. The last two lines have the following variants after *teradindire*: *baḷik' inn' eraḍuṁ munninante karam esed' oppuva gītegaṇaṁ* and *baḷikk' ire nagaṇamuṁ munninante karam esed' oppuva gītikege kēḷagaṇam akkum*.



One can see a number of similarities:

- a line with 7 groups (the 7th being "longer" in the case of the *gīti* because of the final heavy syllable, and in the case of the *gītike* because of the possibility of a final *rudra* group);
- the line is itself articulated into two unequal halves (3 + 4);
- some rhythmic alternation in each half (the 2nd group being *brahmā* in the *gītike* and [possibly] syncopated in the *gīti*; same for the 6th group, which is necessarily syncopated in the *gīti*).

Discussion

- Nāgavarma and Jayakīrti both require groups 2 and 6 in each line to be **brahmā**.
- As for the other groups, Nāgavarma suggests they can be any, while Jayakīrti specifies **viṣṇu** or **rudra**. Neither example has any **brahmā** groups outside of positions 2 and 6.
- **Rudra** groups should not really be in free variation with **viṣṇu** groups. In other meters (esp. the *akkaraṁ*), **rudra** is limited to a final position in the line.
- Neither handbook makes reference to word boundaries. In other meters (esp. the *akkaraṁ*), the end of every *gaṇa* more or less coincides with a word boundary. And in all of the *dēvagaṇa* meters (*tivadi*, *piriyakkaraṁ*, etc.), the end of every line **must** coincide with a word boundary.
- Does the *alaṅkāra* mentioned by Jayakīrti refer to the *Kavirājamārgaṁ* (Venkatachala Sastry 2008: 422)? [Probably not.]

Kāvyāvalōkanaṁ of Nāgavarman

The *Kāvyāvalōkanaṁ* is the only other work (known to me) wherein a meter called *gītike* occurs. It has five verses that are given this label (422, 495, 778, 842, and 959); of them, four of them (all except 842) can be scanned.[2] These verses occur at the end of each of the five chapters of the *Kāvyāvalōkanaṁ*.

422

At the end of chapter 1, the *śabdasmṛti*, the grammatical preliminaries of the *Kāvyāvalōkanaṁ*.

[vi.] [bra.] [vi.]
[ऽ #।।]#[ऽ ।]#[ऽ ऽ ऽ]#
i**nt**' ire śab da - sandēha-

[vi.] [vi.] [bra.] [ru.]
[ऽ ऽ ऽ]#[ऽ । ।]#[। । ।]#[ऽ । # । ।]#
dhvā**nt**aughaṁ piṅg' ire jalakan āge budha-

[ru.] [bra.] [ru.]
[ऽ । । # ऽ]#[ऽ ।]#[ऽ । #। ऽ]#
sa**nt**atig' app' an tu pēḷdan idaṁ

[vi.][vi.][bra.][vi.]
[ऽ । ।][ऽ #। ।][ऽ ।][ऽ । ऽ]#
śā**nt**ama naṁ kavi tā gu ṇōdayaṁ

In this way, Kavitāguṇōdaya,
whose heart is stilled,
has described this, in such a way
that the mass of darkness
that is uncertainty about language
recedes, like a bath (*jalakan*?)
for generations of scholars.

Read *śabda-* instead of *śabdaṁ* (Venkatachala Sastry 2008: 424).

495

At the end of chapter 2, *kāvyamalavyāvṛtti*, on faults.

[vi.] [bra.][vi.]
[ऽ# ऽ ।]#[ऽ ।][ऽ # ऽ ऽ]#
ī **p**ēḷda māḷke yiṁ dōṣā

[ru.] [vi.] [bra.][vi.]
[ऽ ऽ # ऽ ।]#[ऽ । ।]#[ऽ ।][ऽ । ऽ]#
lē**p**aṁ pordad' antire san ni bandha[doḷ]

[vi.] [bra.] [ru.]
[ऽ । ।]#[ऽ ।]#[। । । ऽ ऽ]#
vyā**p**ṛtan ak ke guṇavadarthaṁ

[vi.] [vi.][bra.][vi.]
[ऽ । ।]#[ऽ । # ।][ऽ ।][ऽ । ऽ]#
vyā**p**akam āge ka vit va tatvadoḷ

May one be engaged
in correct composition
in the way described above,
so that one is not
smeared with faults,
and so that a meaning
possessed of good qualities
will fully extend throughout
the principle[s] being a poet.

The second line does not scan with the transmitted reading. I suggest *sannibandhadoḷ*, giving ru-vi-bra-vi in line 2.

2. It also has three verses in unknown meters (484, 592, and 598) but these do not appear to be *gītike* verses.

778

At the end of chapter 3, on *arthālaṅkāra*s.

[vi.][bra.][ru.]
[S# I I][S #S][S S I I]# *alternatively:*
ī **t**eṛa- dind' ar thālaṅkṛtiy'

[ru.] [bra.][vi.]
[S# I I S]#[S S][S I I]#
ī **t**eṛadind' ar thā laṅkṛtiy

[vi.][vi.] [bra.] [vi.]
[S I # I][S I I]#[S I]#[S I S]#
ō**t**u vi- bhēdaman ā dam ellamaṁ

[vi.] [bra.] [ru.]
[S I I]#[S I]#[I I I # S S]#
nū**t**ana - mārgam eseye pēḷdaṁ

[vi.][vi.][bra.][vi.]
[S I I][S # I I][S I][S I S]#
khyā**t**aya- śaṁ kavi- tā gu- ṇōdayaṁ

In this way, Kavitāguṇōdaya,
whose fame has spread
far and wide, has fully
explained all the varieties
of ornaments of meaning,
such that the New Way
shines forth.

842

This verse, at the end of the *rīti* chapter (4), does not scan as a *gītike*. It also has *khaṇḍaprāsa*, which *gītike* verses do not usually have. Venkatachala Sastry (2008: 424) suggests that it may have been written as a *kanda*.

rītiyaṁ rasavibhāgamumaṁ vi-
khyātiyanānta vṛttigaḷaṁ prā-
tītakam āge tiḷiye pēḷdan int' ī
bhūtaḷadoḷ sale nāgavarmaṁ[3]

3. One manuscript apparently has the following reading: *rītirasabhāgamaṁ vikhyātiyan āntamaḷavṛtti-vṛttaṅgaḷumaṁ ~ prātikam āgire pēḷdaṁ bhūtaḷadoḷag' eseye nāgavarmmakavīndraṁ ~~*. This, too, does not scan, but it at least more closely resembles a *gītike* in the length of its lines.

959

At the end of chapter 5, on poetic conventions.

[vi.][bra.] [ru.]
[S I # I][S I]#[I I I S # S]#
i**nt**u ka- vīndra - samayamaṁ cai-
[vi.] [vi.] [bra.] [ru.]
[S I I]#[S I I]#[S I]#[I I I # S S]#
ra**nt**ana - mārgadoḷ on de tiḷiye pēḻdaṁ
[ru.] [bra.] [ru.]
[S #I I S]#[S I]#[S I # S # S]#
bhrā**nt**’ inisuṁ pordad’ alli tān emb’
[vi.] [vi.][bra.] [vi.]
[S I I]#[S I # I][S I]#[S I S]#
a**nt**ire tirdi vi- vē ki nākigaṁ

Thus I, Nākiga, have clearly explained,
in agreement with the Way of the Ancients,
the conventions of the Great Poets,
having straightened it out
so that people might say of me
that not even a little error
has come upon me in it.

Discussion

- **Gaṇas**
  - **Brahmā** is indeed **obligatory** in positions 2 and 6 of each half, and is **prohibited** in all of the other positions. It takes the following shapes:
    SI: 14/16 or 88%
    SS: 1/16 (778 [*dind’ ar-* or *arthā-*]) or 6%
    III: 1/16 (422 [*jalakan*?]) or 6%
    → hence SI is strongly preferred.
  - **Viṣṇu** and **rudra** *appear* to alternate in the other positions, but in fact:
    - **Rudra** often occurs at the end of a line (9 times out of 16 line-final groups = 56%)
    - It occurs **three** times at the beginning of a line (19%):
      - At the beginning of line 2: 495 (*lēpaṁ pordad’*)
      - At the beginning of line 4: 422 (*santatig’ app’*), 959 (*bhrānt’ inisuṁ*)
- **Word boundaries**
  - The end of the line **always** coincides with the end of a word (including the end of a word in compound)
  - The end of the *gaṇa* **usually** coincides with the end of a word (75%). The main exceptions are in the last line, probably as a result of *nāmāṅkaṁ*.
- Almost all of the verses have **nāmāṅkaṁ**, where the poet uses his name or pen-name in the last line.

Kavirājamārgaṁ

kandaṅgaḷ palav' āgire
sundara-vr̥ttaṅgaḷ akkaraṁ caupadi ma-
ttaṁ dal gītike tivadigaḷ
andambett' eseye pēḷvoḍ' adu cattāṇaṁ

caupadi C; *cavupadi* AB.
peḷvoḍ C; *peḷvaḍ* B, *peḷdoḍ* A.
gal gītike tivadigaḷ edd.; *dallitigiketivadigaḷ* A, *dalitiketivadigaḷ* B, *galgitiketivadagaḷ* C.

When there are many *kanda*s,
and when the beautiful *vr̥tta*s,
the *akkara*, *caupadi*, and of course
the ***gītike*** and *tivadi*
take on a brilliant beauty in a composition,
that is the *cattāṇaṁ*.

(AO + SPT)

I am working on an **edition and translation** of the *Kavirājamārgaṁ* with Sarah Pierce Taylor. Translations we've done together are marked with AO + SPT; those that I haven't yet discussed with her just have my initials. We have collated the three more-or-less complete manuscripts together and here I generally only report manuscript readings, not the five or so editions that have been produced (none of which is critical). The **numbering** is that of our edition for the first two chapters, and that of Pathak's edition for the third, just because we have yet to sort out the variations in numbering in this chapter.

Verses identified as *gītike* in the manuscripts of the *Kavirājamārgaṁ*: in chapter 1, 4 verses (45, 112, 125, 137); in chapter 2, 3 verses (46, 98,111); in chapter 3, 4 verses (107, 207, 217, 223). Besides these, quite a number of verses toward the end of chapter 2 (137–138, and 143–153) look like *gītike* verses, but are not labeled as such in any of the manuscripts (and many of these, illustrating *duṣkara* and *hēḷike*, are very corrupt).

ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಎಲ್ಲವು ನಾಗವರ್ಮ ಜಯಕೀರ್ತಿಗಳು ನಿರೂಪಿಸುವ ಗೀತಿಕೆಯ ಲಕ್ಷಣಕ್ಕೆ ಹೊಂದುವಿದಿಲ್ಲ; ಕೆವಲು ಸಮರ್ಪಕವಾಗಿ ಹೊಂದಿ ಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತವೆ, ಇನ್ನು ಕೆಲವು ಹೊಂದಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದೇ ಇಲ್ಲೆ. (Venkatachala Sastry 2008: 423: "Among the *Kavirājamārgaṁ*'s *gītike* verses, none of them accord exactly with the definition given by Nāgavarma and Jayakīrti; some of them accord with it roughly, while others don't accord with it at all.")

Venkatachala Sastry (2008: 424) suggested that the deviation between the *gītike*s in the *Kavirājamārgaṁ* and those in other texts is great enough to justify the postulation of a **different** metrical pattern. He accordingly identified a number of "regular" *gītike*s (which nevertheless have some irregularities), namely 1.125, 3.107, and 3.217, and said that the rest might instantiate a different metrical pattern. He is right (of course), and we can provisionally recognize **at least two** types of *gītike*, which I will call 3+4 ("regular," i.e., familiar from metrical handbooks) and 4+4 (not known from metrical handbooks).

The "regular" *gītike*s (3+4)

1.125

[bra.] [bra.][vi.]
[ऽ ।]#[ऽ ।][ऽ । ऽ]#
ín tu ká ra- kaṅgaḷoḷ
[bra.] [ru.] [bra.] [ru.]
[ऽ ।]#[।।। # ऽ ।]#[। । ऽ]#[ऽ । । ऽ]#
sántam áṛiye pḗḻda gúṇamaṁ dṓṣamumàṁ
[vi.] [bra.] [ru.]
[ऽ ।।]#[। । ।]#[ऽ # ऽ । ऽ]#
cíntisi péṛavum ínn áppuvàṁ
[vi.] [ru.] [bra.] [vi.]
[ऽ #ऽ ।]#[।।। # ऽ ।]#[। । ऽ]#[। । । ऽ]#
bhrā́nt' íllad' áṛidu kóḷge kávigaḷ kŕ̥tigaḷòḷ

Let us (?) think about
the virtues and faults
regarding the semantic roles
that I have expertly
and agreeably explained
above, as well as others,
and embrace them: then
we (?) poets can knowingly
accept them in our works,
without any doubt.

iṁtu A; *yaṁtu* BC
kāragaṁgaḷoḷ AC; *kāragaṁgaḷo* B
saṁtam C; *saṁtav* AB
guṇamaṁ A; *guṇamuṁ* BC
peṛavum mss.; conj. *peṛavaṇ*?
bhrāṁtillad AC; *bhrāṁtiyillad* B

Venkatachala Sastry (2008: 423) notes the occurrence of **brahmā** groups outside of positions 2 and 6; he however scans the second line as *santam a.ṛiye pēḻda.guṇamaṁ.dōṣamumaṁ*. I have scanned it as above following the word boundaries. On that scansion, **each group more or less aligns with a word**, with the except of modifier + verb phrases such as *aṛiye pēḻda* and *aṛidu koḷge*. As a consequence, there is **more or less one word-accent per group**. This will be important below. No *nāmāṅkaṁ*.

3.107

[ru.] [bra.] [vi.]
[। ।। ऽ ।]#[ऽ ।]#[ऽ । ऽ]#
prátipadārtha - tát tva - bhḗdadoḷ
[ru.] [bra.] [bra.] [vi.]
[। ।ऽ । ऽ]#[। । ।]#[।। ।]#[ऽ । ऽ]#
prátiṣēdhamaṁ négaḻgum áni te mā́ḻkeyind'
[vi.][bra.] [ru.]
[।।। ऽ][ऽ ।]#[। । ऽ# । ।]
átiśayā́- kṣē pa - gáṇanā-vyati-
[vi.] [bra.] [bra.] [vi.]
[। ।# । ।]#[ऽ ।]#[ऽ ।]#[ऽ । ऽ]#
gati nŕ̥pa - túṅ ga - dḗ va - mā́rgadoḷ

It results in a negation
of one among two different
scenarios corresponding to
the meaning of each expression.
That is precisely what makes
the account of the striking
ornament of "taking it back"
go its own way,
according to the *Way*
of King **Nr̥patuṅga**. (AO)

tatva AB; om. C
māḻkeyind P; *māḻkeyaṁd* AB.
ākṣepa AC; *āpakṣepa* B.

C has a gap between *pra-* on line 2 and *kṣēpa* on line 3. Note *nāmāṅka*.

Venkatachala Sastry (2008: 423) notes the occurrence of **brahmā** groups outside of positions 2 and 6. The last half could be divided differently (*gaṇanā // vyatigati* or *gaṇanāvyati // gati*). I have opted for the former (with T.V.V.).

Note that the first **rudra** group could also be scanned as two **brahmā** groups — the "regular" *gītike* has three groups in its first half-line, but as we will see, there are *gītike* verses that have four groups instead. Hence this might be a combination verse (see below).

3.217

[bra.] [bra.] [ru.]
[S I]#[S I]#[S I I S]#
ín tu míkka várṇanegaḷ

[vi.] [vi.] [bra.] [atiru.]
[S I I]#[S #SI]#[S I]#[S S # I I S]#
sántatam ónd' ā̆gi pḗḷ da kā̆vyaṁ dhā́reyòḷ

[vi.] [bra.] [ru.]
[S I I]#[I I I]#[S I #S# S]
sántati kéḍade nílkum ā̆-ká-

[bra.] [bra.][bra.][atiru.]
[S S]#[I I #I][S I][S I # I S S]#
lpāntam- baram a- mṓgha varṣa-yaśambōl

May the poetry to which
the many aforementioned
discussions constantly apply
abide on the earth, without
interruption of its transmission,
to the end of the age, just like
the fame of **Amōghavarṣa**. (AO)

intu edd.; *yaṁtum* AB.

A has a gap from *kāvya* to [*ke*]*ḍade*. This part of the text is missing in C.

Venkatachala Sastry (2008: 423) proposes *santatam. ondāgi. pēḻda kāvyaṁ. dhareyoḷ* and *lpāntam.baram amōgha.varṣa-ya.śambōl*, and hence proposes that **viṣṇu** and **rudra** groups are allowed in positions 2 and 6. I would rather have a longer final group than violate the requirement of **brahmā** in position 6, hence the scansion above. The **atirudra** (basically a **rudra** with an extra syllable) will be motivated below. Note *nāmāṅkaṁ*.

The "other" *gītike* (4+4)

2.46

Let's start with 2.46, which has an easily recognizable rhythm:

[bra.] [bra.] [bra.] [bra.]#
[I I I]#[S S]#[S I]#[I I S]#
áṛi du pínaṁ mā́rga - gátiyàṁ

[bra.] [bra.] [bra]#[atiru.]
[I I I]#[S I]#[S S]#[I I #I S I S]#
táṛisal ā́ gad' ā́rgaṁ báhu-vikálpadòḷ

[bra.] [bra.] [bra.] [vi.]
[I I I]#[S I]#[S I]#[I I I S]#
kúṛitu pū́r va - śās tra - pádaviyàṁ

[vi.] [bra.] [bra.] [ru.]
[I I I I]#[S I]#[I I S]#[S I I S]#
téṛedire pḗḷven ínisaṁ kánnaḍadòḷ

It's impossible for anyone
to know where the Ways go
well enough define them.
Among the many options,
I will focus in on the path
of earlier treatises and
explain it as clearly as possible
in relation to Kannada.
(AO + SPT)

taṛisal C; *taṛisalal* B, *taṛisalado* A
padaviyaṁ B; *padavidhiyaṁ* C
teṛedire B; *teradire* C
pēḻven C; *peḻden* B

After reading taṛisalado (?) A skips to 2.67.

4 lines, with 4 groups per line; each group corresponds to a single word, and therefore a single stress. Most groups are **brahmā**, but *téṛedire* is **viṣṇu**, but with a single stress.[4] The group that ends each line is different, because it either has a secondary stress (*gátiyàṁ*, *pádaviyàṁ*, and *kánnaḍadòḷ*, which count as **brahmā**, **viṣṇu**, and **rudra** respectively), or it consists of two words, each of which has a primary stress (*báhu-vikálpadoḷ*). The last group is not a "true" **rudra**, since it has one syllable

4. This suggests that indeed *ire* has been grammaticalized as a suffix.

too many, but analyzing it as **brahmā + viṣṇu** seems less preferable given the parallelism with the next half-verse. Hence I introduce the term **atirudra** to describe line-final groups that have two word-stresses but do not fit into the traditional category of **rudra** groups.

This verse *happens* to have **brahmā** groups in the penultimate positions in each line, but as we will see, what matters is not so much the group (brahmā or viṣṇu), but the word stress.

2.98

[bra.] [bra.] [bra.][vi.]
[ˈ ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ]#
bágedu mā́rga - dvítaya - gátigaḷàṁ
[vi.][bra.][vi.][vi.]
[ˈ ˈ ˈ # ˈ][ˈ ˈ][ˈ ˈ # ˈ][ˈ ˈ ˈ]#
práguṇa-gu- ṇṓda- yàrkaḷ vi- tárkadìṁ
[vi.] [bra.] [bra.] [vi.]
[ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ]#
sógayisuv’ án tu vácana - rácaneyàṁ
[vi.] [bra.] [bra.] [atiru.]
[ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ # ˈ ˈ ˈ]#
négaḷdire béra si pḗḷ ge rása-viśḗṣadoḷ

The ones who elevate
the excellent qualities of poetry
imaginatively consider
the two different paths.
May they compose beautiful
poetry by manifesting it
through the different *rasa*s.

(AO + SPT)

sogayasuv BC; *sāgayasuv* A
viśēṣadoḷ AB; *viśeṣaṇadoḷ* C

Here you can see that the penultimate group in the second line is technically **viṣṇu** but has a single stress (the secondary stress of *guṇōdayàrkaḷ*). Otherwise the pattern of this verse is exactly the same as 2.46, including the **atirudra** at the end of the line.

Probably *guṇōdaya-* is a *nāmāṅkaṁ*. We think it is the pen-name of Śrīvijaya (or maybe Amōghavarṣa?), just like *kavitāguṇōdaya-* is the pen-name of Nāgavarma, or *kavitāguṇārṇava-* is the pen-name of Pampa.

1.137

[vi.][vi.][upabra.] [atiru.]
[ˈ ˈ ˈ # ˈ][ˈ ˈ ˈ][ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ # ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ]#
kúr̲itu sa- múccaya- dā báḷi vikálpadà̀
[vi.] [ru.] [bra.] [vi.]
[ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ]#
tér̲adoḷe dṓṣamumàn án- te gúṇamumaṁ
[vi.] [ru.] [bra.] [atiru.]
[ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ ˈ # ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ #ˈ]#
kír̲idaṛoḷ áṛiye pḗḷden ín te peṛavuman ī
[vi.] [vi.] [bra.] [vi.]
[ˈ ˈ ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ# ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ]#[ˈ ˈ ˈ]#
kúr̲ipane kúṛi-māḍi pḗḷ ge kábbamaṁ

In the matter of coordination
and disjunction, I have knowingly
described their faults and virtues
in brief, and you should compose
poetry by judging other usages
according to these characteristics.

(AO + SPT)

vikalpadāte C; *vikalpadole* AB
kiṛidaroḷaṛiye AB; *kiridaroḷneriye* C
peḷden AB; *keḷden* AB
kuṛipane AB; *kurupane* C
pēḷge AB; *pēḷde* C

Here we have to decide whether to scan *dā ba.ḷi vikalpadā*, against the word boundary, to obtain **brahmā + rudra**, or scan with the word boundary to obtain *dā . baḷi vikalpadā*. I opt for the latter. That gives us two "malformed" metrical units, a **brahmā** without a final syllable (**upabrahmā**) and a **rudra** with an additional final syllable (**atirudra**). But again, we are looking at word stress, and it may be the case that we want to group a single heavy syllable (or two light syllables) together.

1.112

[bra.] [vi.] [bra.] [vi.]
[S I]#[S S S]#[S I]#[S I S]#
dṓsam ḗnānuṁ sválpam ā́doḍàṁ

[bra.] [vi.][upabra.] [ru.]
[S I]#[S S #I][S]#[I I# I I S]#
mā́sis' írkkum a- ṇáṁ kŕ̥ti-vádhuvàṁ

[vi.] [ru.] [bra.] [vi.]
[S I I]#[S I I I]#[S I]#[I I I S]#
pḗsade dúrjanadoḷ ā́- da páricayàṁ

[vi.] [ru.] [vi.] [ru.]
[S I I]#[I I I I S]#[S I I]#[I I# I I S]#
mā́sisi kíḍisuvavol óppuva kúla-vádhuvàṁ

A fault, however small
it may be, is certain to defile
the maiden of the work,
just like any acquaintaince
with bad company—apart
from sheer revulsion—
will defile and ruin
a beautiful young woman.

(AO + SPT)

dōsam conj. P; *doṣam* C *doṣav* AB
svalpam BC; *svalpav* A
ādoḍaṁ BC; *ādaḍaṁ* A
irkkumaṇaṁ C; *irkkuṁmaṇaṁ* A; *irkkumāṇa* B
vadhuvaṁ BC; *vaduvaṁ* A

Again, the penultimate group doesn't need to be **brahmā**; it just needs to have a single stress (hence *óppuva*).

2.111

[vi.] [bra.] [bra.] [bra.]
[S I I]#[S I]#[S I]#[I I S]#
níkkuvam ín tu mā́rga - yúgadòḷ

[vi.] [ru.] [bra.] [ru.]
[S I I]#[I I I# S I]#[I I # S]#[S S I S]#
tákkudan ā́riye pḗḻden ínis' ónd' úddēśamàṁ

[vi.][bra.][bra.] [atiru.]
[S I# I][S I][S I]#[S I #S I# S]#
míkka gu- ṇṓ da- yàrkkaḷ ír̥yad' éntu sáit'

[bra.] [vi.] [bra.] [atiru.]
[S I]#[S #S I]#[I I I]#[S I# S I S]#
ákkum ánt' ā́ge bágedu pḗḻge kábbadòḷ

Truly, in this way
I have expertly explained
what is proper
to each of the two ways.
The ones with ascendant virtues
grow beyond this one teaching —
but if they didn't accept it
in the first place,
then how could it be correct?
Therefore you should thoughtfully
integrate it into your poetry.

(AO + SPT)

mikka AB; *mikku* C
guṇodayarkkaḷiyad C; *guṇodayakkaviyad* AB
peḻge AB; *peḻva* C

Venkatachala Sastry (2008: 423) just notes that this disagrees completely with the definitions proposed by Nāgavarma and Jayakīrti. Here we only know that there are four groups in the first line, rather than three (with an **atirudra**), because of the parallelism of the third line, although this might not count for very much. Also *aṛiye pēḻden* scans as a single **rudra** group, as it does elsewhere, even though it could be scanned as two **brahmā** groups; the reason is probably because it counts as a single verbal phrase.

Combinations?

A couple verses seem to instantiate the 3+4 pattern in one half, and the 4+4 pattern in the other half.

3.207

[ru.] [bra.][bra.] [ru.]
[S I]#[S I]#[S S]#[I I I S]#
bhā́vam émbud’ ák kuṁ kávigaḷā

[vi.] [bra.] [upabra.] [ru.]
[S I I]#[I I I]#[I I]#[S I #S S]#
bhā́visi mánada bá gey óndid’ ártha ṁ

[vi.] [vi.][vi.]
[S I I]#[I I I # I][S I S]#
ké́valam ádaṛoḷ a- ḷáṅkṛ̥ti

[atiru.] [ru.][bra.] [atiru.]
[S I I # S I]#[S S # I I][S I]#[S I # I I S]#
bhā́vakam émbud’ ákkuṁ nṛ̥pa- tuṅ ga - dé́va-mátadiṁ

What is called *bhāva*
is the idea that poets
conceive in their minds.
Among them, it is just
the unified meaning
that is the ornament
called *bhāvakaṁ* in the
system of King Nṛ̥patuṅga. (AO)

C is missing this part.
A has a gap between *bageyo-* and *bhāvakam*.

Venkatachala Sastry (2008: 424) just notes that this disagrees completely with the definitions proposed by Nāgavarma and Jayakīrti. A scansion with three groups in the first line is possible with an initial **rudra** instead of two **brahmā**s; in that case this would be a 3+4 *gītike* plain and simple.

1.45

[bra.] [vi.] [bra.] [vi.]
[S I]#[S S S]#[S I]#[S I S]#
kā́ṇ(an) ḗgeyduṁ támma dṓṣamàṁ

[vi.] [ru.] [bra.] [ru.]
[S I # S]#[S S # S S]#[S I]#[S I I S]#
kā́ṇad’ ant’ énduṁ káṇgaḷ támma kā́ḍigeyàṁ

[vi.] [vi.][ru.]
[S I I]#[S I I][S # I I S]#
pū́ṇigan ā́duda- ṛ̀ṁ péṛarìṁ

[vi.] [vi.] [vi.] [vi.]
[S I I]#[S I I]#[S I I]#[S I S]#
jā́ṇarin ṓdisi pḗḷvudu kábbamàṁ

A beginner cannot see
their own faults,
no matter what they do,
like the eyes can never see
their own lamp-black.
For that reason,
you should compose a poem
by having other skilled people
read through it. (AO + SPT)

kāṇan ēgeyduṁ conj. M; *kāṇegeyduṁ* AB, *kāṇenegeyduṁ* C
tamma BC; *taṁna* A
eṁduṁ AC; *eṁdu* B
ādudaṛiṁ BC; *ādadaṛiṁ* A
jāṇarin ōdisi conj. M; *jāṇariṁ nodisi* AB, *cāṇarimodisi* C
peḷvudu AC; *peḷvadu* B

kāṇan is an emendation, but it seems grammatically necessary. Without it we might have three positions; with it we have four.

All the rest

The verses toward the end of chapter 2, which may not even be *gītike* verses, are very difficult (that’s the point); I have not succeeded in scanning them yet. Same goes for 3.223, which appears

to instantiate a totally different pattern.

2.137–138

I am skipping these because they are *duṣkara* verses and are certainly corrupt.

2.143

[ı ı ı ऽ # ऽ ı # ı ı ı (ऽ)]#
ánugataṁ pū́rva-kávigaḷ(ā)
[ı ı #ऽ ऽ # ऽ ऽ # ऽ ı ऽ ı ऽ]#
néned’ ínnuṁ pḗḷdeṁ dúṣkarōktiyan
[ı ı ı ı# ı ı ı # ı ı ı # ऽ ı ı ऽ]#
ánugata-krámade bágedu hḗḷikeyo
[ı ı ı# ı ऽ ı ı ऽ # ऽ ऽ # ı ı ऽ]#
jánita-vibhēdamumaṁ pḗḷveṁ kíṛidaṁ

I have explained
the “difficult expressions”
by thinking further
on what earlier poets
have done. Now I turn
in sequence to considering
the *hēḷike*s, and I will
say something brief about
their varieties. (AO)

kavigaḷ mss.; *kavigaḷā* conj. AO
nened AC; *nenev* B
inuṁ A, *isiṁ* B, *iṁnuṁ* C
peḷdeṁ AB, *peḷveṁ* C
hoḷikeyo A, *hoḷīkeyo*, *heḷikeyo* C

A has a gap in *ki*[*ṛida*]*ṁ*.

2.144

[ऽ ı ऽ # ı ı ı # ऽ ऽ ऽ ı ı ऽ]#
bhāveyaṁ nusuḷum aspaṣṭākṣaramum
[ऽ# ऽ ऽ ऽ ı ı ऽ # ऽ ऽ ı ı ऽ]#
ā varṇṇavyatyayamuṁ binducyutiyuṁ
[ऽ ı ı #ऽ ı ı ऽ # ऽ ऽ ı ı ऽ]#
bhāvisad’ ornuḍiyaṁ varṇṇacyutamaṁ
[ऽ ı ı #ı ı ı# ऽ ı ऽ # ı ı ऽ ı ı ऽ]#
kēvalam avaṛa bhēdamaṁ susamastakamaṁ

aspaṣṭākṣaram C; *aspaṣṭāram* AB
cyutiyuṁ B; *cutiyaṁ* C, *cyutiyaṁ* A
ornnudiyaṁ B; *ārnnuḍiyaṁ* A, *onnuḍiyaṁ* C
bhedamaṁ susamastakamaṁ C; *bhēdamaṁ supamastakamaṁ* B, *bhedamususamastakamaṁ* A

2.145

[ı ı ı ı #ऽ ı # ऽ ı ऽ ऽ ı ı ऽ]#
savihitam appa karṇṇapūrōtpaḷamaṁ
[ı ı ı#ı ऽ ı ı ı # ı ı ऽ # ऽ ı ı ऽ]#
dhavaḷa-vilōcaneya guṇamaṁ sundaramaṁ
[ı ı ı ऽ # ऽ ı # ı ı ı # ı ı ı # ऽ ı ı ı ऽ]
kivivaraṁ nīḷda nayana-yugadoḷ oppuvavaḷā
[ı ı ı ı #ऽ ı # ı ı ı ऽ ऽ # ı ı ऽ]#
navayavad’ ēke kaḷiyavēḷdeṁ priyeyaṁ

Apparently exemplifies *bhāve*.

pūro AB; *phūto* C
vilōcaneya C; *vilokaneya* A, *-lokaveya* B
guṇamaṁ A; *guṇomaṁ* B, *guṇa* C
suṁdaramaṁ AB; *suṁdaramuṁ* C
kivi AC; *kavi* B
yavadiki A; *yatavadēke* B, *yavadeke* C
kaḷiya A; *kaḷeya* BC
veḷdeṁ AB; *veḷeṁ* C

B has a gap from *nīḷda na-* to *vavaḷ*.

2.146–148

I skip these verses because they are too corrupt, or too difficult, for me to make any sense of. They apparently exemplify *nusuḷ* (146), *aspaṣṭākṣaraṁ* (147), and *varṇavyatyayaṁ* (148).

2.149

[ı ı ı ı ı #ऽ ı #ऽ ı # ı ı # ऽ ı ı ऽ]#
so**g**ayisugum indra-nīla-maṇi-sannibhadoḷ
[ı ı #ı ı #ı ı ı ı #ı ı ı ऽ ı ı ı ऽ]#
mi**g**e jala-nidhiyoḷag' uditadindiradavol
[ı ı #ı ı ı ı ı # ऽ ı ı # ı ı # ı ı ı ı ऽ ı]#
ne**g**ed' atidhavaḷa-mūrtige ghana-vaḷa[ya]sadagdha-
[ı ı ı ı #ı ı #ı ı ı #ı ऽ ı ऽ ऽ ı ı ऽ]#
ga**g**anadoḷ uḷid' uḷidu viśāḷitāśāvaḷayaṁ

Apparently exemplifies *binducyutaka*.

neged' AC, *naged'* B
vaḷa AB; *vaḷaya* C
gaganadoḷ AB; *panoḷ* C
uḷiduḷidu AB; *uḷidu* C
viśāḷitā AC; *vibhāvitā* B

2.150

Skipping because it is too corrupt. Apparently exemplifies *ornuḍi*.

2.151

[ı ı ı ı ऽ ऽ #ı ı ı #ı ı # ऽ ı ı ऽ]#
ta**ḷ**amaḷaguttaṁ janita-nija-bhītimanaṁ
[ı ı ı ı ı ı ı #ı ı ı ı ı ऽ ı ı ऽ]
go**ḷ**akaḷavaḷisi calitanilalaṇmadema
[ı ı ı ı ı #ı ı ı #ı ı ऽ # ı ı ऽ]#
kka**ḷ**avoḷage suḷidar arasam-manadoḷ
[ı ı #ı ı ı ı #ऽ ı #ı ı ı ऽ ı ı ऽ]#
mu**ḷ**id' asiyane nōḍi parivāradavar

Apparently exemplifies *varṇacyutaka*.

vaḷisicalita C; *vaḷisi balita* A, *baḷisacaḷita* B
laṇmadema B; *laṇmadideme* A, *vaṇnaveme* C
maḷid A, *muḷid* B, *munid* C
asiyane AC; *asayane* B
parivāra C; *paripāra* A, *saripāra* B

2.152

[ı ı ı ı #ऽ ı #ऽ ऽ ऽ #ऽ ı ı ı]#
vi**g**aḷita-rāgan āvonnin āvudara
[ı ı ı ı ऽ # ı ı ऽ ı ऽ # ı ऽ ı ı ऽ]#
so**g**ayisuguṁ kaṭakatvamuṁ samarthabalaṁ
[ı ı ı ı ऽ ı #ı ı ı ı ı ı ऽ]
ba**g**edenagoyyan esageyaduvodā
[ı ı ı ı ऽ ı ı #ı ı # ऽ ऽ # ı ı ऽ]#
la**g**alalāṭisugum ade pēḷdeṁ banadoḷ

Apparently exemplifies *samanti*.

āvonninn C, *āvoṁgiṁn* B, *āvoṁniṁn* A
kaṭakatvamaṁ A, *kaṭakatvamuṁ* C, *kaṭakatyamaṁ* B
esageyaduvodālaga A B; *esageydujadālaga* C
lalāṭisugum A B; *lalalāṭasugum* C
ada A B; *ade* C
peḷaṁ A B' *peḷdeṁ peḷdeṁ* C

2.153

[ꓲ ꓲ ꓲ # ꓲ ꓲ ꓢ ꓲ ꓲ #ꓢ ꓲ# ꓢ ꓢ ꓲ]
átiśaya-dhávaḷōrvipa-nīti-mắrgōpa
[ꓲ ꓲ# ꓲ ꓲ# ꓢ ꓲ ꓲ# ꓢ ꓢ ꓢ ꓲ ꓢ ꓢ]#
cita-gáti bhắvita-mắrgāḷaṅkriyārthaṁ
[ꓲ ꓲ ꓲ# ꓲ ꓲ# ꓲ ꓢ ꓲ ꓢ ꓢ ꓢ ꓢ]
cátura-kávi-jánānuyātasāra-
[ꓲ ꓲ# ꓲ ꓲ ꓲ ꓲ# ꓲ ꓲ ꓢ ꓲ# ꓢ ꓲ #ꓢ ꓢ]#
svá**t**a-guṇadoḷe bagedante kūḍal ārkkuṁ

One who meditates on the ways,
ornaments, and meanings,
whose path is supplemented
by the Way of Reason
of King **Atiśayadhavaḷa**,
will be able to compose
as he thinks, according to
the literary qualities invariably
found in skilled poets. (AO)

dhavaḷorvvipalinitimago C; *davaḷopanītimārgo* A
mārggālaṁkriyārthaṁ C; *mārgaḷaṁkāraṁ-kriyārtthaṁ* A
yāta conj. AO; *yātā* mss.
sva A; *śva*
bagedaṁte A; *bagevaṁtte* C

B skips this verse.

3.223

[ꓢ ꓲ# ꓢ ꓲ# ꓲ ꓲ# ꓢ ꓲ ꓲ # ꓢ #ꓲ ꓲ ꓢ ꓲ# ꓢ #ꓲ ꓲ]#
kū́**ḍ**e pēḻda núta-kāv-yaman ínt' ábhimāni tān írag'
[ꓢ ꓲ ꓲ# ꓲ ꓢ# ꓲ ꓲ ꓢ# ꓲ ꓲ# ꓢ ꓲ ꓢ]#
ī́**ḍ**ita-mahā-puruṣa-vrata-níścitaṁ
[ꓢ ꓲ #ꓢ ꓲ# ꓲ ꓲ ꓢ# ꓢ ꓲ ꓲ ꓲ#ꓲ ꓲ #ꓢ ꓲ ꓢ]#
kū́**ḍ**ad' ánte péṟaroḷ méccinoḷe téṟan áppoḍaṁ
[ꓢ ꓲ ꓢ # ꓲ ꓲ #ꓢ ꓲ ꓲ #ꓢ ꓲ ꓢ]#
nṓ**ḍ**adaṁ kúṟit' ávanam énumaṁ

noḍadaṁ A; *doḍadaṁ* B
peṟaroḷ conj. P; *peṟaro* AB

C is missing this part.
A has a gap between *abhimāni* and *-ḍita*.

Conclusions

- **Timeline**
  - mid-9th c.: First *gītike*-type verses are found in the *Kavirājamārgaṁ*, somewhere between 11 and 23 verses (3+4 and 4+4)
  - late 10th c.: Definitions of *gītike* by Jayakīrti and Nāgavarma I (only 3+4)
  - mid-11th c.: 4 (maybe 5) *gītike* verses in the *Kāvyāvalōkanaṁ* (only 3+4); these are the last such verses to be composed.
- **Traditional analysis**
  - The **traditional analysis** is based on the parsing of syllables into *dēvagaṇa*s.
  - The "regular" form is two symmetrical halves of 7 groups each, wherein the 2nd and the 6th are **brahmā**, and the rest are free.
  - There is a remarkable **freedom** in the attested *gītike* verses, with alternations between **brahmā**, **viṣṇu**, and **rudra** groups, and if my analysis is correct, hypometrical groups (**upabrahmā**) and hypermetrical groups (**atirudra**) as well.
  - This analysis doesn't fit the *gītike*s of the *Kavirājamārgaṁ*.

- I propose that the *dēvagaṇa* system (at least with reference to the *gītike*) is a proxy for, or approximation of, a **stress-based** meter with the following features:
  - The **initial** position of a *dēvagaṇa*, whatever it is, corresponds to some word-level stress, usually primary but occasionally secondary.
  - This is reflected by the fact that **the initial position of a *dēvagaṇa* is always a moraic trochee** (S or II): either it is a heavy syllable, or two light syllables, the first of which is stressed.
  - The remaining syllables in the *dēvagaṇa* are, if not unstressed, of a lower prominence than the first position.
  - **In general**, each *gaṇa* corresponds to a single stress unit, and hence often a single word, and to this extent the distinctions between the groups don't matter:
    - *íntu* (SI) = **brahmā**
    - *sántati* (SII) = **viṣṇu**
    - *prátiṣẽdhamaṁ* (IISIS) = **rudra**
  - There also seem to be certain cases where two words constitute a single stress unit, resulting in a longer-than-usual group (*aṛiye pēḻda*, *aṛidu koḻge*, both IIISI = **rudra**).
  - Very occasionally, this group seems to be represented by a moraic trochee on its own, which I call an **upabrahmā** (*bagey* [II], *-naṁ* or *-dā* [S]).
  - **However**, at the end of a line, there is usually a group with **two** stresses. Here, too, the distinctions between the groups don't matter so much as the fact of having a primary and secondary stress:
    - *gátiyàṁ* (IIS) = **brahmā**
    - *kŕ̥tigaḻòḻ* (IIIS) = **viṣṇu**
    - *dõ̀ṣamumàṁ* (SIIS) = **rudra**
    - *báhu-vikálpadòḻ* (IIISIS) = **atirudra**
  - The **atirudra** group is postulated to account for double-stress groups; it **only ever occurs** at the end of the line (with the exception of 3.207?).
- Besides being organized on slightly **different principles**, the *gītike* verses of the *Kavirājamārgaṁ* require us to recognize a **different structure**:
  - **Most** verses actually have 4 groups in lines 1 and 3, not 3.
  - The penultimate group is **not necessarily brahmā**, but it is necessarily a single-stress group.
  - A few verses resemble the *gītike* of the metrical handbooks in having 3 groups in lines 1 and 3.
  - Some verses seem to alternate between 3+4 and 4+4 patterns (one can think of the Sanskrit/Prakrit *gīti*, which has similar kinds of variants: *āryā*, *upagīti*, etc.).

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