

**JOURNAL**  
**OF THE**  
**RAMA VARMA**  
**ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY**

**VOL. XIV**



**JOURNAL**  
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**Rama Varma**  
**Archaeological Society**

**VOL. XIV**

1980

REPRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY  
THE KERALA SAHITYA AKADEMI, TRICHUR.



# Journal of the Ramavarma Archaeological Society

Vol. XIV

First Published - July 1947

Reprint on June 1980

Printed at

B. B. Press, Viyyur, Trichur-10

Published by

**The Kerala Sahitya Akademi, Trichur-1**

Price Rs. 2

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The book is printed with the paper supplied by the  
Government at concessional rate



## SHORT HISTORY OF THE RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND ITS BULLETIN

The idea of establishing a Research Institute in Cochin State was entertained as early as September 1920, and the first stage in its materialisation was reached in January 1925 when Shri P. Narayana Menon was the Diwan. The aim was to start a consulting and Research Library of rare books including Granthas with special reference to the territories forming the old Kerala country.

The Government appointed a small committee to draw up a scheme for providing facilities for research work. According to the scheme approved by the Government the object of the Institute was to collect books, journals and unpublished manuscripts on the History of South India in general and of Kerala in particular to afford facilities for carrying on research work on the ancient History of Cochin, to publish a bulletin and a series of rare and important works. An annual recurring grant of Rs 2,000/- was made available to the Committee for working out the schemes.

The Institute grew up steadily enhancing its reputation among scholars. In 1944 at the instance of the then Diwan of Cochin Sir George T. Boag, an Advisory Committee for Archaeology was set up, and with a view to maintain closer contact between the members of the Institute and the Archaeological Department, the Advisory Committee of the Department of Archaeology was appointed as the Managing Committee of the Research Institute. At a subsequent meeting of the members of the Institute and the Advisory Committee of the Department of Archaeology Presided over by the Diwan, it was decided to organise a society devoted to the study of the History and evolution of Indian culture and civilisation with special reference to Kerala. And in order to enable the members of the Society to get into closer touch with the cultural and scientific activities outside the State, it was also decided to seek affiliation of the Rama Varma Research Institute as the Cochin Branch of the Archaeological Society of South India. The affiliation was granted early in 1945, and it has been recognised by the Government of India and by organisations abroad as one of India's Cultural Institution.

After the integration of the 2 States (Cochin and Travancore in 1949, the T. C. Government expressed their doubt whether there is any real necessity for continuing the Institute as a separate institute namely



Rama Varma Institute depending on Government Grant. At that time some institutions came forward to take up this society, but in 1958, it was transferred to the Kerala Sahitya Akademi.

The first issue of the Bulletin was Published in 1930. Altogether 15 volumes were published, the last one in 1948. The other publications of the Society are 1) The EVOLUTION OF MALAYALAM MORPHOLOGY By L. V. Rama Swami Iyer and 2) FOLK PLAYS AND DANCES OF KERALA by M. D. Raghavan. Certain volumes of the Bulletin are now completely sold out and as such the Akademi undertook reprinting these volumes as they contain invaluable articles.

Secretary,  
Kerala Sahitya Akademi

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# AN OLD MALAYALAM FORM

BY

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.

There exists an ancient Malayalam form with jinal <sup>ജിനാ</sup> whose origin and history remain yet undiscussed.\* This type is met with in the Old Mal - period, from the time of the tenth century inscriptions down till about the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. Originally a non - rational future or appellative plural, used as participial subject or predicate or adjunct the type became crystalized in later Old Mal. stages into an exclusive participial adjunct of the present, past or future types. The inscriptions of the tenth to the twelfth centuries and the Old Mal commentary on കൗടലീയം evidence the earliest uses. The texts of രാമചരിതം and ഭൂതവാക്യം reveal the later association with rationals too. Then later, in the works of the പണിക്കര in ഉത്തരരാമായണം ഗദ്യം and ദേവീമാഹാത്മ്യം ഭാഷ, the type became thoroughly artificialised, having come to be used exclusively as a participial adjunct (or വിശേഷണം), associated with rationals and non-rationals alike.

This type is not common in the New Mal period. It is absent in the present day speech of the Cochin State.

I cite below instances of this type in chronological order.

I INSCRIPTIONS (of the tenth to the twelfth centuries)

പൊൻറവിയാർ കടവിയോ ..... മുന്തറ പരൈ (TAS, II, p 186,

1. 252) — subject.

പൂമിയാവോ ..... names of lands (ib, 1' 278) — subject.

ഇതപതു പടാകാരമാവോ ..... names of lands (ib 1. 363) — subject.

തിരുവമിർതു ചെയ്യാനുള്ള അരിയാവോ ..... ഇത്ര ഇത്ര പര (ib, 1. 439)

subject.

മേലോടിനെൽ തിരുവിളക്കിനൊളൊ (TAS., II. II 66 and 67) ... Predicate.

നൂറുനാഴിനെൽ തിരുപ്പുകൈക്കൊളൊ (ib., II. 215 and 216) ... Predicate.

കണ്ണൻ പൊരെയൻതാൻ അമൈച്ചെലവാവോ ..... ഇന്നിനചിലവുകൾ ചെയ്തുകടവിയർ (TAS)

III. p. 166) Appositional.

ഇന്നെൽകൊണ്ടുചെയ്ത ചെലവാവോ ..... ഇത്ര ഇത്ര ചെലവിതു (ib. p. 187)—Appositional.

തിരുവിളക്കിനുള്ള പൂമിയാവോ ..... നിലങ്ങളുടെ (TAS, II, p. 176)—Appositional.

\*Gundert mentions in his *Grammar* a few late instances of the type at p. 75. I have in my *Evolution of Malayalam Morphology* (p. 83) adverted to this type with-out discussing its evolution.



പുരിയാവോ.....[names of lands] ഇവറാൽ കൊള്ളം പാട്ടനെൽ [TAS, II, p. 178] — Appositional.

ആയിരത്തിതന്ററിക്കലമാവോ.....തററുക്കലം ..... തററുക്കലം.. TAS. II, p. 182—Appositional.

അതിനിൽ പൊലികൊൾവോ വിത്തു ഇതന്ററയമ്പതുപരെ...TAS, II, p. 186, 1.239—Appositional.

ചേകോപ്പണിയും ചെയ്യവതവിതു TAS, III, p. 51, 1.30—Appositional.

ചേകോപ്പണിച്ചെയ്യ ചോറുംകൊണ്ടു.. *ib* p., 51, —Appositional.

## II. കൗടലീയം ഭാഷാവ്യാഖ്യാനം

All the three types are available: subject, predicates and appositionals. Besides future forms, present tense types are rarely to be met with.

വൃസനകളാവോ .. ഇന്നിന്നിവ I, b. 26—Subject.

ശക്തികളാവോ മുൻറ I, p. 24 —Subject.

...ചൊല്ലിന്റേറ ഇന്നിന്നിവ II, p. 35—Subject.

ഇവിത്തിനയും മന്ത്രവാദത്തിനു ഭേദമാവോ I, p. 99—Predicate.

എൻറിയൈ ഇതിഹാസമാവോ I, p. 84—Predicate.

താമരപ്പക്കണക്കേ നാറുവോ I, p. 86—Predicate.

ഇവിരണ്ടും നേപാളമാകിന്റേറ ദേശത്തുള്ളോ II, p. 94—Appellative predicate.

അധികരിക്കപ്പടുന്റേറ പ്രകരണകളൈ I, p. 3—Appositional.

കലചെയ്തോ ചിലപാശതോമരയഷ്ടാദികൾ I, p. 18... Appositional.

## III. രാമചരിതം— The appositional use is common.

നടമാടുവോ ചിലകേകിനം...

മുരണീടുവോ ചില പുരാണങ്ങൾ...

തൂയോ ചില അമ്പു...

എതിരിട്ടോ ചില നക്തഞ്ചരന്മാർ...

The association of the form with a rational [as in the last instance] is a development.

## IV. ഭൂതവാക്യം.

ആനത്തലവങ്ങളും ഗജ്ജിക്കിന്റേറ p. 37., Present tense predicate.

ഇവയല്ലോ ഭഗവാന്റെ ആയുധങ്ങൾ പ്രാപിച്ചോ p. 56 Past tense predicate.

മന്ത്രവരായുധങ്ങളായിരിക്കിന്റേറ രണ്ടാനത്തലവങ്ങൾ p. 25. Appositional.

ധർമ്മസൂക്ഷ്മത്തെ അറിയിന്റേറ ചിലരല്ല p. 29. Appositional.

V. ഉണ്ണിയാടിചരിതം. Only portions of this work are available. The appositional use is illustrated by a few instances.



തുടമുടയോ ചില.....

ഇളയോ ചില.....

#### VI. രാമായണം ചമ്പു.

കരഞ്ഞോ ചില പിള്ളകളും

Kharavadha gadya

പാരിച്ചോ ചില പാറകളും *ib*

The appositional use associated with rationals and non-rationals is illustrated.

#### VII. ബ്രഹ്മാണ്ഡപുരാണം ഗദ്യം

Present, past, future and appellative participials, standing in apposition with nouns following, are not uncommon. Both rationals and non-rationals are qualified.

ദേവജാതിയിലും സാമാന്യമായിരിപ്പോ ചിലരല്ല p. 31. Future participial in apposition with a rational plural.

ഏകിന്ദ്രോ ചില തണ്ണീർ. p. 31. — Present participial.

നിങ്ങളെ അതിശയിച്ചോ ചില യോദ്ധാക്കളും — p. 87.

#### VIII. ദേവീമാഹാത്മ്യം വ്യാഖ്യാനം.

വീര്യപരാക്രമങ്ങളോടുകൂടിയിരിക്കുന്നു ചിലർ. p. 53.

എന്നെ സേവിച്ചുപോന്നോ ചില സ്നേഹിതന്മാർ p. 18.

നിത്യങ്ങളായിരിപ്പോ ചിലവ p. 58.

സേവിച്ചുപോന്നോ ചില സേവകന്മാർ p. 18.

ദൃഷ്ടബുദ്ധികളായിരുന്നു ചിലർ p. 53.

#### IX. ഉത്തരാകാശം ഗദ്യം

തീപ്പുറപ്പെടുവോ ചില ശരങ്ങളെക്കൊണ്ടു I, p. 146.

അവിടെക്കൊടിയോ ചില ശത്രുക്കളുണ്ടായി II, p. 21.

The original use of the forms is clear: future or appellative forms (occasionally present and past forms also), used as subjects, predicates or appositives in the plural.

The principal of the structural parallelism of the forms to Tamil and mal. literary singular forms with ഓൻ, ഓൾ and ഓർ is clear. Tolkappiyam, however, does not sanction the forms with ഓ for non-rational plural. Though this is true of the literary dialect, literary forms like ചെയ്വാ, എടുപ്പോ could in the colloquials easily have lip rounded vowels associated with bilabials at the end, leading to the production of ചെയ്വോ and എടുപ്പോ. Another factor also might have contributed to the same result. Future participials like എടുപ്പവ and ചെയ്വവ may have become contracted to എടുപ്പോ, ചെയ്വോ, and employed as subjects, predicates and appositives. The two processes may thus have operated together in the popularisation of the third person non-rational ഓ forms in the colloquial. The appositional association of the forms became dominant in later stages: the non-rational origin



of the form was forgotten and it came to be used in connection with rationals also; the other uses of the form as subject and predicate fell into desuetude; and perhaps the form altogether disappeared from the literary dialect in the New Mal. period.

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## A Plea for Anthropological Study of Kerala.

K. C. PETER, M. A., LL. B.

—o—

Any study of ancient civilisation must begin with intensive investigations into its own specific problems of anthropology and archaeology. Archaeologists are often so much overwhelmed by a giant-sweep of enthusiasm that they fall into errors of gross exaggeration. To-day the findings of anthropologists and archaeologists shall support and supplement each other in order to enrich history. In Kerala's past, the alliance between these two 'ologies' shall be all the more powerful, because South India was peculiar by itself. Dr. Karve, who presided over the section of Anthropology and Archaeology of the 1947 session of the Indian Science Congress says in her presidential address "Its India's peninsular part bounded by seas on all sides has no such record of continuous passage to man and beast. No animals have entered India from the south, no people of the south have a tradition of having come to these shores from Africa, Australia or Indonesia." These words are significant and suggest a closer co-operation between anthropologists and archaeologists as essential in our investigation into the past of Kerala. Kerala had kept up its distinct culture for a very long span of time, irrespective of culture-contacts and maritime relationships.

We, have not done much in anthropology except scratching the ground. Ananthakrishna Iyer and others had, no doubt, turned out useful work. Still nine-tenths of the ground remains to be covered. Studies undertaken, regarding institutions of recent origin seem to have exhausted anthropologists. Also religious institutions of age-long standing, brought out into the sunshine by the archaeologists had lost sight of the social origins, owing to lack of anthropological field-work.

Probably it was the hard core'd social system of ancient Kerala, which took religious forms. Before coming into contact with the Aryans,



religion as existed in Kerala may have been naturalistic and totemistic. Even to-day, the primitive peoples in the jungles of Kerala keep up such practices which testify the assumption. The religion of the low castes in Kerala has not gone far beyond magical and naturalistic influences. Objects of power in nature had assumed positions of power (of gods) in men's minds. Hence, they shall be appeased by worship or sacrifices, in one way or other. The trends underlying the early development of Kerala Religion can be traced out and compared to the growth of other regional religions. Powerlessness and fear are two dominant influences that keep men together. Out of such coming together evolves out social system and a definite culture. Despite independent origins, the matriarchal system of society is considered to be a well-knit system, having hard and fast conventions. The system may have originated as a result of the problematic father-finding. Only then, the necessity of tracing relationships through the mother, became vital and pressing. It may be, far from correct, to assert that through matriarchal stage, every people shall pass. Certain communities have such graceful clan-relationship that the problem does not arise at all. The matriarchal society finds favourable ground to stand on, in regions having a plenitude of food resources. Matriarchy engenders nobler sentiments of love, affection, unity, sympathy and companionship and also fosters a larger family. The folk-songs and dances often express ideals of solidarity and unity, socially understood. Individual virtues had been referred to, only as ideals which made easy the social growth. Matriarchal system related and brought together the different large families and constituted a healthy social system. It thrived easily in a rich area like Kerala.

Hereditry, sociability and an accomodative temper characterise ancient Kerala culture. Though the outer extremities of this culture seem modifiable and responsive to culture-contacts, the core of the culture is hard and stubborn. The acquisitive culture which was brought to the fore by tryan contact and Influence had intensely affected Kerala culture. So did the impact of western cultural influences that came later. Hence, it is to be suggested that the Boas-Benedict method in anthropology will be worthy of being applied to cultural studies in Kerala. Such an approach to Kerala culture cannot but be light-giving and fruit-bearing.

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## **REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY AND THE MUSEUM.**

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On behalf of the Rama Varma Archaeological Society and the Department of Archaeology, I beg to extend a hearty welcome to all of you who have assempled here to celebrate the combined function of the annual meeting of the Archaeological Society and the opening of the Archaeological Museum.

On this occasion, it behoves me to give a short account of the history of the Society and the formation of the Museum. It was in 1925, during the time of the late Diwan, Rao Bahadur Paruvakkat Narayana Menon, that the idea to start a consulting reference library of rare books relating to the history of the Malayalan speaking country first took shape. The proposal got the approval of His Highness The Maharaja, but no practical result came out of it until July 1927, when a Committee was set up with the Government Archaeologist as its Secretary. The Library was called the Rama Varma Research Institute Library, after the name of the then ruling Maharaja. It now contains about 1700 books. The Library and Institute are run mainly on the contribution made by the Government. The Rama Varma Research Institute has so far published thirteen volumes of its Bulletin, and two numbers of the Rama Varma Grandhavalil Series'. Contribution to these publications are made by scholars from both within and outside the State.

A new era, however, began to dawn upon the activities of the Research Institute from October 1942, when Sir George T. Boag, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., who had been the President of the South Indian Archaeological Society at Madras, became the Diwan of the State. The Diwan was pleased to accept the request of the Institute to become its Vice-Patron. An Advisory Committee of official and non-official members with the Archaeologist as the Secretary, was accordingly formed with a view to maintain closer contact between the Research Institute and the Archaeological Department, and to bring the honorary workers more into touch with the activities of the Government. Further, at the request of the Advisory Committee, and in order to enable the members to get into closer touch with the scientific and cultural activities outside the State, the Research Institute was affiliated as a branch of the Archaeological Society of South India. It was also finally decided to change its name to the "Rama Vama Archaeological Society".

The idea of starting an Archaeological Museum on a scientific basis, with objects of archaeological interest arranged in a chronological order, also originated with the Diwan, Sir George T. Boag. The Diwan first gave expression to this idea in his budget speech at the Legislative Council Session of 1919 M. E., but for reasons beyond control, the actual opening of the Museum had to be delayed until now. Indeed we are grateful to the Government for having enabled us to start the Archaeological Museum before the retirement



of Sir George T. Boag. On behalf of the Archaeological Society and the Archaeological Department, I beg to express to you, Sir, my respectful thanks for having consented to open this Museum today. We earnestly hope that, even after your retirement, the Archaeological Society of Cochin and the Museum will continue to receive your wholehearted support and co-operation.

A word in this connection about the Archaeological exhibits in the Museum may not be out of place. Most of the objects exhibited are collections made by the State Archaeological Department, both from within and outside the State. Some of the pot shords, bonds and coins of Texila, are collections made by the Archaeologist in 1944, when he was undergoing training in the School of Archaeology at Texila. The few specimens of the Budhistic sculptures and stucco works, representing the Gandhara School of Art, are kindly lent to the State by the Archaeological Survey Department of the Government of India. Similarly, a representative collection of the Mohenjo Daro and Harappa antiquities, also has been lent by the Government of India to the State Archaeological Museum, but due to some railway mis-hap the parcels containig the objects could not be received for the occasion. This gap has, however, been filled up with the collections of photographs of the objects representing these ancient sites. On behalf of the States and the public of Cochin, I tender my thanks to the Director General of Archaeology in India, Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, for the loan of these valuable objects.

It may be said that the representative collections of objects of Archaeological interest made form within the State are incomplete. There remains much to be done by way of exploration and research for filling in of the many gaps of Cochins' Archaeological History. For instance, scholars have been under the impression that there had been no Stone Age in the regions covered by the West-Coast of India. But the collections of so many surface microliths of polished milky quartz from the hilly regions of the Talapally Taluk covered by the megalithic burials, have evidently shown that there had been microlithic culture in Cochin, definitely preceding the iron age. Some of the microliths so picked up are exhibited here. With regard to the arrangements of the exhibits, you will bear with me when I say that as things had to be arranged hurriedly there are some shortcomings in the method of exhibiting, which can be got over in due course. It is fervently hoped that with the opening of this Museum, the public of Cochin will realise the magnitude of its archaeological wealth.

I take this opportunity to express our humble gratitude to His Highness Sri Rama Varma, the 4th Prince of Cochin, who has so graciously consented to honour this occasion by presiding over today's function, but who could not come owing to a domestic calamity in the Royal Family.

P. ANUJAN ACHAN

*Govt. Archaeologist.*



## KERALA'S TRADING CLASS.

BY

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A remarkable feature of Kerala sociology in the past was the communal division of labour that prevailed for long. Under the social *dharma* long favoured, each community specialised in some basic profession. The Nambudiri Brahmin studied religion and philosophy and pursued literature as a full-time avocation. The Nair was the soldier and was responsible for the defence of the country and for internal law and order. If there was any industry, it was chiefly the function of the Eazhava of (Tiya). The Pulaya, Pariah and other labouring classes pursued the humdrum art of cultivation, although they did not own the land they tilled. One important profession, that of the Vaisya (trade and business), remained without votaries and the Syrian Christians (Nazrani Mapilas) filled in this void for many centuries, at least in the Southern part of Kerala (Cochin State and Travancore north of Quilon). In fact, at one time, the term Vyapari [trader] was a synonym of the word Nazrani [see eg. "Keralotpathy" which was written not later than 1700]. It is also significant that in some areas, the title 'Chetti' was widely used by 'Xians. It is no wonder that the Headman of the Syrian Community in Cranganore who received a copper plate grant from a Cheraman Perumal was called in the grant ചെറമാൻ ചൊക്ക പെരുമെട്ടി (The Royal merchant of the Cheraman world).

### FOREIGN ORIGIN?

How did Syrian Christians come to occupy such a prominent place in trade? The indigenous Christian folk, it is true, occupied a high social position, but like the Nambudiris and Nairs, from whom they were drawn, they shunned trade. The change must have come by the influx of Syrian colonists from Baghdad and Bazara in early days. One colony in 345 A D settled in Cranganore; another in 825 A D settled in Quilon. These colonists hailed from lands where the ancient Chaldaean civilisation flourished. In the 4th century, Edessa was a great seat of learning. In the 9th century Baghdad was at the height of its power under the Caliphs who were great patrons of learning and arts. This perhaps explains the proficiency of these colonists in trade, medicine (and perhaps in astrology too) and preference for town life. This also explains the high position secured by these colonists in Kerala and the privileges which they obtained from its Ruling families. The new comers eventually



god mixed up with the indigenous Christian community-the descendants of St. Thoma's converts. At any rate in the areas around the two towns above mentioned, such mingling did take place. In other areas trade was slow to develop, people stuck to land and carried on agriculture, living in their scattered homesteads like the Nambudiris and Nairs.

But the source of this heritage may not all be foreign. There is a tradition that large numbers of Tamil Christians settled down in Kerala owing to persecution in Tamil land, and that many of them were (Vellala) Chettis. There is reason to think that such colonists did come from Mylapore and Negapatam. It is even more certain that Christian Chettis from Coimbatore, mostly Vantias, migrated to Kerala at some later date. Perhaps these are the classes that called themselves Chettis. Some of these still remain separate from the main body of Nazaranis-

There were also powerful trading organisations formerly in Kerala, like *Manigramam* and *Anjuvarnam* which were high in Royal favour. The origin of these is obscure; but judging from various early documents, it is likely that these were connected with Christian and Jewish colonists who settled down for trade on the Malabar Coast.

Whatever be the origin of the commercial tradition among Kerala Christians, It is certain that it struck fast root among them. They set up new trading centres in Cranganore (Mahadevar Pattinam) and Quilon (Kurakeni) and this gave a great fillip to economic activity in Kerala. They then migrated to the interior and set up new trading centres. Unlike other Malayalis, they preferred to live in towns. This peculiarity in rural sociology is notable in Cochin and North Travancore. In fact most of the towns in the part of Kerala grew around the bazaars founded by Syrians. Whenever a Ruler sought to enlarge his capital city or founded a new town, he invited Christians to colonize the place and he built for them Churches and gave them house sites, often tax-free. In many such towns, the Christian church is found located in the immediate vicinity of the temple indicating thereby that the bans connected with this are comparatively modern.

They were not merely shop-keepers; wholesale trade was also largely in their hands. While they bought up local produce for sale outside, they also brought outside goods into Kerala for consumption here. This necessitated their maintaining extensive contacts with the neighbouring districts of Tinnevely, Madura and Coimbatore, and numerous caravans of bullocks and buffaloes plied on their behalf on the various ghat routes from Kerala to the Tamil country. Such tracks are even now in use.



### THE PEPPER TRADE.

The export trade of Malabar was largely in the hands of foreigners, but local wholesalers too functioned in it in some ways. Pepper was the great export staple food of Kerala from early days; it was also an important article of world trade, till early 19th century, because it was then essential for the preservation of meat and was a valued spice all over the world. For long the whole world depended on Kerala for this article. It thus became possible for pepper to shape the destinies of nations for long.

The greed for pepper caused a serious drain of treasure from Rome and according to Pliny, this brought about the mighty Roman Empire. But this trade continued in the middle ages and was controlled by Venitians among others. The Syrian Christians functioned prominently in this trade and this perhaps led to their consolation in Kerala as shown above. After the expansion of Muslim Arab influence (10th century A. D.), Syrian trade was largely confined to Southern Kerala. The European traveller, Jhon Marignoli, who visited Quilon in 1320 A. D., records that the whole world's pepper came from Quilon and that, "Christians of St. Thomas" were the Proprietors of that pepper. Although they were not perhaps the sole proprietors, they must have been the chief wholesalers from whom foreign traders bought it. They also maintained the royal customs house at Quilon and elsewhere, and collected duty for the King. This also enhanced their influence.

The coming of the Portugese curtailed Syrian trade but the market in pepper greatly expanded in Europe. The Dutch followed the Portugese. It was the Dutch attempt at pepper monopoly in the 17th century and the consequent high prices that led to the foundation of the East India Company. The Dutch were indeed ousted from Malabar, but with that also declined Malabar's pepper monopoly. The cultivation of pepper in Sumatra and other parts of Dutch East Indies began only in the 17th century with seedlings exported in large quantities from Kerala by the Dutch Government. The Zamorin of Calicut then consoled his countrymen with the flippant remark that although the seedling could be exported, the monsoon weather conditions of തിരുവാതിര ഞാറ്റുവേല cannot be. But this proved rather futile. For, Dutch Indies subsequently became much the largest producer and exporter of pepper, and Kerala's share fell to hardly 1 per cent of the total world supply.



## COCOANUT & TIMBER.

With improvement in cattle-breeding in Europe and changes in diet habits, the world demand for pepper declined rapidly in the 16th century and this greatly affected Kerala. But in the meantime, coconut had come to the fore, owing to the growing demand for copra and oil. This trade also was largely controlled by Syrians. Oil pressing was first a cottage industry among them (പ്രാദേശിക) and subsequently oil mills came to be set up. The coir industry flourished since Portuguese times, and Syrians have a large share in it.

In the 18th century, when great demand arose for Malabar teak wood, Christian traders found a great opportunity. The East India Company needed teak in large quantities for building ships (one of the ships built with such teak was "Victory" used by Nelson when he defeated Napoleon at Trafalgar), and large contracts for this were taken by the well-known Nazrani merchant, Mathoo Tarakan, and judging from the fact that the arrears owed to him by the Company after his death amounted Rs. 50 lakhs or more his business must have been a large one indeed. Tarakan also flourished by the salt monopoly in Travancore, and this eventually brought him to grief. Shrewd as he was, Tarakan did not realise the political significance attaching to salt tax. He indeed lived long before Mahatma Gandhi's Dandi march!

In the north, the Nazranis have long played a prominent part in the trade in oil and arecanuts. Palghat was formerly (and perhaps also now) a great centre of trade in these commodities, and it is worth noting that the Nazranis had a special warehouse (പൊതുക്കുടിയ) at Palghat where they stored their produce. This was a co-operative concern and reminds one of the warehouses maintained by Hansa merchants in Mediaeval Europe in far-off trading centres.

## COMMERCE & SHIPPING.

The Syrian colonists had their own ships and were adepts in navigation. After Arab expansion, there was some decline. Even after this, they seem to have carried on trade in their own ships with



Arabia, Africa, Burma, Sumatra, Java and perhaps China. Nearer home they had frequent trade connections with Ceylon, the Coromandel Coast and Bengal. Old songs and folklore are full of allusions to external trade connections. (See my books on "Christian literature in Kerala", Chapter I). After the expansion of European trade, all this indigenous enterprise had a set-back. Yet, as late as 1800, Pattamars (പത്തമര) from Alleppey and Quilon owned and manned by Syrians were seen on the East Coast and Ceylon. After the introduction of steamships, country craft confined itself to inland waterways.

Such proficiency in trade and business enabled Kerala Christians to play a prominent part in the service of the Ruling princes of the land—as financiers and tax-collectors, even as ministers and ambassadors. Such preferments came to them not only in Kerala, but perhaps from outside also. Tradition has it that a Syrian Christian was revenue minister in the Vijianagar Empire in its heyday. It may there not for be considered a matter for surprise that a Syrian Christian became the first Indian Finance Minister of the Central Government of India.

#### THE TRADITION GOES ON.

The prominence of Syrians in internal trade has continued to our own day and in spite of adverse forces the tradition has been maintained. Cranganore declined and Quilon lost its favoured place, but numerous new towns have come to flourish, and most of them—especially Trichur and Kunnampulam in the north and Alleppey, Kottayam and Changanacherry among others in the south—owe a great deal to Christian business enterprise.

From trade, banking is not a far cry. Trade needs banking, and traders can easily become bankers. Kuri is the indigenous form of banking in Malabar (was its origin Chinese?), and kuris have been mostly conducted by Christians. Then came the joint stock bank with its collection of deposits from far and wide. Here too the Christians took the lead and the great majority of Banks in Travancore and Cochin owe much to their lead and managing capacity.

Banking necessarily leads on to industry. Something has been done in this line also, but much still remains to be done. Let it be noted that the trading and banking classes in the north and even the Nattukottai Chettiars of the south have lately taken to industry as their main avocation. There is no reason why the Kerala trading class should lag behind.

#### AGRICULTURAL ADVANCE.

As mentioned above, the indigenous community of Christians



who mostly lived in the interior continued to keep out of trade, and agriculture was their favourite occupation. Nor were they confined to traditional methods of agriculture. They made important improvements in the cultivation of cocoanut, pepper and ginger. Pepper, which formerly came from forests where wild vines nestled on shady trees, became a garden crop under the ministration of Christian tillers. New wine strains were evolved by them. The planting of cocoanut topes on the Western coast-strip was also largely due to Christian enterprise. Thus the jungly river valleys of Meenachil and Pampa became smiling pepper gardens and the malarial swamps of Kuttanad, formerly infested by alligators and crocodiles, became productive paddy fields and shady coconut topes providing nourishment to man in diverse forms.

Heredity is a potent factor in human affairs. It is interesting to find that while trade and business and banking have flourished in areas which came under the influence of the Syrian colonists, the recent advances in agriculture, especially planting, have come out chiefly under the leadership of the indigenous Christian folk who always looked to land as their mainstay. They who improved the wile areas of Meenachil and Pampa river valleys are also responsible for the large expansion of cultivation in hilly tracks like Thodupuzha and Peermade. Not satisfied with the limited scope for such expansion at home, some of them have lately transported their enterprise to the fertile areas in North Malabar. It is to be hoped that they will go further, and one may not be surprised if before long a daring band of young men will go thousands of miles away to the promising land of Brazil (in S. America) where crops familiar to them—ginger, pepper, rubber, tapioca—can be grown at much less cost and much higher profit, and where in addition a welcome home and easy capital are available to honest folk who wish to prosper by hard work.

### CONCLUSION.

In India many communities have shown remarkable capacity for trade. The Gujeratis and Marwaris stand pre-eminent in this respect. The Parsis who number hardly one lakh have been the pioneers of Indian industry and have shown commendable aptitude for business leadership. The Syrian Christians of Kerala stand far below these communities in achievement, but they can at least claim that their economic life is more broad-based than they not only trade and speculate in goods but produce them, that the plough is as much their concern as the loom and the shop counter. Past achievement may not be great, but the tradition established may stand our people in good stead, and may give them some confidence to pursue such careers as trade and business management, and even to occupy high positions of leadership as finance or Commerce Ministers of Government.

*Fortuna Sequatur.*



**ISILA OF THE EDICTS OF ASOKA.**  
(A. BALAKRISHNA PILLAI).

In the Siddhapure edict of Asoka, the town of isila is referred to thus:— “Suvamnagirite ayaputasa mahamatanam canvacanena Isilasi mahamata arogiyam vataviya hevam ca vataviya”. This is translated by Buhler as follows:— “The officials in Isila must be wished good health, and be addressed thus from Suvamnagiri with the words of the prince and the officials (residing there)”. From this we can infer that Isila was the seat of a provincial Governor who was under the control of the princely Governor-General of Suvarnagiri. Where were these two ancient towns situated? I had already suggested the identification of Suvarnagiri with the ancient Aparantaka capital Surparaka of the *Mahabharata*, or the Soupara of Ptolemy, or the modern village of Supara near Bassein, in an article entitled “The first capital of the Kerala of the Deccan”, in the Birthday Special Edition of 24th October, 1946, of the *Deepika*, a Malayalam Daily of Kottayam. I refer my readers to that article for the reasons of this identification. I propose here to identify Isila with the ancient town of Kopana mentioned in the Hoysala and the Bombay Presidency inscriptions, or Mausopalle, the capital of the Andron—Peiraton, (Andhra-bhritya) kingdom of Ptolemy, or Mahishmai, the capital of the Haihaya kingdom mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit historical *Kavya*, the *Mushikavamsa-kavya*,\* or Konganapura of Hiuen Tsang, or Konkanam, the capital of the Nannan dynasty of the ancient Tamil Samgham anthologies, or modern Kopbal in the extreme south-west of the Nizam’s territory. This town of Kopbal is situated some twenty miles west of the ruins of Vijayanagara, and more than a mile from the eastern bank of the Hire-halla, one of the northern tributaries of the Tungabhadra.

Dr. H. M. Krishna of Mysore, who conducted archaeological excavations in 1926 at Brahmagiri, where also the same Asokan edict mentioning Suvarnagiri and Isila was found, has discovered the existence of a town here with different strata of three civilisations. The uppermost of these was of the Satavahana or Andhra period in the earliest centuries of the christian era. The next was of the Asokan period, and the lowest belonged to the pre-Asokan period, going back to stone-age culture. This brilliant archaeologist is of opinion that Isila of the Asokan edicts can be located in this site of Brahmagiri. I am unable to accept this opinion, since I think that it must be located at Kopbal. I now proceed to state the reasons for this belief of mine.

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\*Travancore Arch series, Vol. II.

(2) Nagamangala No. 32, Ep. Car, Vol. IV, Pt. I.



The fact that Kopbal was one of the most famous and important towns of ancient Deccan is proved first by its being mentioned as such in some Mysore inscriptions, like the Hoysala record<sup>2</sup> which states that Ganga Raja, a general of Vishnu Vardhana, caused Gangavati 96000 to shine like Kopana (Kopbal) by his restoration of Jain temples, and by his rebuilding of ruined towns; and secondly, by the discovery of three edicts of Asoka in it, and of five places containing his edicts within a radius of fifty miles around it. Buddhist and Jain caves also were discovered near Kopbal. The five places where Asokan edicts were found are Maski in the Raichur district, Siddhapura, Brahmagiri, and Jatinga, Rameswara, in the Molakalmuru taluk of Chitaldrug district, and Kopbal itself. Further, a complete recension of the Rock Edicts of Asoka was discovered near Yerragudi, 8 miles north-west of Gooty in Karnul district, and about 95 miles east of Kopbal. The only other edicts of Asoka hitherto discovered south of the Vindhyan mountains are those at Girnar, Supara, Rupnath, Dhauli and Jaugada, all hundreds of miles far away from Kopbal. This indicates perhaps the special importance of the region around Kopbal as a frontier area.

In a series of articles, from 26th December 1943 to 7th January 1945, in the Malayalam Journal, the *Matrubhoomi weekly* of Calicut, and also in other articles<sup>3</sup> in various other Malayalam Journals since then I had given reasons, based mainly on a comparative study of the ancient traditions of Western Asia and India, for my belief that colonies of the Sumerians and the Semites from Arabia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Persia settled in pre-historic times in the Oxus Region, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and India, by way of both land and sea and spread their culture and languages in these regions, just as they did the same in Europe and North Africa, and that this culture and these languages later on developed into our ancient Indian culture and the Indo-Iranian and the Dravidian languages. These conclusions of mine have been supported by the results of the excavations in Sind and Baluchistan and Afghanistan etc. and by those of same in Brahmagiri. In the latter place stone tombs identical with the same in the Caucasus, in Syria and Palestine, and along the coasts of Europe, have been unearthed. Close resemblance can be noticed between the ancient Assyrian (Babylonean) language and the Dravidian languages, as I have shown in an article entitled "Moola-Dravida Bhasha", in the Onam special edition of 1123 M. E., of the Malayalam weekly of Madras, the *Jaya Keralam*.

Sumerian words also can be found in the languages of India. For instance, the Indian terms "Kura" and "Uru" (both meaning "city") are only forms of the Sumerian "Uru" (meaning "city"); "bana" (meaning "arrow") is only a form of the Sumerian "pen" (meaning "arrow"). The name of the city of Kanchi (Mavilanga of

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(3) Vide also my recent article on "The relations between the Arabs and the Indians", in the forthcoming printed annual edition of the Calicut Muslim students Mss. Malayalam Magazine, "the *Vikasam*".



Ptolemy) is composed of the Sumerian "Khan" (meaning "fish"), and the Sumerian locative suffix "Si" (meaning "place"). Thus it means Matsya-Nagara, the Virata or Vairata or Vajrata, capital of Matsya kingdom mentioned in the *Mahabharata*<sup>4</sup>. It is the capital of the Vajra kingdom mentioned in the Sen-Tamil epic, the *Silappadigaram*<sup>5</sup>. Sumerian turns of expression also are not wanting here. For example, the Kerala political term "Perumal" (meaning literally "great man" or emperor) is an exact translation of the Sumerian political term "lugal", applied to a powerful king or emperor. "Lu" means "man", and "gal" "great" in Sumerian.

For reasons stated above, there is no need to hesitate in utilising Sumerian vocabulary for the interpretation of Indian names. The name Isila is composed of two words, viz., the Sumerian "isi" (meaning "cow") and "la" which, according to experts, is an ethnic suffix in some of the ancient languages of Western Asia. Hence Isila means "the city of Gopas (Kopas in Tamil or cowherds and shepherds" i. e., Gopala or Kopala. The form Kopana for Kopala is due to the usual interchange of *l* and *n* in the languages of Southern and Western Asia.

The ancient names of the districts in which Kopbal is situated are Hangaritege<sup>6</sup> 300, and Golla-Desa<sup>7</sup>. The Gollas are a Telugu Shepherd tribe. The Tamil form of Hagaritege will be Airatege. Aira is a form of Ahira or Abhira, the name of an ancient shepherd tribe. Tege or Taga is a Dravidian form of Dagan, the name of a fish god of the Philistines and the Phoenicians<sup>8</sup>. I had shown in my articles dealing with prehistoric Western Asia referred to above, that Siv had the title of Matsyendranatha, and hence Dagan or Taga is Siva. The name Hagari-Tege of this region indicates therefore that it was one of the many Matsya desas in ancient India. The Tagis and Chagis (a form of Tagi) mentioned respectively in the Kondamudi Plates of Jaya Varman<sup>9</sup> of Ptolemy's Maisiolia (i. e., Purva Mushika of the Puranas), and in the inscriptions<sup>10</sup> of the Chagi chiefs of Natavadi in the Nandigama Taluk of Kistna District, are also chiefs of Matsya descent, since Tagi a derivative of Taga, the name of the fish god. As for the name Mahishmati of Kopbal, there is a Rashtrakuta inscription<sup>11</sup> of 945 A. D. at Salotgi in Indi Taluk of Bijapur

4) *Vide* my article entitled "Some towns of ancient Kerala", in the recent Diamond Jubilee Special edition of the *Deepika* of Kottayam.

5) Sil. 28 1.86.

6) Indian Antiquary, 1973, p. 17.

7) Mentioned in a Sravana Belgola inscription describing among others the Jain teacher Gollacharya, who is also mentioned in a record at Hampi. *Vide* Rice's "Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola", and Ann. Report Arch. Sur. India, 1935-36.

8) Ch II, Rawlinson's "Phoenicia" in the story of Nations Series.

9) Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 315.

10) Ann. Rept, S. I. Epi. 1923-24, p. 116.

11) Ind. Anti. Vol. I, p. 205.



District, which mentions a Mahishavishaya, and this must have been not far from it. *Mahisha* means in sanskrit a bovine cow or buffalo and *Mati* is a Sanskrit form of the semitic *Mat*, meaning “country or land” Since the buffalo is also a kind of cow, Kopbal, the city of cow-herds, also got the name of Mahishmati. Ptolemy’s Mausopalle is only a corrupt form of Mahishapalli or Mahishmati.

I had shown in my article in the Diamond Jubilee edition of the *Deepika*, referred to in the foot-note above, that, in Ptolemy’s time, i. e., in the second century A. D., the rulers of the Keralaputra kingdom belonged to a Sudraka or Kshudraka or Kshullaka dynasty, and that the rulers of the Aisi kingdom, south it belonged to an Abhira or Ahira or Ahi dynasty. The Aioi kingdom was then under the suzerainty of the Pandyas of Madura. The Sudras (Sudrakas) and the Abhiras are always mentioned together in the Puranas and by Patanjali, and hence they must have been neighbouring and mutually intermarrying tribes from ancient days. I agree with the opinion of Ramaprasad Chanda in his “The Indo-Aryan Races” that the Abhiras came to India long before the Christian era, since the puranas connect them with the Yadavas in the time of Sri Krishna. The name Sudra or Sudraka is not a caste nomenclature, but only a tribal one. The Sudrakas had also the names Mushikas or Mahishakas, and Kiras or Sukas (meaning parrot tribe). The Aioi or Abhiras bore also the names Malayas or Malavas or Mallas, Karushas and Rattas. The Sudrakas belonged to the bird-tribe to which the Sumerians (which means also bird-tribe, Sim-uru=bird-children) also belonged, and the particular branch of that tribe to which the Sudrakas belonged was that of the Suka or parrot or Vidyadharas. The Abhiras were an animal or beast tribe and the particular branch of this tribe to which they belonged was that of the horse or Gandharvas (the Centaurs of the Greeks), which was predominantly semitic in racial composition. The Sudrakas were a branch of the puranic dynasties of the Chedi and Matsya kingdoms and the Abhiras were a branch of the puranic dynasties of Kanyakubja or Vamsa (Vanchi in Dravidian) and Vatsa or Kosambi kingdoms. I had also shown in that “*Deepika*” article that the capital of the Keralaputras in Ptolemy’s time was Karavirapura, which that Greek Geographer hellenised into Karaura. It had also the names Kola, Kollam, Mahodaya-pattanam, Chola-pattanam and Valabha-pattanam. I had located it in the site of the modern Sendamangalam village in the Cochin State, near Cranganore. Parts of this capital were destroyed in 823 A. D., by an erosion of the sea through the mouth of the Periyar river<sup>12</sup>. The chief port and sub-capital of Keralaputra in Ptolemy’s time was Musiri, the Musiris

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(12) Vide my article entitled “St. Thomas’ historical background”, in the X’mas special edition, 1946 of the Malayalam Weekly of Kottayam, the *Viswa-Deepam*.



of Ptolemy, which I have located in the above-mentioned “Deepika” article, on the beach (now in Ponani Taluk of Malabar District) due west of the modern Cochin State village of Irinjalikuda. It was also a Matsy-nagara, as I have pointed in that article. Early in the seventh century A. D., the chief capital of Keralaputra was transferred to Tirukanapuram immediately to the south of Musiris. This is now in the Ponani Taluk of Malabar District.

Kolhapur also had in ancient days the names Karavira-pura and Kshullakapura, like the capital of the Keralaputra kingdom<sup>13</sup>. Ptolemy mentions Kolhapur under the name of Hippokoura or horse-town, as the capital of Balaeokouros (Vilivayakura). The reason for his giving this name to Kolhapur is that it was situated in the ancient Kundi province and that Kundi in Sanskrit means “Horse”. The coin name of this dynasty read as Vilivayakura is not correct; it should have been read as Valivayakura, i.e., of Vali’s or Bali’s son’s family (kula). Valiyon mentioned in the ancient Sen-Tamil epics is the Tamil form of Bali, and hence Balaeokouros of Kolhapur belonged to the Brihad-Bana dynasty, descended from Bana, son of Bali. They had the name of Silaharas also, since *Silai* in Sen-Tamil means *bana* or arrow.

This kingdom of Balaeokouros was the ancient kingdom of Kuntala, which, according to a Mysore inscription at Bandalike of 1204, A. D., was once ruled over by kings of the Navarandagupta-Kula-Maurya dynasty before the rule of the Rattas<sup>14</sup>. This Navarandagupta is Chandragupta Maurya and the dynasty of Balaeokouros is that of the Mauryas of Puri (Raja-Puri or Rajpur in Rajpur Taluk of Ratnagiri District), which was the chief port of Kolhapur in ancient days. These Puri Mauryas or Konkana Mauryas are mentioned in the inscriptions of the early Western Chalukya kings like Pulakes in II. The identity of names pointed out above, of the Keralaputra capital and that of the Kuntala kings suggests a relationship between these two dynasties. This relationship can be seen even in puranic days from the famous story of the Kerala king Chandrhasa mentioned in the Jaimini-Bharata. This is also supported by the account of the origin of the Mushika dynasty of Keralaputra given in the *Mushika-Vamsa-Kavya*, referred to above. Since this account gives us more facts about Mahishmati or Kopbal or Isila, I proceed to summarise it below.

Before doing this I must say a word about *Kavya*. From internal evidence I believe that it was composed in the first quarter of the ninth century A. D., by a poet of the court of the Mushika king Srikantha, who can be identified with Ezhi Perumal of the Malabar Chronicle, the *Keralotpathi*, or “The Chera who went to Kailasa” of the Chera *Vamsavali* in Mackenzie Manuscript, or Cheramanperuma-

(13) Nanda-lal Day’s Geo. Dict. of Anc. & Med. India; Ep. Ind. vol III p 207

(14) Ep. Car, Vol. VII, Pt. I, Shikarpur No. 225.



Nayanar (the well known Saivite Saint) of the Tamil hagiologists. The summary of the story of Mushika origin is as follows:—

when Parasu Rama was slaughtering the Kshatriyas, a pregnant Kshatriya queen, whose husband was one of the slaughtered, went to the north from the south, and took refuge in a cave there. Here she gave birth to a boy who was later on crowned by Parasu Rama as king of the region where Ezhi hill, which was the place of refuge of his mother, stood. i.e., North Malabar. He got the title of Ramaghata Mushika from the fact of his being crowned by Parasu Rama. He fixed his capital at Kola (i.e., Karaura in Kerala-pura of Ptolemy), and appointed a native of Mahishmati (i.e., Kopbal) in Haihaya-Desa which belonged to him as his minister. Soon after his accession, his city Mahishmati was captured by Madhava Varman of Magadha. So Ramaghata marched north to fight with Madhava Varman and reached the banks of the Reva. He was successful in this campaign and he defeated and killed Madhava Varman and married his daughter. Two sons, Vatu and Nandana, were born to him from his Magadha Queen. Ramaghata made the elder son Vatu king of Haihaya and the younger son Nandana king of Kola.

The coins, named “Nanda coins of Kaurava”<sup>15</sup> by numismatists, and bearing the names Vatuga Nanda and Mula Nanda bear witness to the general authenticity of this story. There are, most probably, the coins of the Haihaya kings of Kopbal, whose rule must have extended in early days to Karwar in North Canara and Goa. The Gomin dynasty of Chandrapura near Goa, of about the fifth century A.D., one of whose plates has been discovered, was, most probably, a subordinate branch of the Haihayas of Kopbal.

Ptolemy's longitudes and latitudes to the real longitudes and latitudes of well-known towns mentioned by him enable us to locate Mausapalle in the region where Kopbal is situated. The later Kalachuri or Haihaya imperial dynasty of Kalyani, founded by Bijjala after the downfall of the later Chalukyas, had its origin in this region. This dynasty seems to have been a branch of a<sup>16</sup> Yadava dynasty of Hagaritege 300, which had the hereditary title of “The Supreme Lords of Kupanapura (Kopana)” and which intermarried with the Rattas of Saundathi and Belgaum (Venu Grama). The term “Ratta”, it must be pointed out here, can be derived from the Sanskrit word, *lgtva*, meaning, “a horse”, since *r* and *l* mutually interchange with one another. Hence they are a horse-tribe or Gandharvas. The ancient Tamil Samgham anthologies like the *Patitti-ppattu*, mention Airai, i.e., Hagaritege, as an ancestral seat of the Chera (Kerala-putra) kings. The Kataka Vajra Cholas referred to in a Mysore inscription at Kadikere<sup>17</sup> must have been a branch of the Haihaya

(15) J. R. A. S., Lond., 1903, p. 296.

(16) J. Bom., A. Soc., vol. X, p. 167.

(17) Ep. Car. vol. V, Arsikere, No. 102-a.



of Kopbal. The river Hire halla (meaning diamond or vajra river) near Kopbal derived its name from it since it was a vajrata or matsya capital. Muziris, the subcapital and chief port of Keralaputra is also a Vajrata or Matsya capital as mentioned above.

From all these facts we can infer the general facts about the historical origin and early history of the two Mushika kingdoms of Kopbal and Kola. Before coming to this inference I must however, historicise some details of the story of the *Mushika-Vamsa-Kavya*, summarised above. The Magadha king Madhava Varman was the king of Kalhapur, the capital of Kuntala. He is called the king of Magadha because his dynasty was a Maurya dynasty, a branch of the Maurya dynasty of Magadha in North India, founded by Chandragupta Maurya. The incomplete Rethare Budruk plates<sup>18</sup> of Madhava Varman discovered at Khanapur in Satara District, which, on palaeographical grounds, have been assigned to the sixth or seventh century A. D., were issued most probably by a king of this Kuntala Maurya Dynasty of Kolhapur. The Maurya invasion of the Tamil Kingdoms, referred to in the ancient Tamil Samgham anthologies like the *Akananuru*, is, I think, an achievement of these Kuntala Mauryas. The river Reva of the *Mushika-Vamsa Kavya* is the Bhima which had also in ancient days the name of Reva and not the Narmada which was also a Reva. Both the Narmada and the Bhima had also a tributary called the Murala. The term “ghata” in the name Rama-ghata can be connected both with the name of the Ghataprabha, a triqutary of Krishna and with the title Kutavar applied by the Tamil Samgham anthologies to the Chera kings. Kutam means both a “pot” (ghata) and a “cow” in Tamil. In Hiuen Tsiang’s name of Mala-kuta for the Keralaputra Kingdom also, we see term “Kuta”.

Now we come to the general course of the history of the Mushikas of Kopbal and Kola. The Sudraka dynasty to which Mushika Ramaghata belonged was a southern or Aparantaka branch of the Sudraka dynasty of Magadha in North India established in 398 B. C., by Maha Padma Nanda, whom I identify with Kalasoka of Buddhist tradition. Kalasoka is connected with the Buddhist clergy of Aparantaka, of which Soupara or Suvarnagiri was the capital, in the legends given by Taranatha in his *History of Buddhism*<sup>19</sup>. This date of 398 B. C., can be fixed, since one version of the Puranas states that the coronation of Maha Padma Nanda took place 1050 years after the Mahabharata war. The date of the Mahabharata war was fixed by me in 1448 B. C., in an article in the *Matrubhoomi Weekly* of Calicut some years ago. The fact that Maha Padma Nanda was a king of the Sudraka tribe is established by the following Puranic statement about him:—

Mahanandi sutascapi  
Suerayam Kalikamsajah

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(18) J. R. A. S., Lond. 1928, p. 400.

(19) Ind. Hist. Quart. Vol. VI.



Outpatsyate Maha Padmah  
Sarvakshatrantako nripah.  
Tatah prabhriti rajano  
Bhavishyah Sudrayonayah  
Ekarat sa Maha Padma  
Ekacchatro bhavishyati.

The statement in this that the kings from Maha Padma are Sudras does not mean, as usually interpreted, that they were of Sudra caste. It means only that Maha Padma and his successors were kings of the Sudraka tribe.

After the downfall of the Sudraka dynasty of Maha Padma Nanda, the Mauryas under Chandragupta or Navananda rose to power at the close of the 4th century B. C. Chandragupta Maurya conquered the Deccan, and it is this conquest which is referred to as Parasu Rama's war against the Kshatriyas in the *Mushika-Vamsa Kavya*. The Digambara Jaina tradition of Sravana Belgola in Mysore mixes up this conquest of Kuntala (which had also the name of<sup>20</sup> Punnad in ancient days as evidenced by the ancient name Puvalli for modern Hubli and the name Huvina, i.e., Puvina, Hada-halli for modern Hadagalli in Bellary District) by the Jain king Chandragupta Maurya at the close of the fourth century B. C., with the coming of another Jain king also named Chandragupta Maurya from Ujjain, (who belonged to a Mauryan dynasty of Rajputana of whose existence we have evidence) in the middle of the fifth century A. D., to the later Punnad round about Sravana Belgola.

The Sudraka dynasty of South-west Deccan ruling from Chaul in Kolaba District (the coastal Hippokaura of Ptolemy) was also conquered by Chandragupta Maurya and it was driven to the south. The Mauryas also established a Governor General at Soupara or Suvarnagiri and a Governor at Isila or Kopbal who exercised a nominal suzerainty over the Abhira dynasties of Satyaputra and Tamraparni (Karaivi of Korkai of Ptolemy) kingdoms and the Sudraka dynasties of Kerala, Chola and Madura Pandya kingdoms. Since Przyluski<sup>21</sup> has shown that sata is an Austro Asiatic word meaning a "horse", Satyaputra kings were Abhiras who were a horse-tribe. The Pandyas had two branches, one Abhira and the other Sudraka. Since the Madura Pandyas had, besides the elephant crest,<sup>22</sup> the crest of the fish, they were Sudrakas or Matsyas. Since the Korkai Pandyas had, besides the elephant crest, the crest of the battle-axe or mace (*Parasu* of

(20) Pun-tala (Punnad) will become Kun-tala by the mutual interchange of *p* & *k* in Indian names. pointed out by Sylvain Levi in his famous article "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India" in *Journal Asiatique*, 1923.

(21) J. R. A. S. Lond., 1929, p. 273.

(22) Vide App IX, of Sivaraja Pillai's "The chronology of the Tamils".

Parasurama who had the name of Ahi-killer contracted into Ahi, they were Abhiras.



When the Mauryan empire collapsed at the beginning of the second century B. C., the Mauryan princely Governor-General of the Deccan became independent at Saupara, but the Mauryan Governor at Isila lost his power. Later on, by pressure of political circumstances, the Soupara Mauryas transferred their seat to Kolhapur, a capital of the Sudrakas of Chaul and became the Konkana Mauryas of Puri. Ascion of the ancient Sudraka dynasty of South-west Deccan which had taken refuge in the South, took advantage of the growing weakness of the Kuntala Mauryas. This prince was Rama-ghata Mushika. He advanced to the north, conquered the Satiyaputra kingdom (which comprised most probably North Malabar, the two Canaras and Mysore) and finally defeated the Mauryas of Kolhapur. His kingdom was divided into Haihaya and Kola on his death. I believe that Rama-ghata's accession took place in 156 B. C. I was able to arrive at this date from an integrated study of the dynastic lists of the Cheras or Mushikas furnished by the *Vamsavalis* in the Mackenzie Manuscript, the *Mushika-Vamsa Kavya* and the Malabar chronicle the *Keralolpathi*. From this I saw that the dynastic list includes fifty-nine kings who ruled for a *Kalpa* cycle of 1200 years from 156 B. C., to 1044 A. D., the last date falling near the date of the end of the reign of the last Perumal of Kerala, viz, Bhaskara Ravi Varma (978 - Circa. 1036 A. D.). The initial date 156 B.C. itself marks the end of five 1200 years *Kalpa* cycles commencing from 6156 B. C., the solar date (the lunar date being 6246 B. C.) for the great Arabic flood, which transformed the Persian Gulf from its original nature of a vast inland sea into its present one of a gulf—a prehistoric event which I had pointed out in the *Matrubhoomi* articles mentioned above.

With the Chola conquest of Kongu, which formed a part of Keralaputra kingdom at the close of the ninth century A. D., and with the Chola invasions of Keralaputra territory, west of the ghats at the close of the tenth century A. D., the power of the Sudraka dynasty of Kerala declined and the Samanta dynasties of the Abhiras in Kerala—viz., the Kolattiris of North Malabar, the Zamorins of Calicut in South Malabar, the Krangnore chiefdom of Krangnore region (which originated from Tali in the north of Cochin State and which is represented by the Krangnore chiefs of to-day) and the Venad dynasty of middle and south Travancore—rose to power. The king<sup>3</sup> Vira Raghava Chakravarthi of the Kottayam plates (1320 A. D.) belonged to the above mentioned Abhira (Airur) dynasty of Krangnore. Ravi Varman Kulasekhara of the Venad Abhiras was another powerful king who advanced as far as Kanchi about the same period. The Cochin dynasty who are the traditional matriarchal heirs of the Cheraman Perumals of Kerala are the descendants of the fifty-seventh Cheraman Perumal Goda Ravi (911-954 A. D.) who can be identified with the Adi-Raja Perumal of the “Keralolpathi”.



This Cochin dynasty recovered a little at least of their former power only in the fifteenth century A. D. The struggle for power in this mediaeval period between the Sudrakas of Cochin and the Abhiras of other parts of Kerala is reflected in the famous faction-fights between the Chovara-Kur (Suka-pura-kur) faction, which was that of the Sukas or Sudrakas and the Panniyur-kur (Boar-town-kur) faction which was that of the animal (horse and boar) tribe or Abhiras.

Finally, I come to the reasons for identifying Isila with Kongana-pura. The term *Kshullaka* applied to the Sudrakas means "small" in Sanskrit. It is from this that the name of Cochin and another synonym for it, mentioned in the Puranas, viz., Bala Mushika, arose, "Kochu" in Malayalam, and "bala" in Sanskrit, mean "small" or "young". The Sen-Tamil name Nannan for the dynasty of Konkanam also means "small man". Hence Konkanam and Konkanam and Konkana-pura are other names of the northern Kshullaka or Suraka capital Isila or Kopbal.

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## REPORT FOR 1122 M. E. (1946-47)

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The Rama Varma Archaeological Society, the Cochin Branch of the Archaeological Society of South India, has 25 members in its rool, including four Hony-Members. Rao Saheb K. Achutha Menon continued as the President and Mr. P. Anujan Achan, Government Archaeologist, as the Secretary of the Society during the year. The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on 9th March 1947 under the presidency of Sir George T. Boag, the Diwan and Vice Patron. The occacion was availed of to declare open by the Diwan the Cochin Archaeological Museum organised by the Archaeological Department in the front halls of the Town Hall, Trichur.

Vol. XIII, of the Journal of the Archaeological Society was published during the year, and arrangements were m de for Vol. XIV to be sent to the press. Mr. M. D. Raghava's book on "Folk" Plays and Dances of Kerala" was published by the Society as the 2nd number of the Rama Varma Grandhavli Series. Besides, 400 rare Sanskrit Mnuscripts have been catalogued by the Society from private collections of the Namboodiris and Nairs living near about Trichur.

The number of Vols in the reference library of the Society has increased to 1698 from 1648 in the previous year.

The main source of income to the Society is from the contri-bution made by the Government of Cochin.

The Society has given a fitting send off to Sir George T. Boag, the Vice Patron, who retired from the State Diwanship and left India

by the end of March 1947.  
Office of the Rama Varma  
Archaeological Society,  
Trichur 1-12-1122.  
17-7-1247.

} HONY. SECRETARY,  
Rama Varma Archaeological Society.



## EXTRACTS FROM MESSAGES

sent by distinguished persons on the occasion of the  
Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Society and  
the opening of the Archaeological Museum  
*on the 8th of March 1947.*

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1. HIS HIGHNESS SRI RAMA VARMA PARIKSHIT THAMPURAN, Elaya Raja of Cochin:- "It is very gratifying to know that the State is going to have an Archaeological Museum. Attentive reading of pages after pages of books will hardly produce as vivid an impression of interesting things as seeing them with one's own eyes; hence the necessity of having such museums. I am glad that the opening ceremony will be performed by Sir George T. Boag K. C. I. E., U. S. I., the Dewan of the State and Vice-patron of the Archaeological Society.

I wish the museum continued prosperity and hope the young students will ever increasingly make use of the institution to their great advantage".

2. HIS HIGHNESS SRI RAVI VARMA TAMPURAN, 2nd Prince of Cochin:- "I heartily congratulate the Government on the opening of the new Archaeological Museum in Trichur. It is quite in the fitness of things that our State should have such a Museum. It is unnecessary for me to dilate upon the utility of such an Institution. It is only by Archaeological researches that we can think the present history of a place with that of its past, as is shown by the discoveries made at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, which have brought to light the fact that the Indus Valley civilization was earlier and more ancient than the Aryan civilization; and what is of more interest and consequence to us, South Indians, is that it was Dravidian in character.

It is my earnest hope that the Cochin Archaeological Department, with such an enthusiast as Mr. P. Anujan Achan at its head, will unearth many a relic of the past which will enable a future historian to write the earlier period of Cochin History in a clearer and more authoritative manner. I wish the Institution all success."



3. HON'BLE SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR, Member, Interim Government, New Delhi:—"My best wishes to your Society and to the Museum which you are going to open on 8th March. I admire the simple and effective pamphlet you have prepared as an appendix to your invitation."

4. SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, Prime Minister, Jaipur State:—"I send you my best wishes on the opening of Archaeological Museum and am glad that so much continues to be done in the State for promoting culture."

5. SIR A. LEKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIAR, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University, and President, Archaeological Society of South India:—"I am glad to know that the Rama Varma Archaeological Society, Trichur, is opening an Archaeological Museum under the distinguished presidentship of His Highness Ramavarma (Kuttan Thampuran) 4th Prince of Cochin. It was due to the initiative of Sir George Boag, the Vice Patron of this Society that the South Indian Archaeological Society was started in Madras a decade ago under his presidentship. A Museum of this nature will not only be of great educational value but an incentive to all, and particularly to those interested in archaeological research, to make a lively interest in Archaeology. Many ancient archaeological finds are being lost to the country by an inadequate appreciation of their importance and worth.

I hope and trust that the Archaeological Society of Trichur with the Archaeological Museum will give a new impetus to the study of archaeology in the State. I wish the Society every success.

6. MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA, Santinikethan:—"I cannot tell you how glad I am to receive your invitation on the occasion of the ensuing Annual Meeting of the Rama Varma Archaeological Society and the opening ceremony of the Archaeological Museum.

Indeed when I think that the development of the Archaeological Department of the State is mainly due to your hard labour and constant perseverance, my joy does not know its bounds. May the functions be crowned with success.

7. PANDIT KSHITIMOHAN SEN, Santiniketan:—"Though I cannot go there personally I send my best wishes and I thank you your invitation."



8. KSHWAJA MUHAMMED AHMUD, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad State:—" I heartily congratulate you and the Government of His Highness Rama Varma on the valuable work that is being done in the promotion of cultural appreciation through your Department and the opening of a MUSEUM. These two institutions will contribute immensely to preservation of our National heritages. Regret very much inability to be present at these auspicious functions.  
The credit goes mostly to your untiring and continuous efforts.  
With all the best wishes and regards".
9. DR. C. L. FABRI, Curator, Central Museum, Lahore:—" I wish your Museum prosperity, success and a wholehearted patronage of your Prince and your people. My Museum will be glad at all times to support your efforts, especially by an exchange of photographs and of antiquities. Personally, I am a firm believer in the importance of establishing friendly relationship and a service of exchanges between museums; and if you wish to obtain from us antiques of Northern Indian origin for your Museum, in exchange for suitable objects from your area, nothing will please me more than to hear from you at an early date.
10. DR. A. AIYAPPAN, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras:—" I congratulate you on this occasion and hope the new Museum will serve to create the much needed interest in Archaeology in your State".
11. SRI P. DERAMIYAGALA, Director of National Museums, Ceylon:—"When your Museum commences its series of publications I shall be very glad to exchange publications of our Museums in return for yours.  
Wishing your Museum all success".
12. SRI M. D. RAGHAVAN, Ethnologist and Asst. Department of National Museums of Ceylon:—" Cochin is a very important area for Archaeological researches, and I expect much progress in Archaeological researches will be made under the auspices of the Archaeological Museum".
13. SRI K. NARAYANASWAMI AIYANGAR, Curator, Government Museum, Bangalore:—"I am happy that your effort for promoting the cause of Archaeology in the Cochin State has been receiving the warm support that it deserves. I wish the Archaeological Museum, Trichur, an area of useful activity".



14. **SRI A. S. GADRE**, Director of Archaeology, Baroda States:—  
“I am sure Cochin is rich in Archaeological monuments and finds. The richness of this material can be ascertained from the various sections of the Museum. It is interesting to note that Cochin's connection extended to Taxila, Rome and China. I am sure Cochin Archaeology will prosper under your expert guidance, the patronage of the most cultured and liberal Royal House and its distinguished Dewan”.
15. **SRI BISHESHWARNATH REN**, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur State:—“Such Museums help to create a taste for the knowledge of our glorious past and present before our eyes in a concrete form the cultural achievements of our forefathers in the spheres of religion, fine arts, etc. Such institutions increasingly become the nucleus of mass education not only in antiquity but also serve as a guide to the future regeneration.  
I wish every success to the sponsors of the institution and earnestly hope that it may prove a boon to the citizens of the State”.
16. **DR. MIRZA. H. R. TAIMURI**, Director of Archaeology and the State Hamidia Library, Bhopal:—“Nothing can promote the advancement of the ancient cultural heritage of India than the multiplicity of similar institutions and societies all over the country. You are well nigh first in this field and may others emulate your example.  
I shall be always at your service to promote the interests of this society”.
17. **SRI R. G. GYANI**, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay:—  
“Wish Archaeological society and Museum all success in educative programme”.
18. **SRI A. GHOSH**, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi; —“I note with keen interest that the function is to be combined with the opening of an archaeological Museum at Trichur. Cochin with its monuments beginning with the prehistoric caves and varied contacts, first with the Roman world and subsequently with China and the Near East, occupies a key-position in Indian archaeology, and we look up to it for the unveiling of many unknown chapters in the history of India. The opening of a Museum at Trichur is, therefore, most welcome, and I hope that it will serve as the focus of the archaeological activities in your part of the country and grow up to stimulate archaeological and historical research.  
I wish the institute and the museum a glorious future”.



19. **SRI B. C. Chhabra**, Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund:— 'It is indeed very gratifying to note that the State of Cochin is keenly alive to the importance of her archaeological wealth and is adopting proper measures for the preservation and the interpretation of that cultural heritage of her. This is quite in keeping with the progressive policy for which the State has already made a name in spheres of politics, education and the like. I wish you all success on the occasion.'
20. **SRI T. N. RAMACHANDRAN**, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Madras:— "I have great pleasure in wishing the Museum long life and you the activity to make the Museum a successful and rich repository of the culture of South India".
21. **SRI K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI**, Professor, Madras University, Madras:— I am very glad to find the Government of Cochin under the enlightened rule of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin has been taking a keen interest in the progress of Archaeology and its able Diwan Sir George Boag, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., whose close association with the Archaeological Society in Madras and Cochin has contributed in no small measure to the success of the Archaeological Society. I wish the functions every success".
22. **DIWAN BAHADUR C. S. SRINIVASACHARI**, Professor, Annamalai University, Chidambaram:— "The Archeological exhibits are of varied and comprehensive interest and help in our knowledge of the far flung range of Cochin's cultural affinities".
23. **SRI R. SATHIANATHA IYER**, Professor, Annamalai University, Chidambaram:— "As a Cochinite I rejoice at the opening of the Archaeological Museum at Trichur, and hope that Cochin will attain eminence in Archaeology and culture, as she has already crowned herself with glory in Politics. Thanking you and wishing success for the function".
24. **MRS. IRAWATI KARVE**, Reader in Sociology, Deccan College, Post Graduate and Research Institute, Poona:— "I wish the function every success".



25. SRI V. G. PARANIPE, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona:—"I was so very glad to hear of your activities and the excellent work that you have been doing in Cochin State under the distinguished auspices of enlightened rulers.

I wish all success to the function that is to be held on the 8th inst. under the distinguished presidentship of His Highness Rama Varma 4th Prince of Cochin.

The Archaeological Museum to be opened will be an invaluable addition to the cultural activities of your State and the exhibits that you have already acquired for the Museum will form a substantial nucleus of an ever growing Institution.

The public has every reason to feel gratified and grateful".

26. SRI P. V. GODE, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona:—Let me congratulate you and your collaborators in pushing on your efforts in the field of Archaeology to a successful conclusion as evinced by the Archaeological Museum which will be shortly opened. During the last 20 years I have been watching the increasing progress of all your work in the field of Archaeology as reflected in your annual reports and all the volumes of your Bulletin which we have preserved on our shelves. The New Museum has a great future before it in a Free India in which our countrymen hope to revive a 'sense' of respect for all the glory that was Ind."
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