

THE BULLETIN
OF THE
SRI RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

CONTENTS.

	Pages.
1. Dravida and Dravidian Culture	1— 10
Heir. A. Clemens Schoener, Partenkirchen (Germany).	
(Translated by M. R. Ry. L. V. Ramaswami	
Ayyar Avl. and M. R. Ry. V. K. Rama Menon Avl.)	
2. Old Chiefs of Malabar	11— 19
M. R. Ry. V. K. Rama Menon Avl., M.A., L.L.B.,	
Bar-at-law, District Educational Officer—British Service.	
3. Origin of the Pagoda	20— 24
Prof. Pelman of Bonn (Germany)	
(Translated by M. R. Ry. R. Vasudeva Poduval Avl.,	
B. A., State Archaeologist, Trivandrum).	
4. Putu Vaipu Era	25— 30
M. R. Ry. V. K. R. Menon Avl., M.A., M. Sc. (London),	
Maharaja's College, Ernakulam	
5. Copper-plate grant of Viraraghava Chakravarti	31— 45
Dr. K. Goda Varma, M. A., Ph. D. (London),	
Principal, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum	
6. Symbolism in Hindu Iconography ..	46— 54
Dr. L. A. Ravi Varma, M. B., C. M.,	
D. O. M. S. (London).	
7. Linguistic Influence of Sanskrit on Malayalam	55— 72
M. R. Ry. L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar Avl.,	
M. A., B. L., Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.	
8. Peritally: an identification	73— 76
M. R. Ry. Rao Sahib Ullur S. Parameswara	
Ayyar Avl., M. A., B. L., M. L. A., Kavithilakan,	
Trivandrum.	

	Pages.
9. Kali Cult in Kerala.	77— 97
Kerala Varma Thampuran, B. A., B. L., Professor of Sanskrit and Supt. of Oriental Studies, Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.	
10. Reviews:	
1. Ernakulam Kshetramahatmyam	98—100
Dr. K. Goda Varma, M. A., Ph. D.	
2. Copper-plate grant of Viraraghava Chakravarti	101— 103
Kerala Varma Thampuran, B. A., B. L.	
11. Notes and Comments	104—110
The Editor.	



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I. DRAVIDA AND
DRAVIDIAN CULTURE

(By A. Clemens Schoener, Partenkirchen.)

(1) WHAT IS THE MEANING OF "DRAVIDA"?

It was only by the science of languages that the world became acquainted with the term *Ḍrāviḍa*. The Dravidian group comprises about twenty languages and dialects. Four of the languages can boast of old literatures; but only one of these, the Tamil literature, has, at least in some outstanding works such as the *Kural*, crossed the boundaries of India. Where does that appellation *Ḍrāviḍa* come from and what is its original meaning ?¹

This name appears for the first time in Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (7th or 8th c. A. D.) who by "*Āṇḍhra - Ḍrāviḍa - bhāṣa*" understands the languages of the Telugu and Tamil countries, the eastern parts of South India. In order to discover the original sense of *Āṇḍhra* and *Ḍrāviḍa* it will commend itself to take into consideration also the names of the two other literary languages of Southern India, Kanarese and Malayalam. Both these names are based upon geographical notions. *Kanāra*, older *Kannada* or *Kārṇaḍa*, in Varāha Mihira's *Bṛihat-samhiṭa* spelt *Karṇāṭa* or *Karṇāṭaka*, marks out the 'black country', that is the plateau of the Southern Deccan, the soil on which chiefly cotton and teak-wood thrive. Malayālam must be translated by 'Mountain Dominion', and similarly *Malaināḍu* by

¹ See G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, IV., Murda and Dravidian Languages, Calcutta, 1906, pages 277, 298, 301, 348, 362, 576.

'hilly country, whereas *Malayam*, the third name, simply denotes 'mountains'. So it is evident that Kanarese and Malayālam are instances of names originally geographical which do not belong to the Aryan language, but to that of the older inhabitants, that is the 'Drāviḍa'¹.

The same is the case with the names Āndhra and Drāviḍa. Not later than in the inscriptions of King Asoka (269—232 B. C.) and in the Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa emerges the denomination Āndhra which refers to the country of Telugu as well as to the population and their idiom. Subsequently some classic writers as Pliny mention the 'Andaræ', whose language is linked by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, as stated above, to that of their neighbours farther south, the Tamir. The *Telugu*, also called *Telungar* or *Telingar* by the Tamil people, and their country and language *Telu(ṇ)gu* or *Telungam*, *Telingam* received their names from the principal occupation, the cultivation of rice. *Tel*, *tellu* denotes oblong plots, bounded by small ridges². Synonymous and likewise perspicuous is the other name marking the same country and language between Orissa and Madras, viz., *Kalinga(m)*, an appellation that emerges for the first time in the Asoka Inscriptions as well and refers to the hilly tracts, for *kal* means stone, rock, hill, mountain and vulgar *kalingu*, *kalungu*, *kalingal* denotes a sluice, a dam or bank of stones. A maritime town in the country of Kalinga(m) bears the name of Kalingapatam, and the range of mountains in the Ganjam District is known as Kalinga Ghat³. We shall, therefore, not be far off the mark if we assume that also Āndhra

1 The language of *Malayalam* or *Kerala(m)*, called *Malayami* by the Tamil people, branched off from *Tamir (Tamil)* at a relatively modern date, that is in the 9th c. A. D.

2 Similarly the name of the *Kulingar* and their country *Kulinga(m)* is due to Tamil *Kulai* which means an artificial bank of a paddy field, a dam, a causeway. After the *Sora(m)* kingdom, improperly *Chola*, along the river Cauvery, are called the Soringoi of Greek sources. The Dravidian *-inga(m)* or *-unga(m)* is a noteworthy affix, appearing e. g., also in *valingam* compulsion, an expression used at Jaffna.

3 Telugu emigrants, as noted by R. Caldwell, colonized the Malay Archipelago in the earliest centuries of the Christian era. Even now-a-days the Hindu in general is called Kling in those eastern regions.

includes a geographical notion. As a matter of fact, there exists even now-a-days and situated among mountains, about 58 miles west of Kalingapatam, a Telugu place Āndhra which, at an early period, must have played a prominent part.

With the mountainous tracts of the Telugu or Kalinga country, from Orissa's hills as far south as the spur of the Eastern Ghats, contrasts the flat coast that stretches from the delta of the river Godavari southwards as far as Cape Comorin. This geographical peculiarity is expressed by the name *Ḍrāviḍa* which denotes a maritime region¹. Tamil *tirai* means wave, river, sex, *tiraiyan* a chief or ruler in a maritime district, *iḍam* (Telugu *eḍa*, *eḍamu*) place, situation, space, extension. The compound *Tirā-vi-ḍa(m)* reminds us of place names such as *Mayilāpuri*, from *Mayilai* pea-cock, *Ilankapuri*, from *ilankai* island, Ceylon, and such like. *Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's* form is *Ḍrāviḍa*. In the course of the following periods shortening of the first vowel took place as to work into Tamil use *Tirāviḍam* by the side of *Tirāviḍum*. This name originally applied only to the country and language of the Tamil people, but became later on the appellation for Southern India in general and for the idioms of all the peoples related. A certain Tamil division goes so far as to add even the countries of *Mahārāṭṭiram* and *Gūṛjaram* where Dravidian languages are still spoken by a large proportion of the inhabitants.

For a long time, ever since the days of *R. Caldwell*, the denomination '*Ḍrāviḍa*' has been linked to the word *Tamir*. But linguistic and historical researches show that the two names must be strictly separated as to their etymology. As suggested by *G. A. Grierson*, the basis of *Tamir* is the pronoun *tām* their, which belongs to the plural *tām* they, augmented by the frequent suffix *-ir*². *Tamir* denotes in the first place nature, state, quality, speaking generally the special, discriminating features opposite to deviating symptoms, further, with reference to man and mankind, theirs, that is to say the own family,

¹ A synonym is Tamil *karai-p-pokku* coast, sea-side.

² Cf. Tamil *avir* a single grain of boiled rice, *imir* sweetness, *kumir(i)* a bubble, *mughir* a flower-bud ready to bloom, *simir* (*simil*) a casket and similar instances.

kinsmen and their speech¹. A European parallel is offered by the denomination "Deutsch" (German), which is identical with "Dutch", both forms going back to an earlier spelling *diutisk* that means "belonging to the own people" or "national". The spelling Tamil is especially characteristic of the southern districts, of Madura, Tuticorin, Trivandrum, etc., and has been adopted into the English orthography². In the *Periplus of Pseudo-skyllax* (4th c. B. C.) occurs the earliest mention of the name, viz., *Tamerai*, which, though mutilated in its second vowel, clearly points to an *r* sound and applies T to render the voiceless dental peculiar to Tamil. In the same source the Tamil country is called *Limyrikē*, which is a mere scribe-mutilation of *Damyrike*, and which reappears in subsequent classical works, as *Lymirike* (Ptolemy) and as *Scythia Dymirice* (*Tabula Peutingeriana*)³. The substitute *l* in the place of *r* can be traced back as far as the oldest Aryan Literature, for it is by *Damiḷa* that the Prakrit Canon of the *Svētāmbara-Jains* and the Pali text of *Mahāvamsā* denote the Tamil people. In that form we unmistakably recognise the word *tamiṇ*, plural *tamiṇar*. In compounds we meet with the form *tamira*, e. g. in *tamiṇa-p-pillai* a Tamil lad or man, *tamiṇa-vaṇṇan* a washerman of caste people, *tamiṇa-kūṭṭar* Tamil dramatists, dancers, and similar instances. *Tamiṇa* or *Damiḷa*, therefore, is by far more deeply rooted in the country than hitherto assumed and distinctly pre-Aryan.

As the words *Drāviḍa* and *Tamiṇ* are of different roots and fully explainable from the Tamil vocabulary, some strange by-form which have puzzled many researchers, are speedily unmasked as being awkward. This confounding of the two names, viz. *Tirāviḍa* (*Drāviḍa*, *Drāviḍa*) and *Tamiṇ* (*Tamiḷ*), began to gain ground at an early date and is due to the Aryans handling Dravidian names. It was by these intruders that deformations

1 Cf. *tamaan*, *tammavan*, plural *tamar*, *tammavar* their people, relatives *tamal*, *tammaval* their female, a woman of their family, *tamayan* elder brother or male cousin, *tamakkaḷ* elder sister or female cousin, *tambi* a younger brother, *tamappan* own father, *tammai*, *tammanai* mother.

2 The Tulu word *ramulu*, too, shows the substitute.

3 The Greek *D* resembles in shape the Greek *L*. The Greek symbols for, *a*, *i*, *y* are likewise liable to blunders by the scribes.

crept across, such as *Daviḍa* and *Davila* (in Sanskrit plays, in the Prakrit literature of the Jains), further *Ḍrāmiḍa* (in some manuscripts of Varaha Mihira, 6th c. A. D.), which form *Tirāmiḍa* (m) found its way even into the Tamil literature, and finally *Dramila* (in some inscriptions, as by King Mangalesa, about 600, A. D. in 'Tārānātha's history of Buddhism, in old Malayalam translations of the Puranas.) Such cacophonies need not engage the attention of etymologists any longer. ¹ *Tirāvida* (m) or *Drāviḍa* (m) continues to represent the genuine form, which, thanks to its venerable age and clearness, has up to this day resisted all the attacks ventured from foreign quarters.

(2) DRAVIDIAN CULTURE AND ITS DIFFUSION².

Yes, this brochure too had once to be written. Let me say at once that the learned author has thereby earned the gratitude not only of his own countrymen but certainly also of a wider circle; for, only vague ideas of Dravidian Culture, its antiquity and its diffusion and importance are current today, naturally also in Europe. From the contents of the essay which is abundantly documented with exact references to the sources, we extract below only the most important points of a more general interest.

Already before the advent of the Aryan conquerors, almost the whole of India was occupied by Dravidic races at least some of which could boast of an ancient culture³. India was rich in indigenous products sought after in other lands. Its long coastal tracts, particularly those of the thickly wooded west, showed the way to the natives to sea-faring activities from an early time. *Tōṇi*, *Ōṭam*, *Paṭṭemār*, *Kappal* are Dravidian expressions for

¹ Another instance of mutilation due to Aryan speakers is by the way also *Choda*, that stands by the side of *Chola*, the proper form of which is *Sora* (m). To the *Sora-mandalam* refers the Greek plural *Soringoi* mentioned above,

² This is Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar's rendering of an article in German by Prof. A. C. Schoener. The brochure referred to in the opening sentence is a reprint of an article on the subject by the Editor which appeared in the previous issue of the Bulletin. The pages noted are of that reprint.

³ Pp. 2—5.

vessels plying on the sea¹. Malabar teak-wood has been discovered in the ruins of Ur in Mesopotamia².

Those who had already used the sea-route to Mekran and Mesopotamia in the 4th century B. C. i. e., in the neolithic period of Europe, should certainly have been acquainted with the coasts of Arabia and East Africa³. Exodus 30, 23 f. speaks of the use of cinnamon and cassia in religious ceremonies. About 1000 B. C., rare treasures were brought on Phoenician ships to Solomon from "Ophir;" and among these at these the peacock and its name, the South Indian *tokai* point to Malabar⁴. The discovery of the pictures of Indian men and women by the archaeologist Sir W. F. Petrie suggests the existence of an old Indian colony of the banks of the Nile⁵. The Periplus of the 4th century B. C., knows the Tamils and the Malabar ports from which particularly pepper was exported⁶. In the 3rd century B.C., India sent ambassadors to the Diadoch Kings in Egypt, Syria and Macedonia. Kanarese passages are met with, by the side of Greek, in an Egyptian papyrus.⁷ Emissaries from the south Indian Kingdoms of the Chēras, Chōlas and the Paṇḍyas went also to Rome⁸.

After Egypt became a Roman province in 30 B. C., India's trade with the Mediterranean lands assumed still greater dimensions. In Musiris—today, Cranganur or Koḍungalur—a Roman contingent of about 2,000 men was maintained for the protection of the trade against pirates. In this *primum emporium Indiae*—as Pliny calls it—there stood also a temple of Augustus;

1 P. 8.

2 The land of the two streams had above all to import materials like stones, metals and timber from other lands.

3 Already in the 17th century B. C., the Egyptians drew sandalwood from India; the core of the Indian Akil tree was employed for embalming and for incense.

4 P. 9, 27.

5 P. 15.

6 P. 2.

7 P. 11.

8 P. 9. Emissaries from King Rochias of Ceylon appeared at the court of Caesar Claudius in Rome.

while the seat of the Chēras, the rulers of Kēraḷa, according to Ptolemy, was the neighbouring town Karoura. Cochin pepper was specially prized by the Romans,—a fact indicated also by the use of the expression *yavvna priya*, dear to the foreigner”¹.

The ancient culture of Dravidian India is also attested by Indian texts, above all by the epics Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata². The Dravidians were the teachers of Aryans in many things³. The Vēḍas speak of the cities and the rich holding of the Dasas, but do not yet know of the great divinities of the Indian pantheon. Śiva is originally a “god of the south”. Agastya, the Aryan apostle for the south, learnt his Tamil from Śiva⁴. The well ordered Kingdoms of the south of India are known to have existed from the 4th century B. C. Their rulers had also diplomatic relations with the great Aryan King and the Buddhist devotee, Asoka, with whom the Greek Chronicler Megasthenes stayed as the ambassador of Seleucos Nicator⁵. The Buddhistic wave which affected the south of India too, raised here the standard of culture. Religious colleges arose and the medicinal art was cultivated. Śāṣṭa-temples and the medical proficiency of Malabar remain one of the Buddhistic epoch⁶.

The north of India where the Aryans were more at home than in the south, bears traces of Dravidian influence even today; and here a racial as well as a linguistic substratum has been postulated⁷.

The south Indian Dravidian has been very active and intimate with the sea from a dark and hoary past. In more modern

¹ P. 27. ff. In 410 A. D., the Goth King Alarich granted an armistice to the inhabitants of Rome in return for which they had to render to him 3000 pounds of pepper, besides other things.

² Simple war-psychology explains why the Aryans called the Dravidians *asuras*, *daityas*, *dasyas* or *nagas*. During the recent war, the Germans were condemned with abusive nick-names by their enemies.

³ P. 1-3, 20,

⁴ P. 4.

⁵ P. 19, 26.

⁶ P. 20.

⁷ P. 3, 6, 18.

times, he settles down in Mauritius¹ captures the coastal trade of East Africa and works in Burma and Malaya. This is only a repetition of what happened already over more than 2000 years ago. The Malayan Archipelago, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo and even Siam and Cambodia (Annam) formed the goal of the Dravidian colonisation of those times². Language, literature, religion, political administration and architecture reveal the manifold Dravidian influence. The original of the sea-goddess Maṇimēkhala of the Javanese is the South Indian Buddhist convert Maṇimēkhalai, the heroine of a literary work bearing the same name. The worship of the mother-goddess, the Dravidian kālī, also called Durgā, Bhagavāṭī, chaṇḍī, was widespread in Java and Bali. Even today Hinduism persists in Bali. The dramatic shows and dances of Java, Bali and Siam bear the Dravidian stamp. Agastya is even now honoured in Sumatra, Java, Siam and Cambodia³. Old Tamil inscriptions in Siam speak of immigrant merchants from Malabar, their Viṣṇu-temples and ponds⁴. The religion, literature and the architecture of Cambodia show unmistakable Dravidian influence; and Dravidian matriarchate also flourished there⁵. Even the Philippine Isles and China did not escape the influence of Dravidian culture. Here too commerce was the prime motive. The Chinese ancestral worship and feudal system are reminiscent of Dravidian connections. The number of Indians who in Cathay taught Buddhism and translated important works, is legion. Even the name China is of Indian origin⁶.

Rich material is spread over the 39 pages of Mr. Menon's essay. Nevertheless, he does not lay claim to exhaustiveness: "The subject is too vast for me to handle". I may be allowed here to pursue the subject in one particular direction.

1 P. 22.

2 P. 19—25. Caldwell and Grierson rightly connect the name *klīng*, used with reference to all India in the Malayan Archipelago, with *Kalingam*, the other name for Telingam. The Telingas or Telugus constituted the majority of the immigrants at the beginning of the Christian era.

3 P. 35.

4 P. 24

5 P. 35 f.

6 P. 10, 18 f.

The examination of a large number of names of places, mountains, peoples and rivers, shows that the Dravidian language was current once not only in Baluchistan, Afghanistan¹ and Mesopotamia but also in Asia and in Europe. Only one or two milestones in the route from Mesopotamia to Early Europe have to be thrown under the linguistic searchlight here, as the cultural connection of Harappa and Mohanjodaro in the north-west of India with Chaldaea has already been pointed out in the brochure.²

The Sumerians doubtless took over from an older race the localities with Dravidian names like Ur, Uruk, etc., retained those old names and also embodied in their own language other Dravidian expressions.³

The Dravidic place-name Karoura appears in the ancient district Caria in Asia Minor.⁴ The *Atlas Antiquies* shows a coastal trading town Tamyrace which lay in a northern creek of the Black Sea, not far from the modern Sadowsk.

This name reminds one of the land of the Tamils, the Damyrice of the ancients.⁵ The people Cotini who dug out iron in the hills by the side of the Waag and the Gran, the tributaries of the Donau,—as mentioned by the classical writers,—bear (*nomen estomen*) a crystal-clear Dravidic name with the meaning "Digger, hill-men". Even the widespread ancient Kali-worship must have had a place in Europe.⁶ A river,

1. A Non-Aryan people, the Gandhara, mentioned in the Rig-Veda, in the Mahabharata, in an inscription of Darius and by the Hekataios and Herodotus, lived round about Kandahar and Kabul, cf. my essay "Altdra-vedisches", p. 97 f.

2. P. 7.

3. "Altdrawidisches", p. 36 ff.

4. The Malabar Karoura of Ptolemy is the modern Karuppatana. A place called Karuri exists in Telugu *des* 10 miles south of Guntakkal. Better known is the Tamil place Karuri on the Amaravati, a settlement and the seat of the Cheras, therefore also termed *adhipuri*. Roman coins of the period of Tiberius were dug out here. The widespread name Karur means "embryonic city", new settlement.

5. Grierson has noted, the name Tamil which etymologically "the own people" is to be distinguished from Dravidas (p. 4).

6. Cf. my essay *Germanics and other Early European names of the Nordic stock*, Tübingen, 1934, p. 64.

Silarineu, modern Sillaro which springs up from the Italian Appenines, is a European counterpart of the Sileru of the Telugus, which flows into the Sabari, a tributary of the Gōḍāvari. "Mountain-river" or even "bubbling stream" is the meaning of the name here as well as there. Similar is the case with Tamarus, modern Tamaro of Italy, with Tamara, modern Tambre of Spain and, Tamaros, modern Tamar of Brittany which have their counterpart in Tomeros of Gadrosia (Baluchistan.) Tamar too is Dravidic and signifies "rich stream". Thus do the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans greet each other.

But: *Sapienti sat.* Dravidic culture and its diffusion,--- that is indeed a mighty theme on which not merely a booklet but even a bulky volume could be composed.

—*—

THE OLD CHIEFS OF MALABAR.

(V. K. Raman Menon, M. A., L. L. B., Bar-at-Law).

Malabar from time immemorial were divided among various chieftains who remained in-tact till about the middle of the 15th Century. Even now, the descendants of these families carry on their existence as local Jenmis, though much shorn of their power and a good part of their local glory. Many of them receive a pension from the Ruling power, British or Indian. The old spirit of Malabar survives in these families—the love, hospitality and honour coupled with the natural impracticability of hereditary nobles.

Apart from the traditionary accounts of these chieftains contained in the Kērajōlpattī we have good and authentic accounts left by the Dutch commandeurs or Governors at Cochin. It was the custom of these Governors to leave a memorandum of the affairs of Malabar on the eve of their retirement. These are confidential documents intended to enlighten their successors about the conditions of the strange land of Malabar. They begin with a list of the various princes and princelings among whom Malabar was divided and with whom it is advisable for a commercial company to be in politic agreement if they were to carry on commerce with advantage. Not unfrequently these accounts contained a description of the personal character of individual rulers, which counted a great deal in dealing with their states. The dissensions and quarrels are also hinted at. This will help the new Governor in dealing with them.

Many of these Memoranda are now published among the Dutch records by the Madras Government which are well worth studying by those who wish to know something of the old organisation of Malabar. For the old system continued right up to the conquest of Malabar by Hyder and the consolidation of Travancore by King Mārṭhāṇḍa Varma. There is mass of records of which a selection has been published in about 14 volumes; of these only two or three has been translated by

Mr. Galetti. The rest remain untranslated and hence almost unknown to the historians of Cochin. The very first of the memoirs is by the first and most celebrated of the Dutch Governors, viz., Van Rheeде, the illustrious author of *Hortus Malabaricus* or the Malabar garden, containing a description of the plants of Malabar with careful diagrams of the plants.

Van Rheed's memorandum has not been translated, and it is from the original Dutch that the following list of the Rajahs of Malabar is taken.

The Memorandum is dated A. D. 1677 (i.e., 852 M. E.). This is about 70 years before the Rajah who died in Kurikāḍ with whose name the list in the Cochin *Panchangam* begins. The extent of each realm is expressed in terms of the number of soldiers the Chief could command,—the territorial extent not being taken into consideration. Of course there are traditional boundaries for each Nāḍ over which the individual chieftains held sway. Broadly speaking, the various branch of the Ṭrippāppi Swarūpam held sway from the Cape Comorin up to Kāyankulāṁ. The family consisted of six branches at the time. Beginning from the extreme south of the Peninsula, (i.e.,) Cape Comorin, it was in the following order:—

(1) Ṭiruvāncūr; (2) Aṭṭungal; (3) Eḷayēdeth; (4) Perunthali (Nedumangāḍ); (5) Dēśinganāḍ (Quilon); and (6) Chiravāya.

Together they commanded about 2,28,000 fighting men. Of these the first mentioned family was the strongest, commanding about a lakh of men.

The next group of states were included in Ōḍaṇāḍ. Of these the most important was Kāyankulāṁ which commanded about 50,000 men. Attached to Kāyankulāṁ was also Pānānvalli with about 15,000 men. In this Nāḍ was one Kṣhāṭriya chieftain, viz., Chembālanūr or Paṇṭalam who was the friend of the Ṭrippāpūr family as against the Kāyankulāṁ Rajah. Paṇṭalam had command of only 3,000 men. In all, Ōḍaṇāḍ commanded about a lakh of men considerably less than half the importance of Ṭrippāpūr Swarūpam, with an enemy inside.

Next comes the Kaimals of Chēṭṭuvāya of whom there were four commanding in all three thousand men.

Then there were the powerful Manayampiḷi Perumpuḷa Kaimais (divided among many families) each with fifteen thousand men.

Then Vemmaṇḍ with Ṭekkankūr Rajahs with their 1,52,000 men and Vadakkankūr. In the former territory was the Kṣhaṭṛiya chieftain Pūṇṇaṭṭil Perumāl. The power and privileges of the latter were divided among four families with 63,000 men. Kuṭṭaṇḍ was under the Chempakaṣṣēri Rajah, known more popularly as Ambalappuḷa Rajah or Puṭakkāḍ family, with 30,000 men.

Iṭappalli Rajah with 50,000 men was a Brahmin.

Kurūr ṇḍ consists of:—

(1) Kurūr Swarūpam with 15,000 men.

(2) Viilārvaṭṭam with the same number. These two were Kṣhaṭṛiyas.

Perumpadappu ṇḍ:—There were five families each with three thousand men, thus in all 15,000.

From the list we see that at the time we are speaking, the Perumpaṭappu family was only one of the minor Rajahs in their own right though they had relation with the more powerful Kurūṇḍ princes. Another thing we notice is that the Kṣhaṭṛiya princes were less powerful than the Sāmanṭha princes. Perumpadap family owned the land lying between the backwater and the sea from Ponnāni up to Chērthala. The rest of the territory of what is now the Cochin State was divided among powerful feudal lords of the Perumpaṭappu swarūpam who were often more powerful than their chief as the list shows.

The list given by Van Rheed may be taken as the condition at the time of the European domination of Malabar. The 175 years of European influence was causing ferment in the body politic, though the effect was not noticeable. The Portuguese seem to have had only very slight influence inside Malabar. The Dutch with their commercial instincts had direct relations with even the minor chieftains and established a monopoly by treaties.

Then began the procedure, strange in Malabar history, of absorption of smaller states by bigger states.

Look at the list of states given by the Governor Van Gollensse in his Memorandum, dated 1743 A. D. (918 M. E.). It was the time of King Mārṭṭāṇḍa Vaṛma of Travancore. Here we find that, of the seven states in what is now South Travancore, only Travancore and Quilon remained.

In Odañād, Kāyankūlam was annexed to Quilon in 1734 A.D. as well as the others.

There only remained the Ṭekkankūr and Vaṭakkankūr Rajahs between Cochin and Travancore. All the others were conquered between 1734—1742 A. D.

Chempakaśṣēri remained—an ally of Cochin.

Kurūr Nād with its two families also merged in Perumpadappu, of which only two branches remained—Chālūr and Eḷaya Tāvaḷi. Of these again the former was out of power and the Eḷaya Tāvaḷi on account of its friendship with the Dutch East India Company was supreme in the land. We find also the feudal chieftains exercising more or less sovereign powers greatly curbed by the Rajah with the help of the Dutch. In this period we find the Pāliam family coming into prominence.

In the north we find the Zamorin absorbing the smaller states north of Ponnāni river. In the next list, taken from the Memorandum of Van Moons in 1781, on the eve of the Hyder's invasion, we find the process complete. The whole of Malabar is now divided among three absolute rulers, The Zamorin, Cochin and Travancore. The first and the last being Sāmanṭha powers on the aggressive with the Kṣhaṭṭriya state of Cochin losing ground on both sides standing purely on the defensive looking for support to the declining Dutch.

The three lists of States given below would explain the situation better than any essay.

I would also state that the Dutch records published by the Madras Government will be of immense importance to the Historian of Cochin when they are translated into English or Malayalam and suggest that is one of the works the Research Institute may with advantage take up.

		<i>List given by</i>	
Van Rhee	Van Collensse	Van Moens	
A. D. 1677	A. D. 1743	A. D. 1781	
(852 M. E.)	(918 M. E.)	(956 M. E.)	
<i>Trippappi swarupam</i>			
Tiruvankur	100,000	<i>Tiruvankur.</i>	Travancore
Attingal	30,000		
Elledathswarupam	} 50,000	(Annexed to	
Perinthali		Tiruvankur)	
(Nedumangad)		(1734—1742)	
Desinganad	30,000	Kollam	
(Quilon)			
Chiravaya	15,000		
	<hr/> 228,000 <hr/>		
<i>Odanad.</i>			
Kayankulam	50,000	(Annexed to	
		Quilon) 1734	
Panavalli	15,000	(Attached to	
		above)	
Maruthukulangara	15,000	Conquered in	
		1734 by Travan-	
		core	
Karingampalli	15,000		
(Vettimana)			
Chembalanur	3,000	(Kshatriya—Friend	
(Panvath)		of Travancore;	
		enemy of	
		Kayankulam	
Venmeni Adigal	3,000		
	<hr/>		
	101,000	Trikunnapizha—	
		belonged to	
		idapalli	
<i>Chittuvaya Kaimals.</i>			
Thailachalli			
Vakke Kaimal			
Elechondara			
Mataparambu	3,000		
<i>Mayampalli.</i>			
Edamane			
Ponnuruthi		Madambimar	
		(18 plus 2)	
Mayampalli	15,000		
Bommanad			

List of Malabar States given by

Van Rheede

Van Goilensse

Van Moens

A. D. 1677 (852 M. E.) A. D. 1743 (918 M. E.) A. D. 1731 (956 M. E.)

Bommanad			
Kilpoli			
Cheruvay	75,000		
Madathingalkur	37,000	Thikkankur	Conquered by
Thekilankur	37,000	(Kottayam)	Travancore 1762
Punjattil Perummal	3,000	Adopted from	
		Sarkara	
	1,52,000		
Vadakkankur		Vadakkankur	
Manjat Iliom	30,000		
Muthakazhi	3,000		
Vaypilkur	15,000		
Kilmalakur	15,000		
	63,000		
Kuttanad		Purakkad	
Chembakasseri	30,000		
(Ambalapizha)			
Idapalli		Idapalli	Idapalli
Elangathur	50,000	Treaty with	
		Cochin 1740	
Chenganad			
Eledathkur	10,000		
Muthakur	10,000		
Ambadikur	10,000		
Karur Nad		Joined to Cochin	
Kurur Moothakoil	15,000	Died out	
		The last adopted	
		by Elaya Thavazhi	Cochin
Villarvattam	15,000		
	30,000		
Perumpadapur Nad			
Madathinkil Thavazhi	3,000	Died out	Cochin

Van Rheede		Van Gollensse	Van Moens
A. D. 1677 (852 M. E.)		A. D. 1743 (918 M. E.)	A. D. 1781 (956 M. E.)
Mootha Thavazhi	3,000	} Out of Power In power	
Palluruthi	3,000		
Chazhur	3,000		
Elaya Thavazhi	3,000		
	<hr/>		
	15,000		
		Thevankal Nayar	Cochin
		Anji Kaimals	
		Vaduthaia Nam- buri	
<i>Chittakathu Nad.</i>			
Chittakathu Kaimal	15,000		
Patinjaredath Kaimal	8,000		
	<hr/>		
	23,000		
	<hr/>		
Thiruvella Nad			
Koilpad	1,000		
Pindanivattathu Nad			
			Annexed to Tra- vancore—1762
Nambyathari	15,000	Parur (Pindinivattam)	
Manganad			
Velutha Thavazhi	10,000	} Manganad: 1735	Annexed to Tra- vancore—1762
Karutha Thavazhi	15,000		
	<hr/>		
	25,000		
	<hr/>		
Vaipu Nad			
Vaipu Namburi	6,000	Paliyam	Cochin
Airur Nad			
Mootha Kovil	1,000	Airur	Airur
Patinjare Koil	1,000	Kodunkollur	Kodangalore
	<hr/>		
	2,000	Payancheri (Manalpuram)	{ Manattapurambu Panangad Vllad
Muriya Nad			
Nambiyar			

Van Rheede	Van Gollensse	Van Moens
A. D. 1677 (852 M. E.)	A. D. 1743 (918 M.E.)	A. D. 1781 (956 M.E.)
Nannillatha Nad	Four Kaimals	Cochin
Kodusseri Kaimal 30,000		
Korathi 5,000		
Changarankotha		
Kaimal 5,000		
Patamukhathu Kaimal 3,000		
43,000	Chittur Namburi	
	Pappinivattam	
	(Dutch)	
<i>Thalapilli Nad.</i>		
At Ainikuthil		
Nambidi 15,000	Punnathur	Zamorin
Manakulam 15,000		
Chithul Nambidi 15,000		
Kakkathu Nambidi 15,000	Manakad	
60,000	(Paliyam)	
	(Mullurkara)	
Chithur Nad		
Chithur Thekke		
Nayar 15,000		
Mapranam		Dutch
Valossu Nambiyar 3,000		
Valluva Nad		Zamorin
Valluva Konari 30,000		
<i>Ernad.</i>	Zamorin	
Kunnalu Konaro 40,000		
Kottathu Koil 4,000		
Parappu Koil 3,000		
Beppur Kovil 2,000		
<i>Tamarasseri Nad.</i>		
Ayyar Nad 20,000		
Payya Nad 15,000		
35,000		

Van Rheede
A. D. 1677 (852 M.E.)

Van Gollensse
A. D. 1743 (918 M.E.)

Van Moens
A. D. 1781 (956 M.E.)

Iringa Nad.

Iringal Namburi	3,000
Kutarathu Nayar	10,000
Vnithiri	10,000
Pazhancheri Nayar	3,000
Mangat Athan	3,000
Thamarasseril Elayad	10,000
Ramanathakara	15,000

54,000

Kolat Nad
Kolatheri
Odayanath
Palli
Nocholi
Chrakkal

Kolatheri

Kulatheri

2,30,000

Vadakara	30,000
Talasori	
Mootha Nayar	15,000
Chondathu Kare	
Kaimal	30,000
Alathu Kare Kaimal	15,000
Allarthu Nad	
Allarthu Adiyodi	30,000
Pattava Nad	
Pattava Kovil	60,000
Vayanad	
Kandamangalatha	
Nayar	1,000
Manathana Nayar	1,000
Kalpatta Nayar	1,000
Thekkepatha Nayar	1,000
Muttil Nayar	3,000

7,000

1,514,000

Vazhunnayar

THE ORIGIN OF THE PAGODA

(By R. V. Poduval,

Superintendent of Archaeology, Trivandrum.)

(Translated from an article in German by Prof. Pelmann of Bonn.)

The word "Pagoda" has been given to the Europeans by the Portuguese who introduced it in the European languages and understood it to mean all kinds of temples and other shrines and any other sanctuaries in cells in Asia and in the extreme East. If one likes to use this word to-day in a book of Architecture, it will be best to use it and make it mean only buildings with spire or tower which are characteristic of the extreme East, China, Corea and Japan and which dominate there in the same manner as minarets are conspicuous in Moslem Architecture and towers in Christian Churches.

The following go to form the shape of the Pagoda. (i) A quadrangular or polygon basis: Sometimes it is also round. (ii) A superstructure characterised by several circular ornaments below the roof. Further the building gets thinner towards the top. The roof is pointed like an umbrella as in the case of the Indian stupa. In regard to its materials, you find wood as in Japan, a rough kind of brick, burnt bricks, cut stones or metal especially iron. Such a building is to be found with each Buddhistic monastery where is preserved a vault with its holy relics where the ground floor and the upper storeys are used as chapels. Besides, there are numerous Pagodas of smaller size which are solid, and which do not have the room in the exterior, and are used as monuments of dead people, or generally as shrines of worship. Lastly, this kind is also used as a place to keep relics like the structure in Roman Catholic Churches where the sacrament is kept.

The question when and where the structural type of building called Pagoda has originated has been answered in two ways. On one side the British scholars under the leadership of

Fergusson believe that the Buddhist stupa of India has developed into a Pagoda. The half spheric tomb was developed into a wooden construction having four or more corners and the "chatravali" into the different circular ornaments under the roofing of the Pagoda. This development took place not only in the extreme east but in India wherefrom it developed. This theory has been accepted by De Groot and has been lately explained by Longhurst with this conclusion that "the mystery of the origin of the Chinese Pagoda may be now regarded as settled, once and for all time". As against this theory, Boerschmann and Kummel decline to accept the connection of the Pagoda with the stupa and seek the origin of the Pagoda rather in the structural style of original architecture in wood of old China. Boerschmann believes that the Pagoda is the evolution of the Pyramid which is the oldest form of tower we find with all nations. Kummel on the other hand believes the Pagoda to be an original creation of the Chinese, developed from their wooden pavilion, which was made to serve the same purposes as the "Stupa". If we compare these two theories of explanation, the weakness of the English theory becomes evident, for it has no explanation because of the fact it does not account why and how the round stupa could have become a quadrangular tower. It is improbable that the ornamental and circular designs of the quadrangular tower should have originated from the form of umbrella of the "chatravali" because the parts of the "chatravali" have not disappeared from the Pagoda. But, on the contrary, they are the crown of the Pagoda as much as the crown of the stupa. On the other hand, the similarity of the Pagoda with the Chinese pavilion as emphasised by Kummel cannot be contested. The pavilion as well as the temple of the extreme East have their structural features in common; and they seem to have preserved certain features of a former kind of development. For here the individual circular ornamental design has not yet become pure in form, and its purpose may be explained later on. These circular ornamental designs on the contrary have an architectural connection with the arrangement of space in the inside of the Pagoda as the designs on the outside are the counterpart of the inside. Wherever you have this design, the arrangement of space inside is

like that of a pyramid. In spite of this ostensible connection, it is not possible to evolve the Pagoda from the Chinese pavilion or temple directly. For this connection can only be traced so far as the form and shape are concerned. The meaning and purpose of the Pagoda is one with the meaning and purpose of the stupa. *The Pagoda is in every way the Chinese counterpart of the Indian Stupa*, and this fact is supported and strengthened by the Chinese terms used for the design of the Pagoda. All these terms of the Pagoda have been taken over from India. Further the literary tradition of the Chinese does not leave any room for doubt that this structural style was fully developed in India at the latest in the middle of the first century A. D. and found its way, rather taken over to China along with Buddhism. Not only that, but the ancient pictures in India go to prove the existence of pavilions or temples with roofs of different layers from the second century B. C., and this is true both for Hindu as well as Buddhist worship. Further, even if we did not have all that, the fact that wooden temples or pavilions in the Pagoda style are seen in the lands settled by Indians like Burma, the island of Bali as well as the old country of Malabar and Malaya, show that these structural styles have an Indian origin. *Shrines in Pagoda style, or to put it more generally temples with several layers of roofing were found without doubt in India before the Christian Era along with the Stupa and independent of the stupa style.* And if there is a connection between the Indian Pagoda and the Chinese temple and pavilion of similar or identical shape, it seems probable that there can be only one explanation for it considering the general cultural conditions of those times, namely the transference of that structural style from India to China. It is not possible in the present state of knowledge to say at what time this took place, whether along with the Buddhist mission or before. We have therefore to answer one question, namely how the old Indian Pagoda could come to the same position as the stupa and serve the same purposes as the stupa from which it differs structurally so fully. The reply is found when we take into consideration a special kind of Pagoda which is called "Thupagara" in Mahavamsa, and which is indicated by the name is a shelter erected above the stupa. Such "Thupagaras" with a roof on layers is found to-day very rarely

in Tibet and Ceylon. The Japanese form of Pagoda called "Tahoto" manifests clearly the same origin. It is a reasonable assumption that this structural style was common in the native land of Buddhism namely India. But this assumption is further proved by a certain monumental evidence. There is a Relief Portrait of Amaravati and especially the rock chapel near Junnar, belonging to the second century B. C. This chapel represents or is supposed to be the inside of a simple "Thupagara" of circular basis with a stupa in the middle, a high roof over the middle room with a boundary of twelve pillars and a circular ornamental design near the roof. It is a quite natural development that the name of stupa should have been transferred to the shelter around it and should have stuck to it even when after the stupa has been disregarded as part of worship and has been substituted (replaced) by the image of Buddha which at present is seen on the ground floor of the Pagoda. As for the age of the "Thupagara" type, the rockchapel of Junnar further gives the latest date of its occurrence, i. e., after it there is none. Probably the style "Thupagara" as well as the stupa itself are pre-Buddhistic, for it is a frequent custom seen in primitive civilisations outside of India as well to erect a shade above the tomb. Lastly, the different layers of the roof of the Indian temple (with or without a stupa inside) requires explanation. According to Heine-Gelolera, the large number of layers is to be explained by the concept of a mountain, the seat of the Gods, which also rises by steps like pyramids. This concept is first found in the Sumeric civilisation, and is probably not a product of the imagination, but has its origin in a material thing, i. e., in the monumental tomb-hills, which rose step by step for reasons of architectural convenience. The great height of the tomb-hill is to be derived from certain magical ideas: the top of the tomb-hill is to be as near heaven as possible, and the spirit of the dead will so find it easier to come down and bestow his blessing upon the sacrifice. The pole used for sacrifices and the monumental columns of Greeko-Roman culture serve also the same purpose. This scheme or idea of different steps or layers was applied in India to the roof of the open shed over the tomb or temple. Here again the same purpose is evident to imitate the shape of the mountain which is the abode of the Gods, and so to

compel the Gods to come down and to secure their beneficent presence. The same idea has brought about the result that the simple umbrella shape of Buddhistic stupa was multiplied and became the "Chatravali" with its tapering umbrella shape. The reason why the "Chatravali" is also found on the Pagoda is that the Pagoda originally was nothing else but a shelter above the stupa. The stick of the umbrella was made to pierce through the thatch of the shelter for purposes of convenience, perhaps for magical purposes: and this was so even after there was no more any stupa in the "Thupagara".

THE PUṬU VAIPU ERA

By V. K. R. Menon, M. A., M. Sc., (London)

SYNOPSIS

The Puṭu Vaipu era is now believed to date from the sudden eruption of the Vypeen island in Cochin from the sea. An attempt is made to show that it may commemorate the founding of the Vijayanagar Empire.

INTRODUCTION

The Puṭu Vaipu era corresponding to A. D. 1341 is traditionally believed to begin with the date on which the island of Vypeen was thrown up from the sea. The inhabitants of this island—which now stretches from Cochin harbour to Cranganur—particularly those belonging to the village of Njarakkal, ‘used to date their letters according to this era.’ Fra Paolino, who is generally quoted on this subject states, “This era is called ‘Puduvepu’ ‘from Pudu’, new and ‘Vepa’, the foundation or introduction of anything.....In the year 1341, when the sea threw up the small island of Vypi on the north side of Cochin, the waters, which during the rainy season pour down from the Ghauts, broke through the banks of the river ‘Cocci’ and overwhelmed the village of that name with such violence that it swept it away and formed in that district a very large river, a lake and a harbour so spacious that the largest ships can now lie at anchor.”

“Such is impossible,” states Francis Day, “as the river and the ‘Sinus Colchicus’ or large expanse of backwater are mentioned by Ptolemy and other writers, as existing anterior to their time.....The era may very possibly refer to the origin of the first Christian church built on Vypeen. Certainly, according to ‘Kerala Ulpali’ the land from Vypeen to Narrikal, in this year was first taxed, as being in a fit state for cultivation, which it was not previously.”

Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon and other Malayali scholars are generally in agreement with Fra Paolino, except Mr. Rama Pisharoti who points out that “in the absence of this island it is not possible that Cranganur could have been a sheltered

natural harbour.Its real name, we believe, was "Kochi era" [cf. inscription at Urakam temple] and it commemorated the transfer of the Maharaja's headquarters to Kocci." However, no historical evidence has been brought forward to support this theory.

Geologists hold that the "sandy islands dividing the sea from the backwater appear to have been formed by the action of the streams, flooded with the freshes of the south-west monsoon, and laden with deposits from the ghauts, meeting at their outlets the full force of the ocean, which at this period lashes the shore most violently. The rivers have opened a little lower down each year, and in this manner the present maritime portion of Cochin has arisen from the sea."

Ptolemy¹ gives the following list of seaports and rivers in Kērala.— Tyndis a city, Bramagara, Kalaikkarius, Mouziris an emporium, mouth of the river Pseudotomos, Podoperoura, Semne, Koreoura, Bakarar, mouth of the river Baris. Mr. Kanakasabhai identifies the places coming after Mouziris as Azimukham, Udiamperur, Ambai, Kothora and Vaikkarai (near Kottayam) and the river Palai. He therefore concludes—in opposition to Day²—that the strip of land forming the western bank of the Cochin backwaters, on which now stand Cochin and Alleppey, was not in existence at that time.

The *Grandhavarie* (chronicles) of the Ernakulam and Vaitallai (Eratta-Ambalam, situated between Trippunittura and Ernakulam) where the temples are stated to have been built on the sea-shore, give support to this view.

ARGUMENT

1. Granting that the long strip of land was formed after Ptolemy, there is little evidence to believe that Vypeen was thrown up from the sea in one single year.

2. On the other hand, the formation of such lands was most probably a matter of centuries. Slow accretion of land owing to the conflict between the torrents and the breakers is a common phenomenon in Malabar. Paolino³ mentions that in

¹ "Pamils 1800 years ago"—Mr. Kanakasabhai

² F. Day, *"The Land of the Perumals"*.

³ Fra Paolino, *A Voyage to the East Indies*.

eight years time, 300 paces of such 'Porampooku' land was washed up in front of the 'Verapoly' convent. At other places, land is slowly washed away in which case the owner continues paying tax to the Government on the understanding that any new accretion of land adjoining his property will be handed over to him. It is therefore incredible that the Island of Vypeen, 13 miles long and one mile broad, could have been thrown up in one night, except it be by volcanic action.

But the soil has the same composition as that of any other portion of the sea-shore and consists of sea-sand and calcerous materials combined with various kinds of earth and clay which, during the rainy season, are washed down from the ghauts.

But the strongest argument against this 'eruption' theory is that no mention is made of this unique phenomenon by Ibn Batuta or Ferishtah or any of the many foreign historians dealing with India in the 14th century. Yet Ibn Batuta visited Malabar in 1342 and has left a detailed and accurate account of the customs and manners of the people in the course of which it is stated. "Kawlam (Quilon) is ten days journey from Calicut either by land or by the river (back-waters)...I set out therefore by the river."

On the other hand, there is sufficient ground to believe that the Puthu Vaipu era commemorated the founding of the Vijayanagar dynasty.

At this period of Indian history, Kerala was no longer an unknown land beyond the pale of Asokan civilisation. It formed part of the powerful Hindu confederacy which was to check the invading hordes of Mussalmans from the North. For, even in the 13th century, ominous shadows of a threatened Mussalman invasion were cast upon the peaceful land of Malabar. Tradition says that the ancient temple at "Vaittala" fell a prey to the hosts of an invading army. Mr. Pisharoti has attempted to identify it with the 'Vatakan Pata' which is stated to have approached the precincts of the Trippunittura temple in 445 M. E. or 1271 A.D. Whether the army was Mussalman or not, and whether they came by sea or land or was merely a local rising, all these are unfortunately not known.

1 "*Travels of Ibn Batuta*" edited by Sir E. D. Ross.

In 1309, Malik-Kaifur the celebrated general of Alā-ud-din Khilji, swept into the Dakkhan with an immense army. He captured Warangal, over-ran the Ballala kingdom and entered the "*Malabar coast*, where he erected a mosque and returned to his master with enormous booty."

In 1334, Muhammed Taghlaq made a determined raid to the south, a detailed account of which is given by Ibn Batuta, who however adds, "Even before the Sultan's death, (1351), Bengal, the Deccan and Malabar had begun to break away." Ferishtah mentions Dvārasamudra, Malabar, Warangal and Ānegundi, among the lands conquered by Taghlaq. "In A. H. 744 (1343-44)," he continues, "Baltala Deva (Bukka I) induced the Rajas of Malabar and Kanara countries to join him.... and within a few months Muhammed had no possessions in the south except Daulatabad..... The *roies of Malabar*, Ceylon and other islands and countries (in 1378) kept ambassadors at his court and sent annually rich presents."

Nuniz writing of a period a few years later, states, "The king of Coullao (Quilon) and Ceylon and Palecate and many other lands pay tribute to him."

Abdur Razzāk, envoy from Persia to the Zamurin and the king of Vijayanagar in 1442, writes in his memoirs, "The king of Vijayanagar is lord from the frontier of Serendib (Ceylon) to Kalbergah..... Although the Sameri is not subject to his laws, he stands extremely in fear of him."

From such scraps of evidence, Sewell concludes, "The old southern States appear (or have little history to guide us) to have in general submitted peaceably to the rule of the new monarchy."

The association between Kērala and Vijayanagar was continued up to the fatal battle at Talikota where, in the ranks of the Hindu army, "Mysoreans and Malabarees from the west and centre, mixed with the Tamils from the remoter south."

The following facts emerge out of these disconnected pieces of evidence:

(1) Malabar was subjected to the terrors of a Mussalman invasion, perhaps in 1271, but certainly in 1309 and again in 1334.

(2) The "Rajas of Malabar and Canara countries" joined the Vijayanagar king in A. H. 744 (1343-44) to drive out the Moslems, and, thereafter, the southern States in general submitted peaceably to the rule of the new monarchy.

(3) In 1378 the "roies of Malabar, Ceylon and other countries" kept ambassadors at his (Raja of Vijayanagar) court and sent annually rich presents.

(4) In 1442 the Zamorin was virtually a vassal of the King.

CONCLUSION

Let us try to build up the history of Malabar from these fragments and try to visualise the part it played in the founding of the Vijayanagar empire. After the disastrous raid of Taglaq, the "Hindus, south of the Kṛṣṇa river, stricken with terror had combined and gathered in haste to the new standard heroically raised by the brothers Harihara and Bukka." In 1334¹ the Sulthan had left Mālik Naib as his Governor of Ānegundi, but soon afterwards was forced to restore the principality to the Hindus. The city and kingdom of Vijayanagar are traditionally believed to have been founded in 1336 A. D., with the aid of the great religious teacher Mādhava. But as Harihara only came to power by 1336, the construction of this wonderful city—accounts of whose magnificence fill many pages of the memoirs of foreigners—would have been a matter of years. Harihara's reign lasted from 1336 to 1343. He is said to have founded a great temple—probably the temple of Hampi or Hampe—and dedicated it to the great saint Mādhava.

The king of Perumpatappu Swarūpam, lenial heir to the Perumāls and traditional overlord of all Kērala, would undoubtedly have taken an honourable part in the founding of this new kingdom and sent his trained Nairs to swell the Hindu vanguard and his skilled artisans to aid in the construction of the new capital.

Day quotes "Keralōlpaṭi" to show that the Island of Vypeen was first traced in this year.² What was this new income

¹ Sewell, "*A Forgotten Empire*".

² F. Day—"Land of the Perumals".

for? We know that the Rajas of Cochin were traditionally averse to the imposition of new taxes and were usually forced to adopt them only due to extraneous circumstances (eg., the levy of tributes by Hyder Ali, Tipoo Sultan and the East India Company). Shall we therefore conclude that, in the year 1341 A. D., the Raja entered into a formal treaty with King Harihara and, with the newly imposed tax, paid his annual subsidy towards the upkeep of the Vijayanagar empire? The name of the era, 'Puṭu Vaipu' or the 'new foundation' certainly lends support to this theory.

THE COPPER PLATE GRANT OF ŚRĪVĪRĀĀGHAVA CAKRAVARTIN

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[The following abbreviations of languages and names are used in this article. Languages:—G. = Gujarātī; H. = Hindī; Kar. = Kanarese; M. = Marāthī; Mal. = Malayālam; P. = Pañjālī; Pa. = Pālī; Pk. = Prākṛta; Sk. = Sanskrit; Tam. = Tamiḻ; Tel. = Telugu. Names:—Dan. = K. N. Daniel; Gund. = Gundert; Jos. = T. K. Joseph; Kel. = Kelu Nayar; Venk. = Venkayya.]

The plate in question has been subject of great controversy. The facsimiles of the plate have appeared in *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. IV and in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LIII. Translations of the plate with comments have been published by Dr. Gundert. (*Maaras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIII, Part I, pp. 115—125) Kookel Kelu Nayar, (*Ibid.*, Vol XXI, pp. 35—38), Venkayya (*Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 290—297), and Mr. K. N. Daniel (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LIII, pp. 185—196, 219—229, 244—251 and 257—261).

The fact that the plate has attracted the attention of many historians, linguists and paleographers is itself ample proof for its importance from various points of view. In this article I propose to give a true transliteration of the document and to discuss the etymology of the name of the donee, the significance of the term Maṇikkirāmapaṭṭam, the formation and meaning of certain expressions regarding which the opinions of scholars are seen to differ, the linguistic peculiarities worthy of note in the Copper Plate and the probable date of the grant.

I

*TRANSLITERATION.

Hari Śrī Mahāgaṇapatē nama śrīpūpālanarapati śrīvīrakēra
 laśakravartti ātiyāy muramuraiyē pala nūrayirattāṇṭu
 ceṅkōl naṭattāyi niṅṭa śrīvīraṭāghavaśakravarttikku tīravirā
 cyam cellāyi niṅṭa makarattul viyālam mīnaṇāyaru irupattoṇṭu
 ceṅṭa caṇīrōhāṇināḷ peruṅkōyilakattirunnaṭuḷa makōtiyar
 paṭṭiṇa
 ttu iravikōrttaṇāṇāya cēramāṇlōkapperuṇ ceṭṭikku maṇikkirāma
 paṭṭaṅkuṭuttōm viḷāvāṭeyum pavaṇattāṅkum perupērum kaṭuttu
 vaḷeṇciyamu vaḷanciyattil taṇicceṭṭum murcollum munna
 ṭeyum paṇcavādyamum śaṅkhum pakalviḷakkum pāvāṭayum
 aiṇṭōlamum koṭṭa
 kkuṭayum vaṭukapparayum iṭupaṭitōraṇamum nālucērikkum taṇi
 cceṭṭum kuṭuttōm vāṇiyaṇum aiṅkammāḷaṭeyum aṭima kuṭuttōm
 nakaṭattukku karttāvāya iravikōrttaṇukku parakoṇṭaḷannu
 nīrakōṇ
 ṭu tūkki nūl koṇṭu pāki eṇṇiṇṭatilum eṭukkiṇṭatilumuppi
 nōṭu śarkkarayōṭu kastūriyōṭu viḷakkeṇṇayōṭu iṭayil uḷḷata eppēr
 ppaṭṭatiṇum taṭakum atinaṭutta cuṅkamum kūṭa koṭuṅkū-
 lūr aḷivi
 yōṭu kōpuṭattōṭu viśēṣāl nāḷuḷaḷiyum taḷikkaṭuttu kirāmatlōṭiṭa
 yil nīrmuṭalāyi ceppēṭu eḷuti kuṭuttōm cēramāṇlōkapperuṇ
 ceṭṭiyāṇa iravikōrttaṇukku ivan makkaḷmakkaḷke vaḷivaḷ
 iyē pērākakkuṭu
 ttōm itariyum paṇṭiyūrkiṭāmamum cōkiṭakiṭāmamum
 ariyakkuṭuttōm
 vēṇāṭum oṭuṇāṭumariyakkuṭuttōm ēṇāṇāṭum vaḷḷuvanāṭu-
 mariyakkuṭuttōm candra
 dityakaḷuḷḷa nāḷekku kuṭuttōm ivarkaḷariya ceppēṭeḷutiya
 cēramāṇlōkapperuṇṭaṭ
 ṭān nampi caṭeyan kaiyeḷuttu

*The system of the Royal Asiatic Society, is followed for transliteration, except tt, v, r, r, l and u where tt is used for oo, n for m (-n-) r for o, r for o, - l for ʃ and u for the final attenuated u of Malayalam.

II

DONEE.

The donee is referred to in the grant by the name of Iravikorttaṇan in one place and Iravikorttan in two places. Of these two forms, the possibility of Irāvīkortaṇan being the original and Iravikorttan being a corrupt form of the same, has not been considered by those who have commented upon the grant hitherto. Even with regard to this Iravikorttan two opinions have gained ground; namely, that Iravikorttan is a non-Christian and that he is a Christian. Dr. Gundert, Kookel Kelu Nayar and Venkayya opine that the name is non-Christian in spirit (Ref. *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIII, Part I, pp. 120 and 146; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 40; *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 292.) In recent years Mr. K. N. Daniel has made an attempt to show that the donee must have belonged to the Syrian Christian community. According to him the name Iravikorttaṇan is a mistake. Korttan, he thinks, is probably derived from Karttan, i. e. 'Lord'. In this connection he also draws attention to the clergymen of the Christian community being called Kattaṇārs, Kattaṇār, in his opinion, is no doubt Karttaṇār which is the honorific form of Karttan.

I cannot agree with Mr. Daniel in as much as the arguments he has advanced to prove his point (See 'Dissertations on the Copper Plates in possession of the St. Thomas Christians, 'p. 5) are not at all convincing, and the etymology he suggests is phonologically faulty. The change of Karttan to Korttan has not been substantiated by examples; nor has the principles underlying the change been enunciated by him.

Of the two forms Korttaṇan and Korttan, I am for considering Korttaṇan to be the original. Korttaṇan can change by the loss of the final syllable to Korttan. On the other hand, Korttan can never assume the form of Korttaṇan with the addition of a new syllable without any significance whatever.

The next point to be considered is the form that would admit of giving rise to the one we meet with in the Copperplate. It is to be remarked here that there is only one script employed to denote long and short 'o' throughout the Plate.

What has been read as Kortāṇan or Korttan must have been really Kōrttaṇan which can only be a Tadbhava of Sk. Gōvardhana-with the elision of 'va' after 'o'. That such disappearance of 'va' after 'o', longer or short, is a common phonological phenomenon in Malayalam, is borne out by examples as "cuvaṭū, covaṭū, cōṭū, 'foot or the underpart'; cuvappū, covappū, coppū, 'red colour'; tuvaṇan, tovaṇan, tōṇan, 'fried vegetable dish'; kōvani, kōṇi, 'ladder'; kōvaṇam' kōṇam, etc." It is the light contact involved in the pronunciation of 'va', coupled with its following a vowel having the same place of articulation as that required for the utterance of 'va' that causes the elision of the latter. Names like Gōrdhan Dās L Sk. Gōvardhana Dāsa obtaining in Northern India exhibiting a similar change also go to corroborate the above interpretation. The appearance of voiced stops of other languages as non-voiced stops in the loan-words of Malayalam need not be illustrated here, as it is a very familiar sound change in Malayalam. 'i' before 'ravi' is a prothetic vowel which is found to develop before 'r' and 'l' in early Indo-Aryan borrowings, Cf. irāman for Sk. Rāma; ilavaṇṇam for Sk. lavanga-. Thus Iravikorttaṇan is obviously a natural and scientific phonological modification of Ravigōvardhana, which undoubtedly is a Hindu name.

As to the identity of the Ravigōvardhana on whom was conferred the Maṇikkarāmapaṭṭam, only very little can be inferred. That he belonged to the Cetti class, is evident from the class appellation found in the Copper Plate to follow his personal name (Cf. Iravikōrttaṇaṇaya Cēraṇāṇlōkappēṭuṇceṭṭikku). From the grant it is also clear that the donee is a Makkatṭāyi, i.e. one whose succession goes to his own son as opposed to Marumakkatṭāyi, 'one whose succession goes to his sister's son'. As Cetti's also are Makkatṭāyis, Mr. Daniel's inference that Iravikōrttan must be a Christian, on the ground that he is referred to as a Makkatṭāyi, cannot stand. In conclusion, it may be said that the donee was a Hindu by name Ravigōvardhana and that he was a member of the Cetti class and a resident of 'Makōtaiyar Paṭṭanam.

*Makotaiyar Pattanam, says Dr. Gundert, 'is identified with Tiruvankulam river harbour Lat. 10° 13' N.'" The place is also known by the name

III GRANT.

The grant made by Vīraṭāghavacakravartin to Ravi-gōvardhaṇa is Maṇikkirāmapaṭṭam. As to the meaning of the term Maṇikkirāmapaṭṭam, opinions of scholars differ. Dr. Gundert observes:—"A Syrian tradition relates that the Syrian Christians sorely tried by a heathen conjurer (the poet Māṇikkavācakar?) at last divided into two parties, one, of 96 families who submitted to heathen purification and adopted the conjurer's tenets, whence they were called Maṇigrāmakkar, etc." (*Madras Journal*, Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 121.) Later, Dr. Gundert remarks in a letter he wrote to Reverend Taylor commenting upon the views expressed by the Reverend Peet of Māvēlikaray as follows:--"I now venture the conjecture that they were disciples of Mani, a colony of Manicheans, such as the Arabian Travellers found in Ceylon." (*Madras Journal*, Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 146.) Kookel Kelu Nair explains Maṇikkirāna as the village called Maṇi, the name, according to him, being derived from the wealth it then possessed. Maṇi, he says, may also mean best of chief. (*Madras Journal*, Vol. XXI, pp. 35 and 41.) Mr. Daniel interprets Maṇikkirāmapaṭṭam as the title of Maṇigrāmakkarān, which, he says, might mean a valued civic privilege of the time. As regards the etymology of the word, Mr. Daniel is silent.

We shall now examine the above views one by one. Concerning the opinion that Maṇi is the name in memory of Māṇikkavācakar, it has to be remarked that the tradition is only that the Christians relapsed into heathenism, through the influence of a sorcerer. The incident was associated with the name of Māṇikkavācakar by Dr. Gundert and Reverend Peet mainly on the external resemblance of the two words Maṇigrāmam and Māṇikkavācakar. This is evidenced by the interrogation of Mahadevar Pattanam and Mahodevar Pattanam. Makotaiyar Pattanam is obviously from Sk. Mahodaya. Mr. Daniel's interpretation of Makotaiyar Pattanam as the town of the Great Cera King cannot be justified, in as much as a combination of 'maha' and 'kotai' would give rise to a form 'Makotai' and not 'Makotai'. Mahadevar Pattanam is probably a name given in reverence of the presiding deity of the place, while Mahodevar Pattanam is evidently a name that has been formed by cross analogy or Mahodayar Pattanam and Mahadevar Pattanam.

mark Dr. Gundert has used after the word. The change of Māṇikka-(vācakkar) to Maṇi, even if it be contended that it is an abbreviated form, is against the principles of all sound changes. The shortening of the long vowel of the initial syllable and the elision of the final letter which forms, so to speak, a prominent member of the word are against the phonetic tendencies of Malayālam. The inference that Maṇikkirāma took its name from Manicheans presupposes that Manichean missionaries visited Kēraḷa. Such a presumption is unsupported by any historical evidence. Further the ancient Christians of Malabar are found from history to have been followers of true Christian faith unlike the Manicheans of mixed religious beliefs (see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, p. 311). The meaning that Kelu Nair gives is out of the question, being far-fetched and impossible to derive: Maṇigrāma—can never connote in Sanskrit the sense that he makes out. Nor can Maṇikkirāmapaṭṭam be a mere civic right as suggested by Mr. Daniel, in as much as the rights and powers conferred on the donee are of such a supreme order as are not likely to be bestowed upon every citizen of the place.

Let us now consider what sound changes may have legitimately occurred in the word. That initial 'v' and 'b' in the Dravidian languages may sometimes be pronounced as 'm' when there is a nasal in the body of a word, is illustrated in the following examples:—

*EARLIER FORM	LATER FORM
vaṇṇān (Tam.)	maṇṇān (Mal.)
baṅkḷāvū (Cf. H. M. bagla)	maṅkḷāvū (Mal.)
viḷuṇṇu (Tam.)	miḷuṇṇu (Mal.)
vāṇ'am (Tam.)	māṇ'am (Mal.)
viṇa (Tam.)	miṇa in miṇakkētu (Mal. Ref. Gundert.)

It is thus clear that Maṇikkirāma must be derived from Sk. †Vaniggrāma—which means an association or guild of

*That the forms quoted represent an earlier stage in the history of the words in question, can be known through comparison.

† In Vaniggrāma, 'grāma' means only a collection (Cf. suffix 'gramac' of Pāṇini) and not a village as interpreted by some.

merchants. Attention may also be drawn to the meaning kuḷuvin pēr' (name of an association or company) given to the word Vaṇikkirāmaṁ by Naccinārkiṇiyār in his commentary on Tolkāppiyam. The fact that the name Maṇikkirāmakkar denotes a certain section of the Nair community as well, goes against the possibility of its being an appellation of the Christians alone. The rights and privileges vested upon Itavikōrttanān will be seen to be those connected with foreign and inland trade, the levying of duties and kindred matters pertaining to commercial transactions. Maṇikkirāma is also found to have been used as a name of the Indian colonists in Siam (Ref. the article 'A note on Manigrama' in *Epigraphica Indica* Vol. XVIII, p.69). Maṇikkirāma, therefore, does not admit of being interpreted as the name of any particular village or community. What Ravigōvardhanā received, must have been only the lordship of the trading corporation which transacted business at Kotunkulur during the days of Viraraghavachakravartin.

IV

INTERPRETATION.

In this section I propose to give my interpretations of certain expressions worthy of note in the document. I have shown against each word the views of others who have worked in the line, and have also tried to accommodate my conclusion with the phonological changes manifested in each case.

(1) Viḷavaṭa:—Gund. feast cloth; Kel. piḷāvāṭa a cloth permitted to be worn round the shoulders by people of high caste alone; Venk. the right of festive clothing; Dan. the right of the feast cloth (derived from the word 'viḷā' meaning festival; the chief guest during the marriage festival of the St. Thomas Christians is seated on what is called 'veḷlayum kaṛimpaṭavum') There is no word 'viḷāvū' in Tamil. Besides it has to be inferred on the strength of the evidences offered by other words in the Copper Plate that the change 'l' to 'ḷ' was not in vogue at the time in Malayālam (Cf. viyaḷam, aḷiviyōṭu, eḷuti, vaḷivaḷiyē.)

Even to-day Malayālam, of all the Dravidian languages has preserved 'ḷ' without confusing it with 'l'. If the original form

of the word is *vilāvāṭa*, meaning cloth covering the sides of the body, (*vilāvū*=sides of the body). The vowel in between 'v' and 'l' could elide as in *kṭāvū* < *kiṭāvū*, *pṭāka* < *piṭāka*, *vṭākam* < *viṭākam*, etc., and the 'l' in conjunction with a consonant could easily change to 'ṭ' as in 'pṭāśū' (i. w. from Sk. *palāśa-*) *pṭāvū* (earlier *pilāvū*). The consonant group may at a later time split itself into two syllables with the development of a vowel in between. The existence of words like *pilācū*, *pilāvū* are instances to illustrate the point. When we remember that the wearing of upper garments on public occasions was a privilege bestowed only upon persons of high rank and dignity, by monarchs in ancient Kēraḷa, the meaning that I have suggested will be found to suit the context.

(2) *Pavaṇattāṅkū*:—Gund. House pillars or pictured rooms?; Kel. a carved pillar; Venk. house pillars; Dan. house pillars; Jos. means perhaps an enclosure around houses. Should the reading *pavaṇittāṅku* be accepted, the word would mean protection for *pavaṇi* i. e., *prayāṇa*.

The meaning house pillars or carved pillars is only conjectural; besides being unsuited to the context. The erecting of pillars for houses cannot be in any way considered a mark of such a great dignity as to require royal sanction. Mr. Joseph's interpretation is for the reading *Pavaṇittāṅkū* which he has adopted. I am inclined to think that *Pavaṇattāṅkū* means support for the house i. e. sentries to keep watch over the house. To a person who has been raised to such a responsible position as that of the lord of *Vaṇiggāma*, in which capacity he has to keep large amounts of money in his house, it is only proper and reasonable that the necessary safe-guards are allowed.

(3) *Perupēru*:—Gund. *verupēru*=all the revenue; Kel. *purupēr*=all the revenue; Venk. *perupēr*=income that accrues; Dan. all the revenues; Jos. *vērupēru* other privileges.

The readings of Dr. Gundert and Mr. T.K. Joseph are due to a mistaking of 'v' for 'p'. Kelu Nair seems to have purposely read the word as *puṇupēru* to inject into it the idea which he had in view. I agree with the reading and meaning given by Venkayya and Mr. Daniel. *Peru* which appears as the initial

member of a compound means 'that which accrues' and Pēru means income, the whole compound conveying the sense 'all the revenues'.

(4) Kaṭuttuvaḷeñciyam:—Gund. the curved sword (or dagger); Kel. ferry tolls; Venk. export trade; Dan. vaḷeñciyam may mean something akin to feudal barons suggested by Sundarem Pillai; Jos. export trade.

Only Mr. Venkayya has made an attempt to trace the derivation of the word. He draws attention to the various form of the term valanciya appearing in Ceylonese and Mysore Inscriptions and quotes related words from Kanarese and Telugu. The words cited by Venkayya are virabaḷaṇṇi, baṇaṇṇika, baṇaṇṇu dharma (Mysore inscriptions of Mr. Rice Nos. 38 & 55), Kan. baṇajiga and Tel. balija and balijiga (a class of merchants). These, he thinks are cognate and are derived from Sanskrit vaṇij.

I fully accept the meaning given by Venkayya. As regards the etymology, I would connect the word with Sk. vaṇijyā and accounts for its present form by assuming the following steps in the course of its evolution.

Sk. vaṇijyā; Pk. vaṇijjā and *vaṇijjika (with the extension in ika of the three suffixes of extension in prakṛt, namely 'aka', 'ika', and 'uka'.) The Prākṛt form must have been borrowed into the Malayāḷam vocabulary through Kanarese, for the change of -ṇ- to -ḷ- is a feature of Kanarese alone.

Kan.* baṇiṇṇika < baṇiṇṇika (probably influenced by a new Indian dialect where the simplification of long consonants with the nasalisation of the preceding vowel is very common (Cf. Sk.) Kubja-Pk. Kujja - B. Kuūj; Sk. Yudhya- Pk. Yujjha-M. Jūjh. Kan. *Baṇējiya ('i' when followed by an open vowel in the next syllable regularly changes to 'e' in the colloquial dialects of the Dravidian languages and -g- frequently elides); Kan. *baḷējiya or baḷeṇṇiya (for the change of -ṇ- to -ḷ- in Kanarese see Kan. aṇil, aḷil 'squirrel' Mal. aṇṇān; Kan. uṇi, uḷi, 'one who eats' Mal. uṇ-; Kan. tuṇaku, tuḷaku 'fragment' Mal. tuṇi); Mal. vaḷeñciyam or vaḷaṇciyam (for the substitution of 'v' for 'b' of a foreign language in Malayāḷam see Mal. villa for H. billā; Mal. vītam

for H. bīdhā; Mal. vaṭṭam for H. M. battā and Mal. vāṇṇū for H. M. bāk.

(5) Vaḷaṇciyattil taṇicceṭṭum:- Gund. in the sword the sovereign merchantship; Kel. sovereignty or executive jurisdiction; Venk. Dan. monopoly of trade; Jos. sole monopoly of trade.

As the meaning of the term vaḷaṇciyam has already been discussed, we need consider here only taṇicceṭṭū. The word is used in the sense of sole monopoly of trade. Cettu goes back to Pk. saṭṭa- derived from Sk. sārtha- 'a travelling company of traders' (Cf. Mal. caṇṇāṭam, cavaḷam and caṇṇala borrowed from Pa. saṅghāṭa-, Pk. savvala- and saṅkhalā respectively exhibiting the change of Indo Aryan 's'- to 'c'-, 'e' for 'a' after 'c' is a colloquialism in Malayalam which is evidently due to the palatal position of the tongue required for the production of the consonant influencing the vowel that follows. See Sk. cāmpaka- Mal. cempakam; Mal. caṇivū cerivū; Mal. caḷi and ceḷi Cf. Kan. saḷi; Pk. camma- Mal. cemmān; Pk. cakka- Mal. cakkū or cekkū.) For the expansion and contraction in meaning of the original Sk. sārtha- in the course of its history in different languages may be compared H. sāṭā 'exchange' P. saṭṭi 'exchange market' G. sāṭū 'bargain' etc.

(6) Pāvāṭa:- Gund. the spreading cloth; Venk. clothes spread in front to walk; Dan. clothes over which lamps are placed; Jos. by pāvāṭa is meant naṭapāvāṭa or clothes spread to walk.

The word pāvāṭa is not Dravidian in origin. It is derived from Pk. pāvaḍa- traceable to Sk. prāvṛta-. The long vowel after 'v' in Mal. pāvāṭa is due to a frequent tendency in Malayalam to lengthen the vowel preceding the last syllable

Cf. Sk. Kāmalā	Mal. Kāmāla
Pk. Pattaya-	Mal. Pattāyam
Pk. Bandhaya-	Mal. Pantāyam
Pk. Viakka-	Mal. Viyākkū

Dr. Gundert gives the meaning 'table cloth or other sheet used to fan' to pāvāṭa. A similar development of meaning is to be seen in Kanarese (see Kittel's Dictionary, pāvaḍa=a cloth waved like a fan in front of a procession). The word, by reason of

its being enumerated in the text along with the honours and privileges the lord of *vaṇiggrāma* was to enjoy in his processions, is better interpreted as a sheet used to fan or a cloth waved like a fan in front of a procession.

(7) *Iṭupaṭitōraṇam*:— I take this as one word instead of two as explained by others. The reason for my so doing is the absence of the connective 'um' after 'iṭupaṭi' as in *viḷāvāṭayum pavaṇattāṅkum*, etc. *Iṭupaṭitōraṇam* means 'festoons over gateways'. The lord of *vaṇiggrāma* was to be honoured by people during his processions by ornamental arches or festoons over the gate-ways of their houses.

V

LANGUAGE

The language of the Copper Plate is old Malayāḷam. There are to be seen in the text a fairly large number of Sanskrit and Prākṛt loans, some as Tatsamas and others as Tadbhavas, while New Indian words are totally absent. From a study of the Sanskrit and Prākṛt loans, we can easily discern that the initial medials and medial aspirates are represented as *tenuis* in the Copper Plate; ex. *kiṛāmam* for Sk. *grāma*, *pavaṇam* for Sk. *bhavana*, and *pūpāla* for Sk. *bhūpāla*. The same in the intervocalic position appear in certain instances without the above mentioned change. See *vīraṛāghavan*, *candīṛḍityakaḷ* (without change) and *āṭiyāyi*, *makōtaiyar*, *iravikōrttaṇan* (with the substitution of *tenuis* for medial aspirates). From this it could more or less be inferred that against the then general tendency in Malayāḷam to pronounce voiced sounds as voiceless, the sounds to be pronounced first as voiced i. e. true to the original, may have been those which occurred in between vowels, in which position even voiceless stops are pronounced voiced. (The voicing of intervocalic stops is a regular phonetic phenomenon in Prākṛt and Dravidian.)

Another interesting phonetic peculiarity that we could notice is the confusion between 'c'- and 'ś'-, original 'e' sometimes being represented as 'ś' and *vice versa*; ex. *śakravartti* for Sk. *cakravartin* ('ś' for 'c'), *caṇi* for Sk. *śani* ('c' for 'ś'). It may reasonably be conjectured that 'ś' of Sanskrit was at one

time represented as 'c' in Malayāḷam, and that later there arose in Malayāḷam a tendency to pronounce 'c' as 'ś' colloquially. Cf. modern Malayāḷam colloquial words śiṭṭū for ciṭṭū, śappan for cappan, śappaṭṭa for cappaṭṭa and śaṭṇi for caṭṇi. The language of the Plate also points to the fact that Prākṛt had great influence over Malayāḷam at the period in question. For want of comparative study, the Prākṛt element in Malayāḷam has not received careful attention of the scholars who have worked in the line previously. I give below the Prākṛt borrowings in the Copper Plate with their Sanskrit equivalents:—

<i>Mal. form in the Plate.</i>	<i>Prākṛt</i>	<i>Sanskrit.</i>
ceṭṭi	saṭṭhi.	srēṣṭhin.
paṭṭiṇam	paṭṭaṇa.	paṭṭaṇa.
ceṭṭu	saṭṭa.	sārtha.
pāvāṭa	pāvaḍa.	prāvṛta.
vāṇiyar	vāṇiya.	vāṇija.
kammālar	*kammāḷa.	karmāra.
cuṅkam	suṅka.	śulka.

The above words cannot be considered as borrowings from Sanskrit, since they are not governed by the rules regulating the change of Sanskrit sounds in Malayāḷam as adduced by philologists. For example, a word like srēṣṭhin should naturally give a form ciṛēṭṭi in Malayāḷam and Tamil if it were a direct borrowing from Sanskrit. The absence of New Indian words goes to prove that at the time of the document they have not had any tangible influence over Malayāḷam, although they had, by that time, established themselves as independent dialects.

Regarding the Dravidian words it has to be observed that nasal assimilation or 'aṇunāsikātiprasāra', which is a characteristic feature of the Malayāḷam language, had not manifested itself in all combinations at the period in question. It is only nt that shows assimilation while nṭ and nḱ remain without change. nt and nṭ of ancient Malayāḷam have however fallen together and have become nn in modern Malayāḷam. We can also infer that the first combination to take the assimilation was nt and the second in order was nḱ. There is every probability that the

Copper Plate belongs to a period prior to that of Uṇṇunīlīsandēśam, in so far as ṇk as a whole is met with in that work only in its assimilated condition, that is, ṇṇ. Cf. tāṇṇittāṇṇi, eṇṇaḷ, nuruṇṇu, etc. in Uṇṇunīlīsandēśam.

VI

DATE

The only material in the Copper Plate which affords some clue to its probable date is the astronomical positions mentioned therein. It is found that the documents was executed on a Saturday which was also a day of the fourth lunar mansion i. e. Rōhaṇi, and on a twenty-first Mīṇam when Jupiter was in Makarām. Kookel Kelu Nair dated the Plate March 6, A.D. 230, as he found on calculation that it suited the astronomical requirements referred to. Dr. Burnell after consulting native astronomers arrived at 774 A. D. as the date of the grant. Keilhorn corrected the above date to 11th March 775 A. D., to be precise, and also suggested that 10th March 688 A. D. would also fulfil the astronomical requirements. Venkayya on paleographic and linguistic evidence has tried to prove that the documents must have belonged to the 14th century A. D. (*Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 292 and 293). Later, Keilhorn in the light of Venkayya's evidences, pointed out 15th March 1320 as the only date in the 14th century which will satisfy the astronomical clues. In recent years Mr. K. N. Daniel is seen to have taken considerable pains to ascribe the documents to 230 A. D. On an examination of the language and script employed in the Copper Plate, I am inclined to think 1320 A. D. to be the date of the grant. In this connection, I should like to refute the main arguments brought forward by Mr. K. N. Daniel in support of his theories, and against the views of Venkayya.

It cannot be argued from the fact that the documents under consideration uses the form 'kuṭuttum' 9 times but never 'koṭuttom', that it is a very ancient one. Mr. Daniel has proceeded on the assumption that 'kuṭu' is the earlier form and 'kotu' the later. I should think that 'kuṭu' is only a colloquial pronunciation,

and as such it is not helpful in any way to determine the comparative anteriority or posteriority of the Plate. The change of 'u' to 'o' occurs when there is an *open vowel in the succeeding syllable; ex. uraṇṇuka, oraṇṇuka ; uṇaṇuka, oṇaṇuka ; kuṭa, koṭa ; tuṛakkuka, toṛakkuka ; muṭaṇṭan, moṭaṇṭan. On the other hand, when there is a close vowel in the syllable that follows, no such change is possible. See Kuḷikkuka, tuṇi, umikkaṇi, uruḷi, uṭuppū. It may be remarked that there is a probability of 'o' being made closer when there is 'u' in the next syllable. Hence koṭu may show a form kuṭu in the colloquial dialect. Kuṭuttōm, therefore can only be a colloquialism that has crept into the Copper Plate.

Mr. Daniel quotes two south Travancore inscriptions of the 13th century, A. D. 1237 and 1251 (Dissertations on the Copper Plates in possession of the St. Thomas Christians, p. 21), and compares the specimens of the Malayālam prose therein with the language of the Vīraṇṇhava plate, and observes that we cannot help concluding that the copper plate is many centuries prior to the 13th century. But a careful comparison of the inscriptions referred to with the Vīraṇṇhava plate, will show that there are more points of similarity than difference. The following are a few words that are found to be common to the Vīraṇṇhava plate and the inscriptions under reference:—viyālam nāyaru, cellā (yi) niṇṭa eppērpaṭṭa.

The plate showing the variations of the Ārya eḷuttu alphabet given by Mr. Daniel in his book, is in no way calculated to show that the characters in Vīraṇṇhava plate are more archaic than those found in the Tāṇuṇṇavi plate. It may also be observed that the Ārya characters employed in Vīraṇṇhava plate resemble best those used in the inscription of Rājendra Cōla dated A. D. 1012. Above all, a mere glance at the table will show that of the sixteen types illustrated in the plate, the one that is nearest to the modern Malayālam alphabet is that of the Vīraṇṇhava plate.

Mr. Daniel's contention that Vīraṇṇhava is earlier than Pārkaṇṇavi, on the ground that Vīraṇṇhava is a pure Sanskrit name while Pārkaṇṇavi is tamilised Sanskrit, can in any way be acceptable to those who are familiar with the history of the

*It is an open vowel while i and u are close vowels.

influence of Sanskrit over Malayāḷam and the mutual relationship of Tamil and Malayāḷam. Of the two names Pārkaṣaṣavi and Vīraṣāghava, the one that is evidently older is the former. This is proved by the representation of voiced aspirates without change in the name Vīraṣāghava and the substitution of tenues for the aspirate in Pārkaṣaṣavi.

Paleographic evidence, Mr. Daniel contends, especially that afforded by the character *lu* of *vaṭṭeḷuttū*, also goes to prove that Vīraṣāghava is earlier. From the Plate showing the variations in the *vattēluṭṭu* alphabet given in Mr. Daniel's book, it seems that Mr. Daniel is labouring under a misapprehension. Otherwise, he would not have attempted to draw a comparison between the *lu* of the Vīraṣāghava Plate and that in the Tāṇurāvi Plate, etc. It is not the *lu* found in Vīraṣāghavacakravartin's Plate that has developed into the various types illustrated in the table given by Mr. Daniel. The truth is that the *lu* in numbers 1, 4, 5 and 21 is *vaṭṭeḷuttū* while the remaining are variants of a different kind altogether they are in reality different forms of Dēvanāgarī *l* (Ṭ) with the addition of the symbol for *vaṭṭeḷuttū* u. That Dēvanāgarī *l* has been borrowed by other Dravidian languages also, is evidenced by the script in Kanarese to denote consonant group as *kl*, *gl*, etc.

I therefore think that of the four dates satisfying the astronomical requirements, 1320 A. D. is the probable date of the grant in the light of the linguistic and paleographic evidences available.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the purport of the document is the grant of the lordship of Vaṇiggrāma with the rights and honours pertaining there to one Ravigōvardhana, a member of the Ceṭṭi community and a resident of Mahōdayarpaṭṭaṇam, by Srī Vīraṣāghavacakravartin, on Saturday the 15th March 1320 A. D.

SYMBOLISM IN HINDU ICONOGRAPHY

(By Dr. L. A. Ravi Varma.)

In Hindu temples we meet with innumerable *Devathas* conceived in a motley of forms, some even being of a highly fantastic nature. It is well known to critical students that Hinduism conceives only *One Single God* as will be evident from Upanishadic part of sruthi, the scientific portion of their Sacred Book. It is sometimes said that the temple mode of worship is *Agamic* in nature having no relation whatsoever with the *Nigamic* or *Sroutha* forms of worship. This is neither correct nor true, as the Agamic methods are all based on principles taught in Sruthi as will be presently explained.

Upanishads teach that God is without form, qualities or activities ; it cannot be *known* by the senses and it is even beyond mental perception. (Kena, I. 3. etc). All such and similar texts show that Hindu conception of God is something highly subtle and abstract. It is well recognised that *abstract thinking* is extremely difficult or even impossible to the average man; and to men of lower intelligence and children the feat is absolutely impossible. Such being the case, it becomes essential to *clothe* the highly abstract God-conception in some concrete dress to enable the lower orders of humanity to grasp the idea even in a vague manner. This method of *concretising* an abstract idea to help the student to grasp the subject is very common even in the realms of the comparatively simpler Natural Sciences. Such *diagrammatic and symbolic representations* of abstract ideas are essential to help the student in the earlier stages. Even the acknowledged professor may find it useful and helpful when confronted with a new and ultra-abstract proposition. 'Only through the known shall the unknown be reached' is a well recognised dictum.

Temples are the Spiritual (*adhyatma*) schools and the icons are but *diagrammatic and symbolic representations* designed to help the students in learning and realising the ultimate TRUTH. Icons are but the *means* to an end and not the *end* itself. The

symbolism of these icons are explicitly given in authoritative texts pertaining to each form or group of forms, but unfortunately such descriptions are scattered here and there in different treatises and entails voluminous search before one can find what he wants.

Before entering into the study of the symbolism of the different forms, it is essential to understand their general principles of symbolisation. As the western school of medicine uses blue to represent a vein, red an artery, yellow for nerves and so forth, the Hindus had evolved a technique of their own to represent the various prime factors they had to deal with. One of their primary factors was what is known as the *Thriguna* factor. *Thriguna* is made up of three elementary factors, viz., *Sathwam*, *Rajas* and *Thamas*. *Sathwam* denoted a *mere state of existence*; it predicates absolutely nothing more. (The word *Sathwam* is derived from the root *sat*—to be). *Rajas* denoted the property of *cohesion* (*Ranj*—to cling to, cohere etc). Matter in its primary state of *mere existence*, say in the ionic or a still subtler state, has no recognisable form. But we know that it is the conglomeration of such formless units that go to produce the formful phenomenal universe. *Rajas* denoted this property which enables the formless units to conglomerate into tangible matter. *Thamas* is the reverse of *Rajas* and denotes the property by which formed matter disintegrates into formless primary units having the only quality of existence. The conception underlying *Rajas* may be equated with the modern scientific conception of 'ana' process and that of *Thamas* with 'kata' process of the positive sciences. The *Sathwa* quality was designated by white colour, *Rajas* by red or golden yellow and *Thamas* by black or blue. This colour values are almost universal; for do not the whole world use white to represent 'peace', red or yellow to represent gladness, activity or joy, and black, etc., to represent the reverse of these?

Another of their primary factors which we have to learn is their 'pancha-bhootha' conception. To translate the conception as *the theory of the five elements* is absurd. Never at any time had it any such sense; it meant and meant only their conception of '*five states of existence*' in the whole phenomenal

world. Sruthi says “yaṭ kathanam sā prṥhivi yadravam t̥ā āpaḥ yadushṛam tattejah yaṭ samcharaṭissa vayub yaṭsushiram tadākāṣam,.....”. It means that by *prṥhivi* they meant ‘solidity’, *ap* liquidity, *vayu* gaseousness, *tejas* energy (as distinct from matter) and *akasa* space absolute. In Icons solidity or *prṥhivī* was diagrammatically represented by a square, *abtwam* by circle, energy by a stellate figure, gaseousness by a globule and empty space was left unrepresented. In passing it may be noted that the platonic theory gave practically the same or similar diagrammatic representations for the pancha-bhoothas. In symbolism, the Hindu representation is rational and scientific. Most of the *Yantras* as Sreechakra, etc. are designed on this basis. Squire to represent solidity is capital as solids are the only substances that can take a square form: circle for liquids is very true pointing to the level surface and endless level flowing property of all fluids. Stellate character given to represent energy is borrowed from the *rayone* characteristic of Sun’s rays the first and the commonest form of energy known. Similarly globe best represents the peculiar properties of gaseousness, and space being absolute emptiness got represented by no form.

In symbolic representation, the Hindu used the Earth or Earthy derivatives to stand for solidity, water, flowers as the lotus growing in water and animals as fish living in water to represent liquidity, all lustrous materials for energy, snakes (air-eaters; poetic conception), other automatic moving bodies, etc., for gaseousness, and birds flying in space, the moon, etc. to represent space.

To stimulate and enlarge the *love* relation between the devotee and the devatha, forms were conceived towards which man has always a natural love content. Thus these devathas were given the forms of father, mother, children, wife, friend, teacher, etc.

Besides these general factors, specific considerations modified the various forms to suit the desire the devotees wished to be satisfied. All the various forms seen in Hindu temples are but the representations of the conceptions of all available permutations and combinations of guna, love relation form and

the devotees requirements built with the symbolic materials explained above. In well known and important forms many other principles will also be represented. It is because of the necessity of representing all such factors as well as to give the finished figures an ultra-mundane touch (*alowkikathwam*) that most of the figures assume an unnatural and weird appearance.

I shall now analyse a few of the most important forms as examples to support my contention. I may at once state that the explanations to follow are not the result of my imagination, but what is often explicitly stated in various different and ancient works on these and kindred subjects.

Maha-Vishnu, Siva and Sakthi are three most important and primary form-conceptions of God for the Hindu. Maha-Vishnu is not the separated Vishnu of the *thrimoorthi* group but is the combined triune function unit from whom arises the *thrimoorthies*. This Maha-Vishnu is depicted as sleeping on a tri-coiled snake, the Anantha, in *ksheerabdhī*. The term Vishnu is derived from *vish*=to pervade, and denotes the All-Pervader, or the Omnipresence of God. If Omnipresence is to be depicted as resting on anything, it is only possible to place it on *Anantha*, the endless or infinity. Why should Anantha be represented as a snake? For one thing, infinite space, as we have seen before, cannot be represented by a figure; further, the tri-coiled snake has another meaning. The Yogin conceives his best *sakthi* (kundali) in the form of a tri-coiled snake residing adjacent to the sushumna or spinal cord. It is *in this* that the paramatma resides. Thus, by making anantha a snake, the depiction is made to mean that the All-Pervading God resides *in* one oneself and is not to be sought after in the outside world or in some supernatural abode. This Vishnu is made to sleep, and is depicted as of a black colour. The sleep of Vishnu is the personification of *thamoguna*. She is now called 'Yoga-nidra'. (cf. *yoganidra jagatpathehsti mahamaya harehschaisha thaya sammohyate jagat* and *Ajnanenavritam jnanam thena muhyanthi janthava* etc.). To show that man does not and cannot see God, God being cut off from man's vision by *ajnana*, Mahavishnu is

represented as enveloped by *ajnana*, *thamasic* in nature. The black colour attributed to the Nirguṇa Vishnu is really the colour of the *ajnana* envelope which really screens Him from man. This Mahavishnu is lying thus in *ksheerabdhī* or ocean of milk, (*ksheer*-to ooze out or secrete). *Ksheerabdhī* is the cerebro-spinal fluid of modern physiology, and in this sense the description is useful to the yogin. To the yogin, the Lotus arising from the *nabhi* of Vishnu is the spinal cord beginning at the conus (*kanda* of yogins) and ending in the cerebrum. Really it is the choroidal plexus that the yogin understands as the *Sahasrara-padma*. Mahavishnu's sleep represents God's *nirvikarathwam* or absolute changelessness. This Vishnu is endowed with two wives, Bhoomi and Lakshmi. *Bhoomi* or earth represents *Satwa-guna*. (*Bhoo* root means *sat* or to be. *Bhoo* sththayam). Lakshmi or wealth in any form is something towards which there is very powerful natural attraction for man. (This wealth is nothing but the possessive instinct of modern psychology). This stands for *Rajoguna*. Thus the three *gunas* are made to remain close around him without at any time being part of Him. Earth again stands for the *creative*, Wealth for the *preservative* and *nidra* (sleep) for the *dissolution* functions of the Universe. These are not the functions of God, for, he is functionless. These are the functions of *prakṛithi* whose Lord is God. To show that God is not absolutely *beyond* Prakṛti all the five states of existence or *Prakṛithi* in its entirety, are depicted as being near and around Him. *Bhoomi* itself represents solidity, *ksheerabdhī* liquidity, *Sudarsana-chakra thejas* or energy, *anantha* snake gaseousness, and the bird Garuda absolute and void space. In a similar manner it can be shown that every posture, ornament, āyudha, etc., carry some symbolic meaning in consonance with the general picture. This conception (*dhyana*) is to suit the requirements of yogins as well as those who approach Him as the *Lord* and *Master* of the Universe. To one whose natural Love is strongest towards infants the same Vishnu is dressed up in the form of *Vatapathra-sayi*, and so on. This is the symbolic representation.

To one of higher capacity a mere diagrammatic representation is all that may be required. The *Saligrama* is the diagrammatic

representation of Mahavishnu. It is a roundish egg-like object, the remains of a fossilised amonite. This represents the Hira-nyagarbha form, The Great Undifferentiated Universe existing in Him as the *ovum* or seed from which this Universe is to arise. This is sufficient for the philosopher to serve as a reminder. When it is noted that this particular fossil remains do contain in it a streak or streaks of a golden colour the Hiranyagarbha or Golden-Egg representation is complete.

Similarly, Siva, representing the *samhara* or dissolution function, is depicted both in symbolic as well as diagrammatic forms. In the symbolic form the *moorthi* is adorned with things depicting Death, the great dissolution man is afraid of. Skull, bone garlands, snake-ornaments, poison, the burning ghaut, raw skin garment, the battle-axe are all symbols pointing to that function. Besides denoting this fundamental function, these factors often denote other principles as well. Throughout the world 'eyes' stand for knowledge. The ordinary two eyes in *moorthies* are to represent the two types of knowledge, viz., past and present. The all-consuming third and fiery eye of Siva represents the knowledge of post-dissolution, he being the lord of that function. It is this specific knowledge of the future that has given him the appellation of *Sarvajna* or knower of All. Destruction or dissolution is effected by TIME, and in early days man marked time by the waxing and waning of the moon. Siva is adorned with a crescent moon to represent that he is *Kalatmaka* or TIME in its absolute sense. In the matter of *Pancha-bhootha* representations in him one can see solidity or *prithivitvam* in Mount Kailas, *abtwam* in Ganga, *Thejas* in the fiery eye, *Vayutwam* in the snake ornaments, and *Akasatwam* in the baby moon.

To the yogin Siva is the best *Ishtadevatha*. For him the burning ghaut is *Kundalini* where the *sankocha-sareera* is to be burnt, *ardha-naree* is the *Kundalini sakthi*, the snakes yoginees of the type of *Lakini*, etc., the three eyes the topmost parts of *Surya*, *Agni*, and *Indu* (Ida, pingala, sushumna), *ganga* is the *ksheera* around the *sahasrarapadma*, a single thread of water flowing from the jata is the *chitra nadi* (central canal of modern

physiology), *damaru* (drum) the *nadabrahmanubhoothi*, the dark colour on the neck *Khechari bandha*, etc. In fact every factor connected with yoga (Hatha) including the *sidhis* are represented in the *moorthi* of Siva.

Siva is diagrammatically represented in the form of the famous Siva-linga. This does not represent the *laya* function, but represents *rajoguna* and creative function. The symbol stands for impregnating NATURE or Maha-Prakrithi with life seed to enable the Universe to be born. This is equivalent to the Hiranyagarbha form of Vishnu. If Siva the Samharin is made to assume the creative function note that at times vishnu is depicted as the samharin as well. (Vide, *Geetha*, ch. 11, Sl, 32. *Kalosmi*....).

As in the case of Vishnu and Siva Mahaprakrithi is personified in symbolic forms as well as in diagrammatic forms. She is worshipped either as the Mother of All or as Knowledge personified. The best Vedic description of Śrī Vidya is contained in *Kenopanishad* (Kh. 3, Mantra, 12. *sathasminnevakase sthriyamajagama bahusobhamanam umam*) Prakrithi is often represented in association with Brahman either as seated in the lap of God or in *ardha-narreswara* form. Sometimes She is seated on a throne whose feet are formed by the *Thrimoorthis*, etc. She is always conceived as the embodiment of all the three *gunas*; though in different forms one or other of the *gunas* may predominate to effect a 'tuning' with the predominant *guna* of the *sadhaka*. To the cultured she is Knowledge, the only medium through which one can realise the Great Truth and get liberated; to the common man she is the kind mother ever ready to help her sons, and to the low and depraved she is the terrible chastiser. In the best accepted form she has a sugar-cane bow representing mind or the recipient function, (*Manoroopekshukodanda*, etc.), five flower arrows to represent the five subtle states of existence (*panchathanmathra sayaka*), a rope to represent the desire to possess, and an uncus or hook to represent prohibition. All the knowledge are the result of the five states of existence coming in contact with mind. Of these some are to be entertained and retained, the rope is to bind such

to oneself. Some are dangerous, and the hook is to deter one from entertaining or retaining such.

The well-known *Sreechakra* or really *Sreecyanthra* is the diagrammatic representation of *Prakrithi*. The Semitic copy of this is what is sometimes known as the *Seal of Solomon*. This diagrammatic figure really represents *Purusha cum Prakrithi*. It has 9 concentric *Mandalas* or *planes*. The outermost is composed of three squares representing the *Prithivi thathwa*. Within this are two circles to represent *ab-thatwa*, embellished with lotus petals, outer one containing 16 white petals and the inner one 8 red petals, the intervening spaces between the petals being blue. The 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th planes are made up of interlaced triangles and these five planes together represent the *thevasthathwa* (*panchagni*). 9th plane is a tiny globe, *bindu*, to represent *vayu thathwa*. In the space within this globe is *akasa*, and in this *akāśa* or infinite and absolute space three further *bindus* are conceived arranged in a triangle, the one forming the apex representing *Purusha*, and the two below forming the base representing the *Para* and *Apara* phases of Nature (The Spiritual and Material parts).

This diagram also represents a temple of the *Uthamothama* type having 7 *prakaras*, when the first 7 represents the outer *prakaras*, the 8th the *garbha-griha*, and the *bindu* the *Prathishtha vigraha*. When conceived in this sense the *yanthra* can be used in the worship of *Vishnu*, *Siva*, *Sakthi* or even *Parama-brahman*.

To the *Yogin* the *Yanthra* stands for the body, when the 1st mandala becomes the material body with its three sub-divisions of *Stoola*, *Sookshma* and *Karana Sareeras*, the next six mandalas representing the Six *chakras* (Six important autonomous plexuses in front of the spinal column and about the base of the brain), 8th mandala representing the *Sahasvarapadma* (the choroidal plexus) and the *bindu* representing the *Paramasiva* of the *Yogins*.

In fine, it may be said that in this figure there is every conceivable principle of Hindu philosophy including the yoga system.

All other forms, from *Avathara moorthies* down to Ekki and Madan, are derivatives of these primary forms. The derivative forms are meant to depict some special phase and hence may not be a complete symbolism of God, but only a partial suited to the immediate requirements of the devotee. Such is the rationale and symbolism underlying the conceptions of Hindu Iconography.

THE LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE

OF SANSKRIT ON MALAYĀLAM

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The culture that is embodied in Sanskrit has nurtured the literature of Mal. from the earliest known stages; Sanskrit models have inspired the treatment of topics in Mal. literature; and the language of the *dēvabhāṣa* has also not failed to influence Mal. in degrees that vary with the periods and the texts.

The compositions described by Līl. as *pāṭṭu* (of which *Rāmacaritam* is an instance) contain what Tam. grammarians call *āriya-c-cidaivu* i. e. adaptations of Indo-Aryan words (both Skt. and MIA.), many of which are common to Tamil and these early Mal. compositions. Such adaptations appear to have existed in Tamil from a very early time, since even *Śaṅgam* texts (like *Puṛaṇānūṟu*) do not lack them and since further the Old Tamil grammar, *Tolkāppiyam*, colladigāram [in *sūtras* 401 and 402] expressly refers to them :—

vaḍa-c-col kiḷavi vaḍa-v-eḷutt-orī-y-eḷuttoḍu puṇarnda collāgummē.

cidaindana varinum iyaindana varaiyār.

The early *maṇipravāla* compositions (like *Uṇṇunīlī sandēśam*) evidence the influence of Skt. in many directions:—popularisation of Skt. sounds, the use of Skt. words as postpositions, and the employment of *Samskr̥tīkṛtabhāṣā* besides *Samskr̥tasamas* and *bhāṣīkṛtasamskr̥ta* forms.

The *Niraṇam Paṇikkars*, while generally employing native forms and constructions some of which were even Tamilistic (partly owing to a respect for tradition and partly on account of the use of regionalisms), freely used *bhāṣīkṛtasamskr̥ta* forms and *samskr̥tasamas*, and sometimes even passages like മമ ഭാര്യം കണ്ടിരേ *mama bhāryām*, വയം ആലോക്യ *vayam ālōkya*...., അന്യോന്യം തുല്യൗ നരവീരൗ സുകുമാരൗ നരസിംഹസമാനൗ.

The fifteenth-century *Kṛṣṇagāthā*, while steering clear of the extremes of hypersanskritization and hypertamilization in

grammatical construction, copiously employed borrowings and adaptations from Skt., all of which had been assimilated already in the living speech and many of which have persisted in the language down till today.

The campu prabhandhas of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries revelled in the use of Skt. words and forms. Entire passages sometimes appeared in Skt, while at other times Skt. constructions were mingled with Mal. ones. The Skt. case concord of *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya* was imitated in Mal. constructions; Skt. rules of the government of "cases" were introduced sometimes into Mal. contexts; but the *Samskṛtīkṛtabhāṣā* characteristic of the earlier *maṇipravālas* was conspicuous by its absence.

Eḷuttasṣan blended the best vocabularial elements of Mal. and Skt., and evolved a style which has remained a good model for learned compositions of the kind popularized by him; but that great god-man did not disdain occasionally to string together *Samskṛtasamas* like the following (particularly in *Rāmāyaṇam*) with a view to loading every rift of his work with the gold of his spiritual fervour: *uttiṣṭhōttiṣṭha tuṣṭhōham tapasā tē. śrutwā bharadwājanittham samutthāya hastē samādāya sārghyapādyādīyūm, gatwā raghūttama sannidhau....*

Among later compositions, the influence of Skt. (particularly in vocabulary) is prominently active in works like *Irupattunāluṇṇam* *Rām.* [*Eḷuttasṣan's?*], *Śrīkṛṣṇacaritam maṇipravālam* [attributed to *Kuṇjan*] and the *Āṭṭakkathas*. The seventeenth or eighteenth century *Uṇṇāyi* particularly over-weighted his *Naḷacaritam Āṭṭakkatha* with Skt. elements.

The depth of the influence of Skt. on Mal. may be gauged from the fact that, though the fourteenth century Mal. grammar *Līlātilakam* (with a discrimination somewhat exceptional in a period when respect for Skt. constructions almost amounted to an obsession) expressly recognized the fundamental differences between the two linguistic systems (Dravidian and Skt.) and impliedly referred to the need for the special cultivation of Mal. rules and usages for those aspiring to achieve literary distinction in Mal., the feeling persisted in some quarters that the cultivation

of Mal. was but secondary in importance to scholarship in Skt. and that proficiency in Skt. carried with it a presumptive claim to proficiency in Mal.

The influence of Skt. on the Mal. language has made itself felt both in the direction of direct borrowings and adaptations and in that of indirect imitation of Skt. usages and constructions. Further, this influence has varied with the periods and with the texts; some features once current have gone out of vogue today, though others have been permanently assimilated. Again, there are some elements which Mal. has inherited from the parent language, the influence of Skt. here having made itself felt even in the parent stage.

In vocabulary, Skt. words and forms have been borrowed or adapted in large numbers directly. In phonetics and syntax, the influence of Skt., such as it is, has been largely indirect, while in morphology there has also been some direct borrowing or adaptation of Skt. elements.

I shall at first discuss these features under the headings of Phonetics, Morphology, Syntax and Vocabulary and then at the end classify them separately.

II

1. One direction in which the influence of Sanskrit sounds made itself felt in Mal. is in the popularisation of a few non-Dravidian Sanskrit sounds as modifications of Mal. sounds themselves. The sibilants *ś* and *s*, the voiced plosive *g* initially, the aspirates *bh* and *ch*, and the glottal fricative *h* are all sounds foreign to the Tam.-Mal. group of Dravidian; these sounds, however, occur in some popular words as the modifications (arising from the popularity¹ of Sanskrit sounds in Malabar from an early time) of original native sounds themselves.

(i) *ś* :—The use of native *l* for Skt. *ś* in *tadbhavas* like *puṛuṇ* (for *puruṣa*) was so popular that the converse change

1 Cf. Līl., III, 29, comm. കേരളചരിത്രകാണാമം ഇ വ്യവഹാരേ കപ ചിതം സംസ്കൃതാക്ഷരസ്വരോദേശ്യതേ: “.....ധടിയൻ” ഇത്യാദൈ.

of *l* to *ṣ* may have been introduced in forms like the following¹:—

ഭോഷൻ *bhōṣan*, ഭോഷ്കു *bhōṣku*.—cf. Tam. *pōlṭkan* 'ill-mannered fellow' occurring in *Divyaprabandham*, and the Tam. verb *pōl*- 'to be cleft, etc.'

വശളത്തം *vaṣaḷattam*.—cf. Tam. *vaḷalai*; Kann. *baḷal* 'to fade'.

Colloquial വിമ്മിഷ്ടം *vimmīṣṭam*.—cf. Tam. *vimm*- 'to weep feelingly', Mal. *vimm-id*-.

(ii) *s*:—*s* is not a native Tam.-Mal. sound in the literary dialect. Mal. instances like മുസ്സാду *mūssadu* for *mūttadu*, വളസം *vaḷusam*, also *vaḷudam* 'lie' [cf. Tam. *vaḷudu* 'lie', *vaḷu* 'mistake', Mal. *vaḷud* -to 'slip off'] perhaps show a sound *s* which may have been popularised by Sanskrit-knowing scholars.

(iii) *bh*:—ഭോഷ്കു *bhōṣku* [see above].

ഐഭ്യം *ēbhyam* [cf. Tam. *ēyppu* 'deceit' from *ēy-kk*- 'to deceive'] and ഇളിഭ്യം *iḷibhyam* [cf. Tam. *iḷippu* 'contempt', from *iḷi-kk*- 'to be humiliated'] have -*bhyam*; perhaps *ēyppu*, *iḷippu* were given the *pratyaya* -*ya*, and *ēppyam* and *iḷippyam* (hypersanskritized into *ēbhyam* and *iḷibhyam*) were formed.

വാണിഭം *vāṇibham* [cf. Skt. *vāṇijya*], and Old Mal. *vālibham* [Skt. *bālya* appears in Tam. as *vāli*van]

1 പിഷാരടി *piṣāraḍi*, the name of a sub-caste, the members of which perform hereditary duties in temples.—The term is pronounced differently as *pṣāraḍi*, *pṣārōḍi*, *piṣārōḍi* and *paṣāraḍi*. *Adi* and *aḍigaḷ* are used very often in connection with servants of God. For the first constituent, cf. the following "tadbhava" forms of Skt. *bhaṭṭāraka* 'venerable':—*paṭṭārakar* 'the deity' [Travanc. Arch. Series, Vol. II, p. 47]; പടാരക പണ്ടാരം *paḍārar* [Tr. Arch. Series, V, p. 174]; പാദാരക *paḷārar-kku* 'to the deity' [ib., Vol. V, p. 180]. Forms like *paḷāra-tiru-aḍi* [Tr. Arch. Series, II, p. 174 and p. 204] refer to certain temple officials.

Paḷāra-aḍi, *paḷāraḍi*, *paṣāraḍi* and popular *piṣāraḍi* might have been the stages of transformation.

and vāliban] have *bh*; the change of *ya* to *va* and then to *pa* has been noted by Pischel for Pkt [Gr., p. 139].

(iv) *g*:—As an initial sound, *g*-is foreign to the Tam.-Mal. group. The Mal. word *gōṣṭhi* 'pranks' 'gestures' appearing from at least the period of Līl. is sanskritised from native *kōṭṭi* [from *kōḍ*- 'to be bent, crooked'] under the influence of Skt. *gōṣṭhi* 'assemblage' and *its* *tadbhava* *kōṭṭi* [cf. Pischel, p. 207] appearing in Tam. and in early Mal.

(v) *cch*:—അച്ഛൻ *acchan* [containing the aspirated affricate] is a Prakrit-derived form [which was originally *accan* (cf. Pkt. *ajja*, Pischel, p. 195) existing as such today as a titular appellation, as in Pāliatt-*accan*], in which the simple affricate was replaced by the aspirated affricate.

(vi) *h*:—Words like മഹൻ *mahan* [magan 'son'], വാഹ *vaha* [വക *vaga* 'share'] are evaluated with the pure glottal fricative by the Nambūdiris.

2. The consonant groups *-tr-* and *-pr-*¹ are foreign to native Tam.-Mal. words; but Mal. has *etṛa*, *aṭṛa*, *itṛa* [cf. colloquial Tam. and Old Mal. *ettinai*, *attinai*, *ittinai* from *e-t-tanai*, etc.], and എമ്പ്രൻ *emprān* [en-pirān], തമ്പ്രക്കൾ *tambrākkaḷ*.

The use of the group *ḍr* in എട്രക്ക- *edrkk-*, മുട്രിക്ഷ *mudrkk-*, കട്രക്ക *kadrkk* [for എട്രിക്ഷ *edir-kk*, etc.], and of *n'y* in എന്യേ *en'nyē* or എന്യേ *en'yē* [for എന്റിയേ *en'riyē* from older ind'i-y-ē] is occasionally met with in Mal. writings. *en'yē* was sometimes wrongly given the form *anyē* as if it had some relation to Sanskrit *anya*.

3. The rules of native sandhi have been allowed from an early time [cf. Līl., III, 29, comment.] for familiar compounds containing Skt. words, as in *candra-kkala*, *ānaśśāstram*, *perige-s-sāram*. The converse rule of employing Sanskrit sandhi for the Dravidian constituents of such compounds has always been felt as exotic and unnatural.

¹ കൊണ്ടുവന്നു, ഇരുത്തുവാൻ, കാമ്യവാൽ, etc., occurring in വടക്കൻ പാട്ടു are colloquialisms current in the mass speech; no Skt. influence need be postulated here.

In purely native contexts, Mal. has stubbornly resisted the encroachment of Sanskrit sandhi rules; instances like യാത്രാക്കി *yātrākki*, ധരണീൽ *dharanīl* [for *dharanīl-y-il*, with the glide] and ഉഴി
 ഭൂൽ *uḷīndran* [for *uḷī-y-indran*] occurring in Naiṣadham campu need not necessarily be traced to Sanskrit influence, in view of the fact that such forms may have risen in native colloquials, as in നോക്കീട്ട് *nōkkīṭṭu* from *nōkki-y-iṭṭu*, ആക്കീട്ട് *ākkīṭṭu* from *ākki-y-iṭṭu*, etc.

4. It is a rule of Tam.-Mal. phonetics that breathed plosives when occurring intervocally become voiced, as they acquire the sonority of the vowels neighbouring them on either side. This rule is true of the Mal. mass-colloquial, but the Sanskrit-educated classes and those who have directly or indirectly come within the ambit of their influence, do not sonatise intervocal plosives to the same extent to which the masses do it [Cf. my paper on this subject in *Indian Antiquary*, Feb. 1929, p. 37]. How far this may have been due to the influence of Skt. is worthy of investigation.

III

1. Kēraḷa Pāṇinīyam regards the feminine gender ending -tti as a native ending and the other fem. ending -i as possibly Sanskrit [p. 149]. Both these endings are associated with the feminine gender of some nouns in Tam. and in Kannaḍa also. But the mere fact that south Dravidian languages show these endings need not necessarily point to their having been original in Dravidian.

Tolkāppiyam colladigāram [163] mentions *i* but not *tti*, *cci* (though Old Tam. did have them); but Vīracōḷīyam mentions the latter too. The gender distinctions in Dravidian (associated closely with number) are fundamentally denoted by (a)n [masc. sing.], (a)l [fem. sing.], (a)du ["irrational" sing.], (a)r [masc and fem. pl.] and a ["irrational" plural].

tti, *cci*, etc., and *i* are in the nature of regular suffixes. *i* exists in Sanskrit, while *itthi* is a Prakrit form [Pischel's Gr., p. 112] of Skt. *strī*. It is quite possible that the Dravidian use of both *tti* and *i* may have been due to IA influence at an early stage.

2. The ending *kāra* in forms like *vē'a-k-kāran*, *kūṭṭugār* was originally adapted from Skt. *kāra* appearing in compounds like *kumbha-kārah* 'maker of pots', etc.

kāra [or *gāra*] occurs in Kannaḍa: *kāra*, *gāra*, see Śabda-maṇidarpaṇa sūtra, 198.

3. (i) Among postpositional words in Mal., the following are from Skt.

പ്രതി *prati* as in സുഗ്രീവരാജ്യംപ്രതി പോയ് *ṣugrīva rājyam prati* 'towards the land of Sugrīva', and in the following Old Mal. instances with the meaning of *kuṛiccu* or *paṭṭi*:—നമ്മേ പ്രതി ഉള്ളിൽ കനിവുണ്ടായ് *namme prati* [Kannaṣṣ. Rām., Kiṣkindh., 88], വിഷ്ണുവിനെ പ്രതി *viṣṇuvine prati* [Bhāg. bhāṣ. gadyam, I, p. 26].

വിഷയം *viṣayam*, നിമിത്തം *nimittam*, മൂലം *mūlam*, ഹേതു *hētu* പുറം *pūrvam*, അർത്ഥം *artham* are some of the other forms used as "loose" postpositions (with varying degrees of frequency) in Mal.

4. (i) Among verb-forms, the direct borrowing of morphological elements has been very rare, being perhaps limited to forms in literary constructions like ചെയ്യുംവിധേയ *ceyyum vidhau*, നടക്കുംദശനായം *nāḍakkum daśāyam* and to verbal bases like രക്ഷിക്ക *rakṣikk*,-യാചിക്ക *yācikk* (which latter, it may be observed are vocabularial rather than morphological).

(ii) So far as indirect imitation is concerned, the question how far the fact that Mal. puts the verbal nouns of the type of വരിക, എടുക്ക to more extensive and varied uses than Tamil [see my EMM, p. 87] was primarily inspired by the use of different kinds of derivative nouns in Skt. is worthy of investigation.

(iii) I might mention here that the use of constructions like (അസുരനെ ദേവകൾ) കൊന്നുകളക ചെയ്തു *kon'n'ukaḷaga ceydu* [BhBh, I, p. 41] when appearing in past tense forms, remind one of the periphrastic perfect of Skt. of the type of *īd-ām cakrē*. I do not know how far Skt. influence may have been active here; if there was influence at all, it must first have operated in past tense forms of Mal. and afterwards by analogy been transferred in Mal. to other tenses.

In this connection, I may note that the use of *cey-* (in constructions like the following) to wind up, as it were, a series of

actions expressed by the verbal nouns with -ga or -kka is absent in Tamil, while very frequent in Mal.:—വാമുണ്ടു കൊട്ടുകയും ഗീത
ണ്ടു പാടുകയും ചെയ്തു kottuga-y-um.....pāḍuga-y-um ceydu.

These parallelisms in respect of verbal constructions, however, require to be further investigated before any definite postulate can be laid down regarding Skt. influence.

IV

1. (i) The use of Skt. grammatical gender (instead of native 'natural gender') in *viśeṣaṇas* as in the following was certainly due to the influence of Skt.:—സൽഗുണമായ നൽപ്രജകൾ *salguṇa-mār-āya n'alpprajagaḷ* [*prajā* is fem. in Skt., and so *salguṇa-mār*, the feminine, is used in the *viśeṣaṇa*], പണ്ഡകളായ നാനാകഥകൾ *punya-gaḷ-āya kathagaḷ* [*kathā* in Skt. is grammatically feminine, and so *punya-gaḷ-āya* is used], മധുരകളായ വ്യാജവാക്കുകൾ *madhura-gaḷ-āya vākkugaḷ*. Bhāg. Bhāṣā has many instances: പറയായിരിക്കുന്ന ഗതിയെ; നാനാപ്രകാരകളായിരിക്കുന്ന വാക്കുകൾ; എനിക്കു സദൃശമായിരിക്കുന്നതോ; മുക്തിയോടുതുല്യമായിരിക്കുന്ന ഭക്തി, etc.

(ii) The use of the plural in the *viśeṣaṇas* (with forms of *āg*) in the following instances from Bhāg. bhāṣā is also Skt.-influenced since (cf. Kēr. Pāṇ., p. 335) the genius of Dravidian is against it:—അതിപ്രിയങ്ങളാകുന്ന വിഷയങ്ങളെ; നാനാപ്രകാരങ്ങളായിരിക്കുന്ന ആയുങ്ങളും, etc.

2. The Skt. concord of "case"-ending between *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya* is imitated in Mal.¹ constructions in the campus and occasionally in some other works also, though the principle is exotic in Mal.:—

Uṇṇuṇiṣandēsam shows instances of this concord in the "second case" in 1,37; 1,46; and in other passages like വണ്ടിൻതിരുമുടയനെ, പറനെ, വരമാരിന്നു മെയ്പാതിയോനെ, അരനെ, പാമ്പാക്കിയോനെ, കണ്ടപോവാൻ തരമവിടെ, കണ്ടിയൂർ തമ്പിരാനെ. An instance from Bhāg. Bhāṣā, [I, p. 2] is the following:—ഹരികഥയെ, ഭഗവാൻമുഖത്തുനിന്നു പുറപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ഹരിഃശാമുതത്തെ. For other instances, see my EMM, p. 119.

¹ The Tamil bhaktas of the Early Middle Tam. period also some times employed this second case concord:—Appar's അരിയൊനെ അന്തൻതം മിന്നെയൊക്കെ തേനെ പ്പാലെ , വേരാതനുള്ളൊം വിറവാ
നാളേ.

3. The following are instances exemplifying the influence of Skt. rules of the government of "cases" by verbs:—

(a) "Second" case.—

(i) ഗ്രാമത്തെ ആവശിക്കുക grāmatte āvasikk-, തേരിനെ അയവശിക്കു് tērine adhivasikk- [Bhāg. Bhāṣā, 2] are imitations of Skt. constructions. Līl. expressly condemns them in II, 11, comm.

(ii) Imitations of the use of the accusative of time, like ദിവസത്തെ നിർവ്വാഹം divasatte n'ind'ān, are also condemned by Līl.:—"e" ityasya nirvartya vikārya prāpyātmakam karmārthah; natu kāladdhṛāntyanta samyogādikam,—

Accusatives of time and place based on Skt. models exist in Kann. [see Śabdamaṇidarp. 128]: upavāsadin trirātraman-irdam; mū gavudamam naḍedam.

The accusative of place, condemned by Līl., is only very rarely met with in Mal. texts.

For Tamil, Tol. col., 72 prescribes the second case in connection with cel-'to go to', while sūtra 86 allows the seventh case also; but instances like neṟiyai-c-cenṟān, aramanaiyai-c-cenṟān are indeed very rare in the Śaṅgam texts which do show illustrations like viḍu cel-without inflexional terminations. cel-'to go to', 'to reach, enter' may very well be conceived as a transitive verb, as distinguished from pō-'to go'; but cel-never governs accusatives in Mal., except rarely in Sanskrit-influenced texts.

(iii) A few Skt. verbs like duh 'to milk', brū 'to speak', prcch 'to ask', śās 'to instruct', yāc 'to beg' take two accusatives.

Cf. the following in Mal:—

അഭിമതങ്ങളെ വന്ദിപ്പതെ പ്രാർത്ഥിച്ചു abhimataṅṅale vasiṭthane prārthiccū.

ആർക്കുതന്നെ ഗീതയെ ഉപദേശിച്ചു arjjunane gītaye upa-dēsiccu.

പശുവെ പാലെ കറക്കുന്നു paśuve pāle karakkun'n'u [from Bāla-prabōdham]

Kannada, Telugu and Tam. have literary instances of this type and there is reason to think that Skt. may have inspired these constructions.

Tam. paśuvai pālai-k-karandān; Tel. āvunu pālu pitikenu.

One may conceivably explain these constructions, as due to an outlook which views both objects as being directly acted on by the verb, and this of course was the rationale which accounted for the constructions in Skt. itself; but the fact that they are exceedingly rare in Śaṅgam Tam., points to Skt. influence.

The commentator of Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa, under the sūtra 128, expressly points out that the dōhanādi class of verbs [cf. Skt. duh, etc.] takes two accusatives, and gives the instances: paṣuvam pālam kaṛedam and guruvam jñānamam besegoṇḍam.

(iv) The use of two accusatives governed by the causals of transitive verbs is foreign to the genius of Tam. and Mal., in which speeches the object directly acted on by the simple transitive is put in the second case, and the agent through whom this action is done is put in the third case.

Sometimes, however, two accusatives are met with.

Constructions with kṇikk 'to cause to see, show' [cf. Skt. darśayati harīm bhaktān], kēlpikk- 'to cause to hear', paṭhippikk- 'to teach', aṇiyikk- 'to cause to know', ēlpikk- 'to cause to take charge' may have the "agent" denoted in the second case [or, alternatively, in the fourth case for the above causals except for aṇiyikk- and ēlpikk- which may have the ending oḍu for the agent, as in ayālōḍu oru kāryam ēlpiccu]. Skt. causals of verbs like dṛś- similarly take on two accusatives.

Causals of other transitive verbs are also rarely in the texts made to govern two acc. objects: bālāne kāmīni vēṣam camayiccu; avane oru vēla eḍuppiccu, etc. in which instances the use of bālāne-k-koṇḍu, avane-k-koṇḍu would be more in fitting with the Dravidian rule.

Tam. also rarely shows instances like avanai cōṭṭrai uṇbit-tān, pagaivarai ciṇaiśālaiyai aḍaivittān.

(b) "Third" case.—

(i) The use of the third case for "separation" exists in old Mal. [see my EMM. p. 8 for instances]. Whitney cites several illustrations, in his Gr., of the use of the third case for "separation" in Skt. The parallelism is striking, but one cannot be sure that the Mal. practice did not arise independently of Skt. influence.

1 cf. the construction (with two accusatives) prescribed for Tam. by the commentary on Viracoliyaṁ: മാണാക്കകനെ ആക്കലെ അറിയത്താൻ.

(ii) കണ്ണാൽകുരുടൻ *kaṇṇāl kuruḍan* existing both in Mal. and in Middle Tam. may be compared to Skt. *akṣṇā kṛṇah*.

(c) "Fourth case".—The construction. കാന്തൻ കോപിക്കുൻ *kāntannu kōpikkind'idu kānta*, expressly condemned by Līl., 2, 11, was an imitation of the use of the "fourth case" in connection with verbs denoting "anger" [like *kruddh-*] in Skt.

(d) "Fifth case".—

Verbs denoting "fear" invariably govern the fifth case in Skt. In Tam., the old rule is to allow the second case and the fifth case (the latter perhaps already due to the influence of Skt.) with *añj-* 'to fear' [Tolkāpp. col., 72 and 100].

The use of the "fifth case" with "fear" exists in some Mal. texts [see my EMM, p. 11]. But Līl., 2, 11, comm. says. "പുലിയിങ്കൽ നിൻറുപേടിച്ചു" ഇത്യാദി നയം "puliyaṅgal n'ind'u pēḍiccuḷ' na yuktam.

Kannāḍa too has constructions [see Śabd., 131]. associating the "fifth case" with words denoting "fear".

(e) "Sixth case".—

(i) എൻറെഎന്നുമില്ല പരൻറെഎന്നുമില്ല *end'e en'n'umilla parand'e en'n'umilla* [Bhāg. Bhāṣā, 2, p. 42], എൻറെഎന്നും ഇത്യാദി are instances where the use of the genitives [instead of *end'ēdu*, *parand'ēdu*] is imitative of a similar Skt. usage.

Cf. Whitney, §298: "A genitive in its usual possessive sense is often found as predicate, and not seldom with the copula omitted".

(ii) Skt. has a "possessive genitive of the recipient, by pregnant construction, with verbs signifying 'give', 'impart', 'communicate' and the like—a construction in which the genitive becomes a substitute for the dative in later Skt." In some Mal. texts, *മമ* *mama* and *തവ* *tava* are used in such contexts instead of the datives:—*മമ കേൾപ്പിക്കണം*; *നിന്നോടു പറവാൻ മമ പ്രയാസം*; *നന്നമേ മമവേണം*; *കേൾക്ക നല്ലതവ*.

(iii) Instances like *ഹരിയുടെ പ്രിയെ ചെല്ലുന്നൊക്കെ* *hariyude prīye ceyvān* [Bh Bh 1, p. 3], *നിന്നുടെ ഹാനി വരാതെ*

കൊള്ളാം [in Ceṛuṣṣēri Bhār.] show the use of a similar genitive in Skt.

4. Skt. atra and tatra prefixed to bhavān and bhavati to strengthen the idea of 'respect' may be compared to the Mal. honorific use of aṇṇu, aṇṇuṇ'u, iṇṇiṇṇe.

5. ഇഞ്ഞാൻ i-ñ-ñān or ഈ ഞൻ "this I" and അഞ്ഞാൻ a-ñ-ñān occurring frequently in the campus may be compared to the Skt. use of eṣāham, tē vayam.

6. Constructions like പഠിക്കുകയും കളിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നത് paṭhikka-y-eṇṇilum kaḷikka-y-eṇṇilum [Bhāg., Bhāṣā, 2, p. 95] and മഴ താൻതട്ടു താൻ maḷa tān iruṭṭu tān, both denoting the idea of 'whether...or' are foreign to Tam. Cf. these constructions to those with vā in Skt.

7. The history of the so-called passives in south Dravidian bears the influence of Skt.

paḍ- as a help-verb appears in different contexts in south Dravidian. Constructions like adanai tara-p-paṭṭadu or adanai tara-p-paḍadu in Tamil are quite normal, since tara, the infinitive, may be regarded as the subject of paṭṭadu and paḍadu here. A construction like വഞ്ചാരെ അഞ്ചു പട്ടം vañjarai aṇja-p-paḍum [Kural, 824] may be viewed as quite normal in as much as aṇja, the infinitive, is the subject of paḍ-, and vañjarai may be interpreted as the object of the verb-infinitive aṇja.

It is the next stage in the development of the passive that evidences the influence of Skt.; here aṇjappaḍ- was conceived as equivalent to the passive idea 'to be feared', and (in imitation of Skt.) a nominative form like vañjar was substituted for the accusative, and the whole construction was taken as a karmani-prayōga¹ with the verb showing concord of person, gender and number with what was newly regarded as the nominative, as in avan kolla-p-paṭṭān.

The mere use of the third case suffix for the kartā or doer need not amount to a fully formed passive construction;

¹ The 17th c. Tam. gr. Prayogavivekam, which seeks to explain Tam. principles on a Sanskrit basis, points out തച്ചനാൽ ആരെ തറപ്പട്ടം as a karmani prayoga and തച്ചനാൽ വരപ്പട്ടം as a bhavaprayoga.¹

only when the object acted on appears as a genuine nominative and the new predicate shows concord of person, gender and number with this nominative can it be said that a full-fledged passive construction exists. It is interesting to note that such genuine passives begin to appear only in post-Saṅgam literature. Vīracōḷiyam [11th century] expressly refers to passive constructions.¹

8. Correlative constructions of the type of യാവനാ—അവൻ *yāvanō—avan*, എവിടെയെ—അവിടെ *eviḍeyō—avide*, are imitations of the use of Skt. correlatives. These occur in Early Middle Tam. and in Mal. Perhaps the earliest instance of this type occurs in *Maṇimēgalai*.—The construction, it may be said, has not struck deep root in the colloquials of Tam. and Mal.

9. The fifteenth or sixteenth century prose work *Bhāṣavātam bhāṣā* [daśama skandha published in the *Srī Mūlam* Gr. series, and portions of other skandhas edited by Prince Appan Tamburāṇ] employs a Mal. prose style marked by the imitation of numerous Skt. syntactic usages. The author or the authors of this work appear to have as assiduously imitated Skt. syntax as some present-day writers are attempting to imitate English syntactic constructions in their Mal. compositions. Many of these imitations in *Bhāṣg. bhāṣā* were exotic and they must have died out after a short period.

(i) The word-order in the following is imitative of Skt:—കംസൻ അശക്തിയായ ഭയമുണ്ടായി മനസ്സിൽ; അപ്പോൾ ഭ്രമിച്ചെത്തിവിടെ ചെല്ലതന്നെ [1, p. 4].

ഉഗ്രസേനനേയും പഞ്ചവക്രീട്ടാൻ; അവൻ വിഷ്ണുക്കേതെന്നിട്ട് [1, p. 6].

ഭഗവാൻ അവരെ അടിച്ചുകൊന്നാൻ, സിംഹം മൃതങ്ങളെ എന്നുപോലെ [2, p. 33].

1 The *Balaprabodha* gives കിരാതനാൽ മൃതം കൊല്ലപ്പെട്ടു as a *karmani-prayoga*, and gives the instance നൽ പുകോഴിക്കളാലിഹ കുകുയെന്നുള്ളതു ഞരയ് as a *bhave prayoga*! It constructs an artificial sentence like സൂര്യൻ കർക്കടകേന്ദ്രം വ്യാപയത്തിൽ അഗ്രൻ പെറ്റുപോൽ മകനെ and regards the first part on as a loc. absolute equivalent to *surye karkī sthite*. Kōvuuni Nedunhadi also approves of these constructions for Mal. in his *Kerala Kaumudi*.

ഇവർ ഭിഷകത്വത്തെ പുണ്ടാർ, സംസ്കാരത്തെ ലഭിക്കയാൽ [2, p. 37].

(ii) The prolific use of Skt. forms to express postpositional and other ideas, in a somewhat circumlocutory way, as in the following:—

ഭരമാസംനിമിത്തമായിട്ട് രണ്ടു പാത്തുകൾപൊരുത്തുപോലേ.

ഭഗവാന്റെ വാക്കു മേതുവായിട്ട്.

ഭഗവാൻ കരുക്കളെ പ്രാപ്തനായിരിക്കും സമയത്തിങ്കൽ.

(iii) Correlative constructions like the following:— യാതൊന്നു മരിക്കുമ്പോൾ നിരൂപിക്കുന്നു, അതായിട്ടുവരും [1, p. 4].

യാതൊരുത്തൻ ജനിക്കുന്നതു, അവന്നു മരണവും നിശ്ചയം [1, p. 4].

(iv) Relative constructions:—

വൃന്ദാവനഭൂമികളല്ലൊ പരിശുദ്ധങ്ങളായവ, യാതൊരിടത്തു ഭഗവാൻ വേണുഗാനം ചെയ്തുകൊണ്ടുകാക്കുന്നോൻ പതുക്കളെ [2, p. 31]

(v) Participials as predicates, in imitation of the use of some Skt. participles in the place of finite verbs:—

നിന്തിരുവടിയെ നമസ്കരിക്കുന്നോർ ഞങ്ങൾ [1, p. 9]

കാണികൾ രാമകൃഷ്ണന്മാരുടെ പോരുകാണുന്നോർ [2, p. 32]

V

1. While the old Samskr̥tikṛtabhāṣā forms died a natural death after the earlier maṇipravāla period [except (i) in a few instances in Candrōlsavam, (ii) in exotic instances like ഇടികൊ iditwā, പൊടികൊ poḍitwā in some commentaries on Skt. medical treatises, (iii) in humorous skits by latter-day writers, and (iv) in creations like കുട്ടീനാം രോദനം kuṭṭīnām in a curious late 19th century work called Naricaritam], bhāṣīkṛtasamskr̥ta forms and many Samskr̥tasamas (like divasēna, kṛamēṇa, viśēṣāl, sāksāl, vēgam, alpam, dūrē, maddhyē) have been more or less permanently assimilated by Mal.

2. Compounds of Skt. and native words (provided they are assimilated) have not been regarded as unnatural in Mal; cf. Līl., III, 29, comment.

In Kannaḍa, according to Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, such compounds [called ari-samāsa or viruddha-samāsa] are allowed only so far as they have been used in well-known old Kannaḍa works. A similar rule prevails in Tel.; see Atharvaṇakārikāvali, Ajanta, 96.

3. Skt. prefixes are used with native words in some instances like അതികൂപ്പം *ati-kaḍupam*, അവകേടു *ava-kēḍu*, മുൻപു *duṛṇ'n'adappu*.

4. Skt. suffixes appear after native bases in the following:—പൊണ്ണത്തം *poṇṇattam*, മണ്ടത്തം *maṇḍattam*, ആണത്തം *āṇattam*, താൻതാനിത്തം *tāṇḍōn'n'ittam* [Skt. *twam*, adapted as *-ttam*]; colloquial കൂർമ്മത *kūrmmada*, [Skt. *-tā* as in *krūrata*].

Is *śṣe* in നാഴിശ്ശേ *nāḷiśṣē*, പതിശ്ശേ *pattiśṣē*, കരേശ്ശേ *kuṟēśṣē* derived from Sanskrit *-śah* (as in *śataśah*), as Śeṣagiri Prabhhu suggests (*Vyākaraṇamitram*, p. 197)? I find, however, the following early inscriptional forms which would normally illustrate the evolution of *śṣē* [<cce <-c-ceydu].

അറുപതു ചെയ്തുകായ് *aṟubadu ceydu kāy* [Tr. Arch. Series, II, p. 196—10th c.]

ഇരുപലം ചെയ്തു പുളിയം ഇതനാഴി ചെയ്തപ്പം *irun'n'āḷi-c-ceyduppum* [ib., V, p. 35]

മുപ്പതുപരൈച്ചൈ *paraiccai* [ib., II, p. 106]

നാതാഴിച്ചരി *n'ānāḷicc-ari* [ib., III, p. 23].

മുനാഴിച്ചെ *mun'n'āḷicce* [ib., VII, p. 25—12th c.]

5. Adaptations from Indo-Āryan have to be classified as (i) those directly borrowed with little change from Skt. and Middle Indo-Āryan; (ii) those adapted with certain characteristic Dr. changes from Skt. or MIA., and (iii) "corruptions", in the colloquial, of these forms.

So far, no systematic study has been made to distinguish, by the application of scientific tests, these different groups. The existence of Pkt. forms in Tamil was recognized by the commentator Śeṇāvaraiyar in his commentary on Sūtra 402 of Tol. col.; and Līl. refers to it in the commentary on II, 4.

One of the tests whereby an adaptation from MIA may be distinguished is to examine the structural and semantic resemblances of the "tadbhavas" to MIA. forms. Cf. the following:—

[The numbers within brackets refer to the pages in Pischel's Prakrit Grammar]

angi Pkt. *aggi* [190]

āṇa „ *āṇā* [191]

acchan Pkt. *ajja* [195]

pandi „ *panti* [186]

picca

vaṭṭam	„	vaṭṭa [227]	tambala	„	tambola [101]
kaṇam	„	khaṇa [221]	cāram	„	cāra [221]
kēma	„	kēma	śuṅgam	„	suṅga [66]
paḷiṇṇu	„	phaḷiḥa [167]	kokkariṇi	„	pokhariṇi
kaccam	„	kacca [< kṛtya,			[205]
[as in ins-		195]			
criptional					
മുഴിക്കുക്കുളം]					

It is a mistake to think (as Vyākaraṇamītram, p. 378, suggests) that the structural shapes assumed in Tam. Ma¹. by all IA loanwords were due to the lack of proper symbols for Indo-Aryan sounds in the vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet. This may be true of some categories, but in a large number of instances the forms of the adaptations appearing in Tam. and old Mal. were already developed in MIA and probably current as such in the living speech; some of them have continued to exist in the colloquials of Tam. and Mal. down till today.

6. A very large number of adaptations from Indo-Āryan appear with altered meanings in south Dravidian languages (including Mal.) Some of them are unique in Mal. I have already discussed a number of these in JOR, 1934. I give below a few others from Mal. (some of which occur in Tamil also).

asāram 'a little'	vaṭṭamānam 'news'
asattu 'vicious' [T.]	vādu 'wager' [T.]
āgraham 'desire' [T.]	vālyakkāran 'servant' [Skt.
ānṭram 'a disease' [T.]	bālya 'youth']
ādyamē 'again' [T. collo-	sēṣakkār 'relations'
quial]	kāraṇavan 'head of the
kaṇiṣam 'strictness'	family'
kalyāṇam 'marriage' [T]	parādi 'complaint' [Skt.
caḍaṇṇu [Skt. ṣaḍaṅga]	parādhi 'extreme
	mental pain'.]
takkāram 'ruse' [Skt.	
satkāra]	ucca 'noon' [inscriptional
pṛārabdham	ucci and ucca]
vādam 'rheumatism'	sēṣi 'reserve strength'
sanni	

7. Lastly, I might also mention here a few forms which are unique Sanskritisations (under the influence of structurally similar Skt. forms) of native forms in Mal.

taḍastham [also taḍassam] 'obstruction'—cf. taḍai 'to be obstructed', and Skt. taṭistha.

gōṣṭhi 'pranks' [see above]

kalāpam 'quarrel' 'fray'—cf. native Tam. kalāṇ- 'to be mixed', and Skt. kalāpah "collection"; and Skt. kalaha (for the meaning).

parasyam 'notice' 'announcement'—formed from native parakk-on the analogy of Skt. rahasya.

dhṛti 'haste' stands in a category of its own; this is a peculiar formation in the colloquial, under the influence of Skt. druta 'quick' and Skt. dhṛti-gati. Skt. dhṛti is different in meaning.

VI

1. Features common to Mal. and the parent language :—

- (i) The gender-denoters *i* and *tti*, *cci*.
- (ii) Sanskrit-derived suffix *kāra*.
- (iii) The use of two objects (in the "second case") for some verbs.
- (iv) The use of two accusatives as objects of certain causals of transitive verbs.
- (v) The "fifth case" optionally in connection with "fearing".
- (vi) The *kaṇṇāl* *kurudan* type.
- (vii) The "passives" with *paḍ-*.
- (viii) The use of correlative constructions.
- (ix) Borrowings and adaptations.

2. Features met with in Mal. only :—

- (i) Popularisation of non-Dr. Skt. sounds in the stead of native sounds.
- (ii) Skt. words as postpositions.
- (iii) The extensive use of verbal nouns.
- (iv) The bizarre use of Skt. gender for *viśēṣaṇas*.

- (v) The concord of "case" between *viśeṣana* and *viśeṣya*.
- (vi) The extremely rare use of the accusatives for 'time' and 'space'.
- (vii) *ōḍu* for separation.
- (viii) The type of എൻറെ എന്നുമല്ലാ.
- (ix) The use of *mama* and *tava* for datives, and of the genitive in instances like അവൻറെ ഹിംസ ചെയ്തു.
- (x) ഇത്താൻ, അത്താങ്ങോ.
- (xi) അങ്ങ, അവിടുന്ന് as honorifics.
- (xii) Unique word-order and other Sanskritic features in *Bhāg. Bhāṣā*.
- (xiii) *Samskr̥tasamas*.
- (xiv) Adaptations with unique meaning-changes.
- (xv) Sanskritizations of native words.

3. Among the above, in (i) and (iv) in 1, and in (iii) and (vii) in 2, though the parallelisms are clear, the question of the influence of Indo-Āryan has to be further investigated.

4. The features that have not been assimilated in Mal. are (iv), (v), (vi), (ix), (xii) in 2, and (iii), (v) and (vi) in 1; the others have been permanently assimilated by Mal.

PERITALLY: AN IDENTIFICATION.

(By Rao Sahib Ullur S. Parameswara Ayyar,

M. A., B. L., M. L. A., Kaviṭilaka.)

Peritally was an ancient principality comprised within the limits of modern Travancore. Opinion is not unanimous as to where exactly it was situated. When the late Diwan Bahadur V. Nagam Aiya wrote the *Travancore State Manual*, he consulted me on the question of the location of Peritally, and I told him that it was the country of Nedumangad, a conclusion at which I had arrived so early as 1904 A. D., when I published my paper on "Dutchmen in Travancore", in the *Malabar Quarterly Review*.¹ Mr. Nagam Aiya accepted my opinion.²

Subsequently, Mr. C. Achyuta Menon wrote, in reply to a query from Mr. A. Gallatti who was engaged in the preparation of notes for his publication *The Dutch in Malabar*: "No name resembling Peritally is locally known as the name of a kingdom." Mr. Gallatti, however, observes: "The Travancore Manual identifies Peritally with Nedumangad, formerly Elavallur, correctly."⁴ He also states that the Portuguese form of the word is Pevagatalli.

John Nieuhoff, the Dutch Captain, writing in 1662—64, points out that the kingdom of Travancore at that time bordered to the east on the Kingdom of Madura and to the west on the countries of 'Pertaly' and 'Kotarkery' (Kottarakara). He also notes that, on travelling from Quilon to Kilikollūr, a suburb thereof, he was informed by his guides that the ways were rocky and impassable, and that it was five tedious days' journey to the country of Pertaly.⁵ Jacob Canter Visscher, the Dutch Captain at Cochin, writing in 1723, says: "The Raja of Peritally, sprung

1. *The Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. III, p. 142.

2. *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 308.

3. *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 55.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. II, p. 228.

from the third sister of Attingal, governs the district between Quilon and the mountains. Kully Quilon (Kāyankulam) is at the present time united to his country by adoption. It possesses no sea-coast".¹

The late Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, in his *History of Kerala*,² observes: "The identity of this State, it is somewhat difficult to make out from the name mentioned", and proceeds to point out that Lieut. Horsley gives Nedumangād the name of Elavallūrñād,³ that Francis Day in his *Land of the Perumals* has stated that "the cause of the Princess of Elleda Suruwam (Svarūpam) or Ellertoo Soorupam (Elētaṭṭu Svarūpam) was taken up" by the Dutch envoy, Van Imhoff "and a protest sent in 1740 to the Raja of Travancore retaining her territory".⁴ He therefore presumes that Peritally is another name for Kottarakara, and thinks that Peritally may possibly stand for Pattazhi, a village now included in the Pattanapuram taluk, and possessing a celebrated shrine dedicated to Bhagavaṭi.

I have recently come across an old Tamil-Malayalam folk-song, which settles the issue in favour of Nedumangad once and for ever. This song is entitled PĒRAKATTĀZHĪ VĀTA PĀTTU (the song concerning the spirit of Perakattazhi). Perakattazhi is an abbreviation of Perakattavazhi, meaning the Tava-zhi or (Royal) branch of Perakam. The song commences as follows:

“അമ്പിനൊട്ടു പേരകത്താഴിതന്നിലിമ്പമൊട്ടു
അഴകു നെട്ടുമങ്ങാട്ടുകോയിക്കൽ
ഇമ്പമൊട്ടു ചെമ്പകവാഴമ്മതമ്പുരാനും
ഇന്ദ്രതിരുക്കും നാളുതന്നിലെ
അമ്പിനൊട്ടു നാടാളവരചരില്ലാമലേ
അമ്മതിരുമനതതിലേകേതമായ്
കേതമൊട്ടു തിരുമനതിൽ കെണപതി നല്ലോമമം
കിരപയൊട്ടു പലനേട്ടു നേർവരാം”

(ambinōtu pērakathāzhi thannilimpamodu
azhaku Netumangattu kōikkall, etc.)

From this extract it will be seen that the Nedumangād Palace is situated in the country of Pērakattāzhi. There is a

1. Visscher's *Letters from Malabar*, edited by Drury, p. 59.
2. *History of Kerala*, Vol. II, pp. 59—60.
3. Ward and Conner's *Survey of Travancore and Cochin*, Vol. II, p. 78.
4. *The Land of the Perumals*, p. 131.

village, known as Pērakam, near the town of Nedumangad, even now, and I take it that the name of Royal branch which ruled over that part of Travancore was derived from that village. The above song describes the birth of a son to the Queen of Perakattazhi, by name Virakeralavarman, and details some of his martial exploits and untimely death at the hands of assassins. Certain other villages of Nedumangad, such as Aryanad and Karakulam are also mentioned therein. The *Kerala Society Papers* refer to a Pokattavazi¹. This expression is a mistake for Perakattavazi. In the Tamil script the difference between 'po' and 'pera' is negligible, and the confusion has to be attributed to this circumstance. The old records of the Sripadmanabhaswami temple in Trivandrum make mention of only Perakattavazhi. I need hardly point out that Peritally is a corruption of Perakattavazhi. The Portuguese corrupted the name into Pevagattalli, retaining the syllable 'ga', but converting 'ra' into 'va'. The Dutch were free from the latter error, but they omitted the syllable 'ka', possibly because the word was pronounced as Perattazhi, which is by no means unnatural.

Van Gollanese, the Dutch Governor of Cochin, writing in 1743, correctly says that the kingdom of Travancore "was formerly divided among five houses, Travancore, Attinga (Attingal) Elleda Surovam (Kottarakkara), Peritally (Nedumangad), and Singnatty (Desinganad or Quilon)²." Kāyamkulan was also related to these, and hence there was an adoption between that State and Nedumangad about 1723, to which fact Visscher makes reference. When Golonese wrote his memorandum, Nedumangad and Kottarakkara had come under the sway of one ruler as seen from his observation: "Peritally and Elleda Surovam bound on Travancore in the north-east; by extinction of the families of former rulers they have come under the sway of one ruler who is called the king of Peritally.....adopted from the princes of Ellerta Surovan or Corporam. The King of Travancore³ took possession of this State in 1734, led away the royal family into captivity and had them imprisoned in a Pagger (stockade or fort), where the king died two years ago.

1. *Kerala Society Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 124 and 349.

2. *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 53.

3. Vira Martanda Varma who ruled from 1729—58.

The other princes and princesses are still there with the exception of one princess, who was fortunate enough to escape from the hands of this usurper and to get safely to Tekkencur (Tekkinkur); in the year 1740, she was brought back from there by the Hon'ble Company to her State and re-instated as ruler; but in the year 1742, she again had to leave it and withdrew into the State of Cochin where she resides with her relations at Corporam (Karappuram or Shērtallai) and still receives 45 fanams (Rs. 2½, 18 Cochin fanams=one rupee) daily from the Hon'ble Company towards her own support and that of her suite.¹ "

The Valiya Kōyikkal Palace at Nedumangad was the place of refuge of Umayamma Rani when she fled from her enemies about 1679. The princesses living at Kottarakara were adopted into the Travancore Royal Family in 1748, along with two others from Pallikkovilakam in Kōlattunad, North Malabar. What became of the Princes mentioned by Golonesse is not known. The Perittally branch in any event may be treated as having become extinct in that year.

1. *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 55.

Vide also the *Land of the Perumals*, p. 130. Golonesse calls Eledattu Svarupam Karappuram, because the last Rani of that Royal House was lying there.

KĀĪ CULT IN KĒRALA.

(By H. H. Kerala Varma Thampuran, B. A., B. L.)

There not is a single town, nay not even a single village, locality, or even a residential unit in Malabar, where there is not a temple dedicated to Goddess Kāī. At each boundary of such local units, there will be an idol of Śāsta, enshrined as the boundary guardian, and there will be Goddess Kāī inside to protect the unit itself. This practice must have been in vogue in Kerala from ancient, or even from the remotest times. Though, when the Aryans immigrated into Malabar, they might have appropriated as their own many a Dravidian custom and āryanised it completely or beyond recognition of its Dravidianism, and likewise in the case of Kāī cult too, certain modifications might have been effected, yet in the matter of the Kāī cult, its Dravidian nature, or going further still, its Keralaic nature, is patentely perceptible in all its prominence. In the worship of the Goddess both in its *mantric* and *tantric* (hymnal and ritual) aspects, in the prayer and service of her devotees, there are certain peculiarities unique to Kerala. If the spirit of some of these peculiarities be carefully examined and compared with the Cult of Kāī in other Dravidian countries, it will only be justifiable and right to guess that, even before the Dravidians came into Kerala, there was some such cult existing in probably a crude, yet quite individualistic form. When the Dravidians came into Kerala, they might have accepted these native elements and made certain changes in these, not unconsonant with their own beliefs and practices. Similarly Aryans too might have played the same with them. In spite of all this, the Keralaic nature of the Kāī cult is still clear and prominent.

In this connection, it is worth while to give here some extracts from the excellent article, Malayalīs and Kāīs published in the *Parishad Magazine* (Book I, Vol. III) by Pandit K. Parameswara Menon. "Kaḷam, Kaḷari, Kāvu, Kāḷan, Kāī, Nīli, Kurumba, Emūri, Aran, Ayyan—these words are the technical terms used by Malayalīs, for their place of worship and deities worshipped. These places, with these deities worshipped

therein, can be seen in all places in Malabar from Cape Comorin to Gōkarna. 'Kāvu' is the technical term used for the temples dedicated to Ayyappan, Kālī, and Kurumba, Kṣētra for the temples dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu and others, and Ampalam as a common term for both Kāvu and Kṣētra. As, in the primitive times, the whole of Malabar was a forest tract, her people then must also have been junglemen living in forests and must have lived on the flesh of animals got by hunting, and on roots and fruits. In course of time they might have acquired the requisites for protecting their bodies from heat and cold, and for living a social life along with their wife and children, and might have begun to live in groups in separate places. Thus, when they began to lead this life, they cleared the forests, made huts on elevated places and lived by agriculture, in common amity. While thus they looked to their worldly welfare, they did not forget the spiritual one also. Fully aware that, unless they worshipped and propitiated their deceased ancestors, they would not be happy in their life, they established 'kaḷaris', in every family where they enshrined and worshipped the manes of their ancestors. When each family became the sole proprietor of each of such shrines, the necessity was felt for a deity for common worship to all the families in each social unit. Such shrines came to be known as 'kāvu', and they were generally located either at the foot of a tree or inside a cave. In the early times, the offerings of food to these deities might have been the flesh and wine, which were the food of the people themselves, and the animals which were bred up for meat, might have been sacrificed to these deities. Most probably, for the attainment of a desire difficult of achievement, even human beings might have sacrificed, as is evidenced by its relic, existing even in the present days in the custom of 'tūkkam kuttuka.' Such kāvus and such customs are not completely obsolete even now, though in ninety-nine cases out of hundred there has been a radical change in the form, customs, priests, and even in the location, invocation, name and features of these deities—the ancient 'Śrīmūlasthānam' (the sacred foot of the tree) is in one place, the present 'Śrī kōil' (the sacred temple) and the idol are in another. 'Kālī', 'Nīlī', 'Kōta' 'Kurumba', 'Cakki', 'Oṭṭamulacci' (the single breasted one) and 'oṭṭappalli' (the single toothed one) have all disappeared, and in

their places are now 'Durga', 'Kārttyāyani', 'Pārvati', 'Lajitā', 'Bālā', 'Tripurā', and 'Bhadra'. Instead of the mere feet of trees and seats of rocks, there is now the temple with all its religious architecture. Instead of the mere shapeless piece of rock worshipped as the goddess, there is now the idol featured in various forms and armed with different weapons. The priests in the ancient times were the Kurup, the Kurukkaḷ, Uṇṇi or Adigal, (all below the order of the Brahmins); they are now replaced by the Brahmin priests. The sacrificing of the cock and the goat, the pouring of the 'Kuruti' (a liquid solution of lime, turmeric and water), the wheeling of the pantam (cloth tied round a stick, dipped in oil and lighted) with certain peculiar hymns, the burning of the telli (a kind of combustible powder) before the idol, the dancing and roaring of the Veḷiccappāṭu (the person possessed by the Goddess and representing Her) decked in a red cloth, a waistlet of jingling bells, and the sword and the anklet, and uttering oracles without moving the lips, are all now conducted outside the temple. 'Tiyāṭṭu', 'Kaḷameluṭipāṭṭu', 'Pāna', 'Muṭiyēṭṭu' also are outside the temple. As a substitute for the blood, there is the Kuruti or the red sandal; for wine, the honey, plantains and sugar; and for flesh, the rice pudding saturated with ghee and jaggery, or the loaf. Some sympathetic souls, filled with pity for the poor animals thus sacrificed by the people of Malabar, must have, in those days, tried to stop it in various ways, as is clear from the *Cilappatikāram*, and the *Maṇimekhala*. But the Bengalese and the Singhalese also follow the Malayalis, in this and some other customs and practices. It is with the Brahmins and the Kṣatriya kings becoming more and more prominent in Malabar, that the ancient customs gave way to the new order. In this connection, it may be said that temples and religious rites could not have existed in the days of remote, primitive yore. They must be evolutions of the practice of hero-worship, that is to say, a certain great man that has been a benefactor of society and its protector from a grave and dire danger, by his valour and prowess, must have been adored not only in his life-time, but also after his death, in one way or other, and in imitation of such a custom, must have arisen temples and the worship of the modern Gods. This hero-worship is not peculiar to Malabar or to the Hindus, but to all races and castes".

Thus writes Mr. Parameswara Menon, who, in various ways, is an authority to speak and to instruct on the subject. In the very olden days, certainly, there could have been no clear conception of spirituality, or the Almighty, much less of religion or religious observances. Nevertheless, human mind being as it is, 'worship' is also what cannot but be in one way or the other, at any time. In those days, the objects of worship must have been what evoked most admiration and attachment in the mind, and such objects will naturally be what removed fear from the society, saved it from peril, looked after its welfare, and stood up as its guardian. Such a one for a family would evidently be the Paterfamilias of that family, and thus must have begun the worship of the manes of such heroes, after their death, as a sort of keeping up their memory afresh in mind and paying homage to them, even after they ceased to live, as while they had been alive. This worship would contain rites and materials that had been relishing to these manes while they were in actual flesh and blood. Thus must have come into practice the use of flesh, wine, ganja and similar things in the worship of the manes. This worship is carried on even to this day, though not daily, but once in a year (generally the tenth day in the month of Medam) in many a Nāyar tarawād and in the families of lower castes, under the name of "Kāraṇavar Pūja". This daily worship must have given way to annual worship, after the Aryan emigration, in imitation of the performance of the śrāddha ceremony, based on the Āryan doctrine that one year to the living beings on earth is equivalent to one day to the spirits of the other worlds. By the way, as this kāraṇavar worship, other than the śrāddhas, is alien to the Aryans, they would not accept this Dravidian or Malabar custom, and that is why it is not seen performed by castes higher than the Nairs, who were the chiefs of Malabar till the advent of the Aryans and thence the reign of the Namboories, next the Perumals, and so on. So, in the evolution of religious beliefs and rites, when the necessity arose for a deity common not only to a family but to a congeric of families comprising a social unit, or a 'Tara', and when Kālī, Ayyan and such others were accepted as deities by these primitive peoples, the use of these materials used for the worship of the kāraṇavar, were introduced in the worship of these deities as

well. Even now when the Nairs perform the pūja of these deities, as they sometimes do, these materials are amply used by the Nair priests.

Confining ourselves to the subject in hand, the pūja of Kālī must then have been at first, a sort of a 'deified' form of the pūja of the Kāraṇavans. In the case of this deity, the articles of 'nivedyam', might have comprised prominently of flesh, blood and wine, things dear and precious to the people themselves; for Kālī was more a deity dreaded and adored for appeasement, than revered and worshipped for positive blessings and gifts, and as such, would have been offered what was most dear to them. With the growth of Brahmin power and Brahmin ascendancy, the Aryan religion supplanted the primitive one but the Brahmins of those days, would have taken care not to create a revolting feeling amongst the Dravidians and would have accepted such of the customs of the primitive dwellers of Malabar as were not directly antagonistic to theirs, making the necessary changes to 'āryanise' these Dravidian customs, and, where they could not do so, allowing the Dravidians themselves, to follow those customs but subordinate and complementary to their own. The song in praise of the Paḷayannūr Goddess, recited in the Yātra-Kālī, is a case of such āryanisation—for the description is of the Dravidian deity, Kālī, but the song ends with invocation of the Aryan Goddess, Durga—'Paḷayannūr Kāvilamme toḷunnēn'. The Veliccappāṭu or the "Kōmaram" (the human representative of the deity, who, whenever necessary, becomes possessed by the deity and utters oracles) is a remnant and a reminder of the Dravidian rites in the cult of Kālī, as also the 'kuruti' ceremony.

The 'Veliccappāṭu' attached to a kāvū, where pūja is now daily performed by the Brahmins, is still a Nāyar, not one of either a higher or a lower caste. He enjoys certain privileges and honours from the temple, and he is given also a maintenance allowance from the temple, so that he is a part and parcel of the institution itself. This element even in the Kālī worship of the Dravidian days is a reminiscence of the worship of kāraṇavan. There, the pūjāri, generally the seniormost male member of the family, would, after the pūja, become possessed of the manes worshipped, and utter to the family instructions, blessings and


admonitions for the proper and prosperous management of the family, as they used to do while they had been living on earth. Thus the belief of the spirit invoked possessing the pūjāri, continued to exist even when Kālī cult came into vogue; and since it gave much relief, pleasure, and advice to the devotees, it became deep-rooted in their minds, which the Aryans dared not shake or remove. That must have been how a Nair Veliccappāṭu became attached to the present Kālī kāvus, with all the benefits that he now enjoys. At present, he has to be present at all functions where the Nairs play any part in a rite, as for example, in the 'Pāna' and the 'kaḷameḷutippāṭu', and in "ṭālappoli" and other processions of the idol. Now this man, whenever he has to do his part, bathes pure, wears a white cloth in the fashion adopted by Nair ladies when they do religious rites (ṇeriṇṇuṭukkal) and a red cloth over it, a waistlet of jingling bells (aramaṇi), and a rosary of cetti flowers round his neck; he has his hair (which will be grown all over the head unshaved or untrimmed) untied and hanging loose on his back, and his forehead, forearms and chest are smeared with sandal paste; and he holds a sword and sometimes (generally when irritated or excited) an anklet also. This could not have been the appearance even from the start. At first, the white cloth might have been tied in the same fashion as now, as it was the pūjāri that became possessed even in the kārāṇavan pūja or the Kālī pūja; there might have been also a weapon in his hand, probably that which had been used by the kārāṇavan in his lifetime—for the worship of the weapons also is as old in Malabar and in many other parts of India, as they were the instruments used by the kārāṇavans in the duty of protecting their family—and, most probably, this weapon might have been a sword or a knife used in hunting. With the introduction of the kālī cult too, initially there could not have been much change, and the present adornments might have come into vogue, only after Kaṇṇaki (the heroine in the tragedy of Kōvilan, and his wife) was accepted as the incarnation of Goddess Kālī and begun to be worshipped, as is testified by the cetti rosary (the rosary that one has to wear when he is led to sacrifice or execution), the single anklet, the untied hair and the red cloth over the white one (both generally, symbols of the death of ones' dear and near relative).

Also when the goddess is irritated, the Kōmaram (who also, as possessed by Her is irritated) places the sword on his head and cuts his head by hammering on the sword with the anklet, which is also an evidence of Kaṇṇaki's rage and grief at the death of her husband. In this connection, it may be said that after the head is thus cut, sometimes very deep, the Kōmaram simply smears the cut part with the prasādam (the flowers, the sandal paste and the turmeric used in the pūja of the deity), and the wound gets completely healed. In the chronicles of all the Nairs, there has never been a case reported of the wound creating complications or not healing with this process.

There is also a certain procedure to be followed for one to become a veliccappāṭu in a Kālī temple, for any one cannot assume that office on one morning at his will. When the till then incumbent dies, or is excommunicated from the Nair caste, some Nairs perform bhajanam (worship with certain vows) in the temple, which is technically called "niḷalirikkal" (sitting under the shadow of the goddess), often for a maṇḍalam (forty-one days). In that period, that one whom the deity is pleased to choose as her representative, gets possessed. When he is in that trance, the matter is reported to the owner of the temple. The owner then tests the genuineness of this possession, by asking the Kōmaram to show signs that the goddess is in him. The signs are generally to show small-pox pustules on the palms of the hands and then to remove them at once by rubbing the hands with the prasādam, or to do some other miraculous deed beyond the power of man to perform. Then, the owner, if he is fully satisfied that the signs are genuine and that the Kōmaram is really possessed, gives him the sword, the anklet, and the waistlet used by the previous Kōmaram, and thus formally instals him as the Kōmaram of the goddess, to remain as such till the death of the Kōmaram, and not to be removed on any account unless the Kōmaram ceases to be a Hindu or a Nair. Thereafter he is the representative of the deity, to communicate Her mind to the human beings on earth; but even now without the waistlet tied round his waist and the sword in his hand, he is not possessed by the deity. In fact the sword is the real representative, and if there is pūja performed to the deity in a private house, it is the

sword that is placed before the lamp and worshipped as the deity Herself is worshipped. When the Kōmaram wears the waistlet, he begins to shake and quiver, which increases when he touches the sword, and finally when he raises it and wields in his hand, he jumps, caters and roars, which is the sign that he is now fully possessed. When he places the sword down, and unties the waistlet, the deity leaves his body, he is his mortal self again. That the sword is the representative is natural, as the reminiscence of the weapon worship. The quivering and jumping show that the divine energy entering into him cannot rest in the human body, latent or potential, and further, as it is Kaṇṇaki in her excitement, that became possessed, this may be a symptom of that excitement too. The plaintive tone in which the Veliccappātu utters his oracles, also may be accounted in that way, as Kaṇṇaki was then quite out of temper and full deep in grief, for the harsh treatment meted out to Kōvilan. The weapon-worship also explains why the sword of the Kālī is in the shape of something like an interrogation mark—?. This must have come down from the time of the Kāraṇavan worship. In the ancient days, when people lived on agriculture as their occupation, from which time may be dated the worship of the dead ancestors, their important weapon, used both in agricultural labour and the protection of self and family, should have been an 'aruvāḷ'; and, as such, that must have been the weapon worshipped more prominently than the others. The 'aruvāḷ' is of this interrogation shape, and thus the modern sword of the Kālī (and only of that deity as it is only this deity that is pure indigenous Dravidian, or even Kerala property) is merely an improved shape of the aruval.

Thus the Veliccappātu with the sword in hand, represents the Goddess, and does all that She is expected to do—or, more correctly, the sword is the energy or the spirit, and the Kōmaram, the agent or the body. In the processions of the Goddess, such as the Tālappoli, he has to walk between the two rows of lamps, donned in his spiritual dress and holding the sword. This Tālappoli is an important and annual festival in many a temple of Kali, as also of Durga, by the way. If the festival is in an actual temple, then after the night pūja, the

idol, or else a metal mirror of an oval shape with a handle, dressed with white cloth folded wavelike in the shape of a semicircle, is placed on a *kōlam* (an wooden plank, generally covered with copper, silver or gold plate and decorated with silver or gold flower-like pieces fixed over it— and taken in procession to the music of the drums, cymbals and other temple instruments. The one special feature of it, which gives it its name, is that in front of the idol, on the right and the left there will be a row of ladies, dressed and adorned as suited for festive occasions, each holding a brass salver with both hands, in which will be put rice and paddy, as also a lighted wicker of cloth. The procession is just like other temple processions, only the *Kōmaram* will be moving up and down between the two rows of ladies, when he will take the rice or paddy from their salver and throw them on these ladies and on the audience as well. This is the religious part of the procession, and it is considered as a blessing to receive the shower of rice and paddy thrown by the *Kōmaram*, especially for ladies as regards as their marital life — to get husbands, to enjoy conjugal happiness, to escape widowhood and so on and so forth. The procession goes round the temple, and, after it is over, the idol is taken inside the sacred shrine, or the mirror, if it be what is carried in the procession, is removed from the *kōlam*.

If this *ṭalappoli* is not celebrated in a temple, but in a private house or a public building, there must be, before the procession, a what is known as the '*Kaḷam eḷutippāṭṭu*'. Even in temples also this is often done in connection with this festival but with a few differences in the rites performed in this ceremony from what are observed in non-temple places. In a non-temple building, a certain room is first cleaned and purified with cowdung. Then in it, generally in the middle, a certain portion, in the form of a square, is marked out by four wooden posts or plantain trunks being fixed at each of the four corners, as four pillars to it. The tops of these pillars are joined to the sides of the top square, with coir strings. These four strings are then lined closed with coir wires, both lengthwise and breadthwise, and thus the top becomes a sort of ceiling. In the middle of the ceiling is spread a red cloth. This thus

becomes now the substitute for the temple. The four pillars are then decorated with plantain fruits and arecanut bunches and the four side-strings as also the ceiling wires with buntings of cocoanut leaves, cetti-flowers, mango leaves. The bottom portions of the pillars are joined as the sides of the bottom square, by lines of charcoal. Inside this bottom square, the surface is first covered with charcoal dust and over it with dust of powdered green mango leaves. Then just in the middle of this the figure of the goddess is drawn or embossed in various colours with white rice-powder, yellow turmeric powder, black charcoal dust, green mango leaf-dust, and red dust made of turmeric and chunam. This picture technically called 'Kaḷam' should not be made by anybody or everybody, but only by the Kurup of the temple—an officer of the Nair caste, attached to the temple with certain privileges and responsibilities. To each Kāvū is attached a Kurup family, only members of which are these officers of that Kāvū. After he draws the picture, a stool is placed behind the head of the picture and on it is placed a jug and in it, the oval brass mirror clothed in folds. Leaning on the right side of the stool is placed the Deity's sword. Bell-metal lamps (nilaviḷakku) are placed at the two sides, and at the bottom of the picture. After sunset, regular pūja is performed by the Brahmin priest to the Deity who, prior to the pūja, has been invoked and got down on the sword and the mirror. When this pūja is over, the Kurup sings songs, composed in pure Kairāḷic tongue, in praise of the Deity, in tune with the beating on a cymbal with an wooden stick, and this is the pāṭṭu in the ceremony, thus justifying the name 'Kaḷameḷuṭṭu pāṭṭu' of the ceremony. After this pāṭṭu, the procession starts as aforesaid. When the procession returns, and the mirror is placed again on the stool, the Veliccappāṭu, now fully possessed, dances round this artificial temple in a certain rhythmic way, to the music of the drum and the other musical instruments of the procession. This he does four or five times, and then enters into the kaḷam. First he cuts down the buntings with the sword and then wipes away with his feet, also in rhythmic method, the figure drawn (except the face and the breasts of the Deity) ending it with some jumpings, standing in the centre. This is technically called the kaḷam mākkal. After that, he takes some powder from the

face and the breast portion, and gives it as prasādam to the devotees and utters the kalpana (the order or the instructions of the Deity). The whole ceremony ends when the kōmaram, after giving the prasādam to the bystanders, comes back to the kaḷam, roars three times (hiyye) and places down the sword on the stool.

If this kaḷam eḷuti pāṭṭu is done inside the temple, there is no regular pūja to the kaḷam by the Brahmin priest, as there is the Deity present in the temple; but something like a pūja is done by the Kurup, and then he begins his pāṭṭu. Also, generally, there is no stool with the mirror placed at the head of the kaḷam. The rest of the ceremony is the same as in the other case. The ceremony in the present form must have been an evolution of a primitive one, now much changed both in form and conduct. For the pāṭṭu is the *sine-qua non* of the ceremony, and that is done by the Kurup. In the performance of the ceremony, leaving aside the procession, which also seems to be a much modified form of an earlier one, the Brahmin priest and his pūja are certainly later innovations. Also the picture drawn shows a later and advanced stage in the history of picture drawing. Considering the evolution of this cult, we may say that originally there were the four pillars with the coir wires (and probably the red cloth also in the middle of the coir ceiling) and the decorations at the four sides, and that on the floor inside would be placed the stool and on it the clothed mirror and by it the sword. The pūja should have been done by the Kurup, and the pāṭṭu now done by him, must have been an important item of the pūja, as it is an invocation and praise of the Deity which was tactfully allowed to the Nairs later on, when the Brahmins took charge of the pūja, and which was included as an important item of the ceremony. There should have been the procession also, probably without the idol, but only with the Veliccappāṭu in his spiritual dress and holding the sword, and with the ladies walking in front with the tālam with the lighted wicker in it. In those days when there was only one kāvu for one unit of habitation, there might have been the practice of the Deity (or Her representative) visiting each house to scare away evil spirits from it and to bless it with happiness and prosperity by Her visit, and the ladies walking in front with the tālam might have been the

custom of inviting the Deity from the shrine and receiving Her into the house. Even now when the bridegroom is taken from his house to the bride's house for marriage, this custom is observed, as also when a guest of honour or the idol of a Deity is received into a house. Also the throwing of rice and paddy corns on the ladies, the inviting hosts, and on the other inmates of the house, was also proper then, as these articles, the fruits of agriculture, were the symbols of plenty and prosperity as is evidenced by the still existing custom of "Illom Nara" each year, to have plenty and prosperity in that illom for the whole year. That the ladies play as the inviting hosts was also proper in matriarchal families. As to the kaḷam (painting a human figure with five colours as in exorcistic rites—Gundert's Dictionary), whether there was any human figure drawn in primitive times, though in a crude form and not as finished as now, or not, it is not easy to guess with any fair degree of accuracy. Most probably, because the ceremony is called 'Kaḷameḷuti pāṭṭu', there might have been a Kaḷam, but the Kaḷam might have meant only a figure of the weapon, and the meaning given by Gundert might have been from what it later came to be. The temple ṭalappoli is on a specified day, but private houses can conduct ṭalappoli in their houses on any days they choose, in certain cases.

Closely akin to this ceremony, and probably as a continuation of it in ancient days, is the 'para' or the 'pānappara' ceremony. Pāna means a certain sort of song, and para means ten measures or a vessel of wood, generally, which would hold that quantity. When, in a ṭalappoli the procession came to a certain house, the Deity (in the present case the Veliccappāṭu) is received with honours and presented with an offering (evidently in those olden days, rice, and paddy). The Deity would accept it, dance round it as a token of joy in accepting it, utter kaḷpana, and then leave the house. This offering is done even now also, when a guest of respect comes into a house; but that one should deserve it, it has to be conferred on him by the ruler of the State. Any way it was an offering of honour then, and still continues to be so to the present day. Later on, probably because temple expenses could not be met otherwise, or when the presence of the Deity was requested even on

non-Talappoli days, or when it was not possible for the Deity to go the whole round on a single night, this para was allowed even of itself. But it cannot be done on any day and every day, at anybody's will and pleasure. The period of forty-one days, beginning with the first day of the month of Vrischigam, called the maṇḍalam period (maṇḍalam strictly means, only a period of forty-one days), is sacred to Kālī, (and now also to Durga). It is just after that, that on an auspicious day, the para-taking begins (called para puṛappāṭu) and on every day from that date, for a fixed period, there is this ceremony conducted covering the whole range of houses within the limits of the Deity of the Kāvu in that interval. This auspicious day is first suggested by the temple authorities and sanctioned by the Deity through the representative, the Veḷicappāṭu. In most cases, with this para is also done the pāna ceremony. A certain room or a pandal (a thatched shed) in a house is purified with cowdung and ornamented with lines drawn in that place with paste of rice-powder. Over it is placed the para filled with rice or paddy and lights are placed in front of it. The Veḷicappāṭu comes in his spiritual dress, as also the Kuṛup, and some musicians with their instruments. First the Kuṛup sings in praise of the Deity in the pāna metre and at that time the Veḷicappāṭu stands before the light, praying the Deity with folded hands. By the time the song is over, he becomes possessed and then dances round the para to the time of the music, and, after that, throws rice on the inmates and utters the kaipana. Before the Deity leaves him, he also breaks a cocoanut, which is to appease the spirits into submission so that they do not disturb the house for the year. The cocoanut, with the water and the kernel, may probably be a substitute for the flesh and wine offered to them in the ancient days, started under the belief that what human beings are appeased with from anger and mischief, must also appease the spirits. The para ends, and the Deity's party leaves that house to another, to repeat the same process there too. In emergent cases, such as illness, or on auspicious occasions, such as marriage, in a house, also, the pānappara is conducted in the house, on any day, irrespective of its being a day in the maṇḍalam period.

Another national festival of Kālī is the 'Kuruti festival'. Kuruti means blood and thus this may be called the blood-festival.

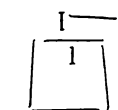
This is in charge of the Kurup, or the 'Kurukkal', attended to the Deity. Large circular bowls of copper or bell-metal, are filled with Kuruti (the red liquid solution of chunam and turmeric), which forms the principal item of the ceremony and is hence the ceremony gets its name. This ceremony is generally done during the maṇḍalam day, which is known as the maṇḍalam kuruti; but when there are epidemics raging at any time, there may be the nāttu (the national or common) kuruti. Also anyone may vow it and conduct it on any day, generally a Tuesday or a Friday, which are the days sacred to Kālī. This is conducted in the temple precincts, but outside the temple building—generally in the temple yard. In the Kāvū-yard, there will be a pipal tree or a pāla tree grown on a raised basement at the foot of which tree will be granite (or rarely laterite stone) blocks, representing the Deity and the spirits that are the servants and followers of Kālī. When the Deity is herself displeased with the people of that locality or when Her followers are displeased, these latter, it is supposed, cause the diseases or misfortunes in that locality. The Kuruti, as now performed, seems to be to appease the Deity and her attendants. These spirits may be enshrined inside the temple also, generally in the yard surrounding the sanctum sanctorum; but the Kuruti ceremony can be done only outside, and, as such, these are enshrined outside also, as afore-said, under either of the two trees. These spirits are considered to be ferocious, quick-tempered, blood-thirsty and dreadful. In the ancient days, these attendants, like the Deity, must have been fed on flesh, blood, and wine. When the pūja of the Deity was taken over by the Brahmins, naturally with their conception of superiority and conduct of conciliation, they must have allowed some sort of worship of the Deity and these attendants to the Nayars, who might have used flesh and blood and animal sacrifices in their pūja. As the devotees, afraid of the evil consequences if a complete change is made in the pūja from the till then followed one or it is totally dispensed with, and if, thereby, the spirits are displeased, would not have consented to stop using flesh and blood altogether on any day in the year; and thus this pūja using flesh and blood, must have been continued even to very later times, at least once a year, in an auspicious period. The Brahmins, averse to using flesh blood even and

ordinarily in the temple yard, must have substituted them with kuruti and naippāyasam (a pudding of rice, jaggery, ghee, plantains, honey, grapes, etc.) in the place of blood and flesh respectively; and thus the advent of kuruti. In this ceremony, the Kuṟup, or the 'Kurukkal', bathes, dresses in the pūjari dress, and does the pūja. The pūja takes two or three hours, in which as 'nivedyam' (food or drink), the kuruti and the pāyasam are offered. It is here that, sometimes, cocks are also sacrificed. After the pūja, the Veḷiccappāṭu comes, 'possessed', to the place, dips his hands into the bowls of kuruti, circles them thrice, upturns the kuruti to the ground, jumps on the thus wet place, roars, and retires. This roaring must be an indication to the people that Herself and Her attendants are pleased, and the dipping of the hands and the upturning of the bowls may be a sort of Herself accepting them and offering them to Her attendants, to appease them fully into satiety and submission.

That the pipal tree or a pāla tree is considered as the residence of the spirits, may be accounted for by the fact that in the olden days, where there was no proper house-construction, the manes of the departed kārāṇavans, must have been accommodated in an honoured place, naturally under the foot of a grand and majestic tree which, as it now became a sacred place, would have been kept free from defilement by people constantly resorting to it, climbing it or using it for improper purposes. Thus it may be that these two trees were chosen. This method, later when Kālī cult came into vogue, must have been used to accommodate the Goddess also, till temples were built after Brahmin advent, and the Goddess was transferred from the foot of the tree into the sanctum sanctorum. For we see attached to some of the Kāvus, the Śrīmūlasthānam (the sacred initial spot), which is the foot of a pipal tree. It is still a very sacred part, and kept pure, holy, and undefiled. Stone blocks are chosen to represent the divine beings, also probably from the analogy of the karanavan-cult. After the death, and interment or cremation of a deceased man, the body becomes united with the earth, and so some portion of that part of the earth where the body was disposed of, must have been preserved, naturally an imperishable portion, which would be either a laterite or a granite block, to represent the soul of the

departed man. Thus these stones representing unseen beings, came to be accepted as a convention, and later, when Kālī began to be worshipped and the rites in connection with the Kāraṇavan-cult, were incorporated into the Kālī cult also, these stone blocks also came to be the representatives of Kālī and her followers. Afterwards, when proper shrines came to be built and Brahmins became the pūjārīs, either they were built in such a way to have this stone inside the sanctum sanctorum; or the stone representing the Deity was removed into it with [the attendant spirits being left where they were; or [a new stone or idol was enshrined in the sanctum, and consecrated and deified with the divine energy that had been in the shrine, being invoked therefrom and deposited in the new representative. In every case, the original place where She had been placed, was kept sacred, and whenever any pūja was done by the Nayars as the Kuruti pūja it came to be done in this spot, where they had, while they were the priests, been doing the pūja.

That in this primeval offering of flesh, blood and wine, which is now substituted by the offering of pāyasam, kuruti and honey, and rarely also along with the killing of cocks added thereto, there was also human beings sacrificed, at least in some Kāvus, is attested by the present ceremony of tukkom kūttal: thus says Mr. K. Parameswara Menon. This is not done during the maṇḍalam period, but on the Bharani day in the month of Mīnam. The ceremony as now conducted is to have a gallows resting on a platform, with a hook attached to the planting pole.



hook.
platform

The one to be hooked, dresses in the martial dress of the olden days, with a garland of cetti flowers round his neck, and he holds a sword and a shield. He is also smeared with the sandal-paste on his forehead and his body. The pole having the hook is lowered down the platform, when the 'victim' ascends the platform and the hook is hooked to the skin on his back. The pole is then raised and the victim hangs in the air, where he will be shaking his sword and shield in the martial way. The platform is then taken round the temple

precincts thrice, after which the hook-pole is lowered and the victim let free. Now-a-days this is one of the vows taken, for achieving any desire or being freed of illness, and so forth. In this ceremony, only Nayars can be the victims, and there are special families attached to each Kāvū, for fixing the hook on to the victim, for taking the tūkkaccātu (the whole apparatus) round the temple, and for every other item in the ceremony. In the case of the sacrifice of the cock or the goat, its head is severed from the body before the altar, but in the case of this tūkkam-kuttal fiction, it is more a sort of execution than sacrifice, and one fails to see how, as Mr. Menon says, it is an evidence of the human sacrifice done in those days. The word tūkkam also means hanging, whereas the sacrifice of the cock or the goat is called kōḷie veṭṭal (cutting the cock) or āṭine veṭṭal (cutting the goat). That sacrifice here means only 'giving up' may appear feasible, but, then why is this difference in the giving up of a cock or a goat, and of a human being? Further, if it be a religious sacrifice, why is the victim dressed in martial garb? And lastly how is it that the ceremony is not conducted in the northern parts of Kerala, probably not farther north than Putiyeṭam, a small village near Chowwara, and not even in Cranganūr? Can it not be a symbolic representation of a certain victory gained in the Southern Kerala, gained through the help of Kālī, and of the enemy chieftain being executed and taken round, just as the sacrifice of buffaloes done in North India, in a representation of the Goddess killing Mahiṣāsura? Of course, this is a mere suggestion which requires much more investigation than is now had, for a satisfactory or possible solution. There are also other such local or taluqal or districtal or even provincial customs, as the Certalai Pūram and the Koḍungallūr Bharani. We can, however, say that, from the form and personnel of this ceremony, it might be a Dravīdian custom where Nayars were the pūjārīs and adhikārīs of the temple and that it was allowed by the Aīyans like some other customs, mentioned afore, first to placate the Dravidians, and then, out of faith in it born of commingling with them for some time.

The same may be said of the other two forms of cult, existing even now—the muṭiyēṭṭu and the tiyyāṭṭu. The muṭiyēṭṭu is a

sort of Kathakali, depicting the story of the killing of Dārūka by Kālī, in which an important item is the placing of the Kirīṭam (the crown) on the head of the person impersonating Kālī. At present, the story is certainly of Aryan weaving, as it introduces in it the characters Brahman, Nārada, and so forth; and the get-up is mostly of that of the Kathakali of to-day, except that the dress below the waist is simply the ordinary dress of the Malayālis. There is, however, the Dravidian element still extant prominent, though not as conspicuous as the story, viz., the breaking of the cocoanut—in fact two cocoanuts—by the actor that represented Kālī, after the demon is killed. The belief is that when the Muṭi (the crown) is placed on the Kālī-actor, he becomes possessed as the Veḷiccappāṭu is, and remains so till the Muti is taken down; and there are folk-stories of the Kālī-actor actually killing the Dārūka-actor in certain cases. So, now, in order that the holy spirit may not possess the actor, the Muṭi is filled with rubbish, unholy, and impure articles, and even then, about in the middle of the fight, the Muṭi is forcibly drawn out from his head. There is the clown as in a drāma, and he is certainly a Dravidian figure, as his name, Kōyimpaṭār, implies. What the original form of this play or ceremony, was before the Aryan advent, how it changed or developed into its present form, what its relation to the Kālī pūja is, it has not been possible to understand. That it is seen only in Malabar is another evidence of its genuine Malabarism. That it is generally associated with Tālappoli may be also another evidence of the same fact. And yet one fails to understand why this ceremony is not conducted along with the Tālappoli of the Cranganur temple. Has it too a local or a provincial significance? It is now conducted in only very few temples, and is one of those indigenous treasures of Malabar, that are to be included in the dying list.

The other ceremony, Tiyyāṭṭu is also equally in the same sad plight. As at present conducted, it is generally done in temples, but occasionally in Brahmin houses and such like places also it is performed. This vow is offered to the Deity chiefly to prevent epidemics like small-pox from occurring or spreading, though it is a vow also for begetting children and the

attainment of a desire. It is in existence now practically only in Travancore and Cochin. The people authorised to conduct it are called *Tiyyāṭṭu Uṇṇis*, and are included in the list of *Ampalavāsis*. There is *Kaḷam eḷuti pāṭṭu* in it, as in a *Talappoli* and the figure of *Kāḷi* is embossed in the holy square. Then, after sunset, the first item is the 'etirēḷpu' (welcoming with honours). If this is performed in a temple, this item, or really a procession, starts from the Holy of Holies and, if in a private house, from the entrance gate. The meaning of it is that the Deity is invited from there to the holy square. Then the song begins, which is a psalm in praise of the Deity. [During the song, the *Uṇṇi*, who does the *Tiyyāṭṭu*, and who has his face painted, and his body dressed and adorned as *Kāḷi*, more or less as in the *Muṭiyēṭṭu*, and who is the one welcomed as the Deity comes to the *Kaḷam*, and sits on a stool, with his back against it. The meaning of it is that when *Kāḷi* came to Siva after *Dāruka* was killed, Siva was dancing naked, so that she, his daughter, was ashamed to go to him then, and so went on a circumambulation round *Kailās*, for his dance to end before she went to him. The song sung is the story of *Dārukavadha*. After the song is over, is the *Kaḷam Mākkal* and then the *tiyyāṭṭu* (wheeling the lighted torch, 'pantam'.] In these parts, in the holy square, there are two figures drawn—that of *Kāḷi* and that of *Durga Bhagavati* (really *Paḷayannur Bhagavati*, the tutelary goddess of the Ruling Family in Cochin), and there are two *Uṇṇis* to perform the ceremony, one to represent *Kāḷi* and the other to represent *Durga*. From the items in this performance, it would seem that it is an Aryanised version of the Dravidian *Kaḷam eḷuti pāṭṭu*, introduced in adaptation of it and as a substitute for it. That must have been how the *Uṇṇis*, who wear the sacred thread and who follow the *Makkat-tayam* system (the patriarchal system of succession) came to represent the Deity, or the Deities. That must have been how *Durga*, an Aryan Goddess, got into the ceremony. The sword-pūja, the *Kaḷam*, the holy square, and the *Kaḷam Mākkal* of the Dravidian ceremony are all here. That the actor, unlike the *Veḷiccappāṭu*, is dressed as in the *Muṭiyēṭṭu*, may be due to the fact that, to catch the fancy of the Dravidians too like the Aryans,

and make them put belief in it, a more impressive atmosphere was felt necessary, and thus the representative's make-up was introduced to make him appear the image of the Deity in Her weird-dress. The 'pantam ulicchil' (the wheeling of the torch) seems to be a Dravidian custom of driving away evil spirits that have possessed the body of men. Whether the Aryans also had it, before their advent to these parts, it is not for us to consider here. Young children, till they are three or four years old, are even now treated to the wheeling of a lighted cloth wicker round them, and then this wicker is put in a cup of kuruti. The idea of it may be that, as darkness, the reign of the spirits, is dispelled by light, and as the wicker is wheeled with the chanting of a hymn in praise of Kālī, the spirits fly away from the body of the child and go to the Deity; and to appease them from giving further trouble, they are treated with the kuruti. Thus this pantam ulicchil accepted by the Aryans as an imitation of and—an improvement on this—and that too by the representative of the Goddess—naturally became the most important item in the ceremony, and gave it the name tiyyāṭṭu.

These are the most general and important rites in the cult of Kālī, as observed in Malabar. Some other points, though not exactly relevant to the main topic, may be sketched here, as it pertains to the subject indirectly. Why is it that Kālī came to be the protecting Deity? An answer to it may be suggested on the analogy that as father protects the house from foreign aggression and as mother guards in the house, so Ayyan, or Ayyappan, became the frontier Deity, and Kālī the internal one. Most probably, the original name might have been Māta, or Kālī Māta, the protecting Deity, for, even now, the forest tribes in Cochin call their protector, the Raja, as Māta. Two special days in the week are now sacred to her—Tuesday and Friday—when she and her attendant spirits roam loose. That is why they are called Koṭi ālccakaḷ, which, from the Tamil word Koṭuma, may mean "Evil Days in the week", i. e., days when evil spirits have full play and free liberty of action. It is also more on these days than on others that people believe there will be 'Tērvilcca' (the occurrence of pursuit), which means that spirits wander on earth at nights and pursue and frighten those that

walk out from their houses then. Probably it may also be a contraction of "teru Vīlcca" (appearing in the streets) when the Deity or the spirits are supposed to walk out in the open streets at midnight. It is also believed that, in cases of small-pox if the eruptions came out visible on these days, they turn out to be fatal, or at least severe forms of the disease. It is on these days, generally, that pūjas are performed to the Deity in private houses, where there is no daily pūja, and special pūjas and pūjas on a grander scale are performed in Kālī temples. How all this came to be, is left for others to make research on and come to conclusions—as also many other points, which may have been omitted from this article.

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REVIEWS:---

ERAṆĀKUḶAM KṢĒTRAMĀHĀTMYAM.*

(By Dr. K. GODA VARMA, M. A., Ph. D.)

The book Eraṇākuḷam Kṣētramahātmyam, as its title itself suggests, deals with the divine glories clinging about the Temple at Eraṇākuḷam. It consists of four parts of which the first two give us the genesis of the temple—the arrival of Nāgarṣi with a Śivaliṅga, the sticking of the Liṅga into the soil in an immovable manner, the spontaneous springing up of an Ardhanārīśvara almost in the same place and the subsequent vision of three more Śivaliṅgaś vouchsafed to Vilwamaṅgalattu Svāmiyār, the great saint whose name has been inseparably associated with the Śrī Padmanābha Temple. The third part deals with the miracles wrought by the great Lord Śrī Paramēśvara (Eraṇākuḷattappan) by way of salvation to devout worshippers. The work is, appropriately enough, closed with a few hymns in praise of the Deity.

The belief has gained ground that the word Eraṇākuḷam is derived from Ṛṣināḡakuḷam, the pond of Ṛṣināḡa. This derivation may defy the rules of phonology. But it may be argued that place-names, in some cases, are subject to such vagaries and admit of peculiar developments.

The book is of significance in a variety of ways. The stories related therein read like episodes found in the great epic Mahābhārata or like the splendid visions recorded in the Christian scripture. The sudden conversion of the young Dēvala into a hooded serpent of fearful mien by a single curse from his preceptor, the vision of angelic figures fluttering over Nāgarṣi in the midst of divine effulgence, the disappearance of Nāgarṣi into the pond with floating glories above the waters and the simultaneous blaze of the houses of the unbelievers in

(*Copies can be had of Mr. T. Kunju Menon, Variam Road, Ernakulam—
Price Re. 1).

the still moon-light rousing to feverish activity, bird, man and beast from their slumber—these are some of the bright passages in the book.

To the geologist or historian, pure and simple, the geographical features of Cērttara (the slimy sand-banks left by the sea) and the social organisation prevalent at that period, afford ample field for thought and inquiry, and may occasionally help to corroborate a well-nigh established theory. The authenticity of these legends—the mixture of truth and romantic exaggeration which is often found in such accounts need not be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the three pilgrims returning from Benares and the beneficent Kaimaḷ of the place who were instrumental in erecting the stately Temple must have been actual historical figures. The Karta family of Cērānallūr seem to be descendants (adopted or otherwise) of the Kaimaḷ, and even to this day the inauguration of the Temple is commemorated by the Cērānallūr Karta on Makarim first of every year. The houses of the two Mūttatus at Eraṇākuḷam and the Nayar house Tat-tappaḷli are strictly vestiges of the Benares pilgrims.

The date of the work cannot be fixed for certain. Brahmanādapurāṇa which relates the origin of Tīruvanantapuram (Anantaśayana), Varkkala, (Janārdanapura) Padmanābhapuram (Śrīvardhanapura) Tṛṣṣivapēṭar (Śivapura), etc., does not mention the story of Nāgaṛṣi. The sentence “Annu Makarāṁ onnām tiyatiyum sankramattil taṭṭiya veḷutta vāvum makaracco-vvayum āṭayāl pūja tuṭaṇṇikkukayum.....” probably may give us some remote clues. “Atukontu kiḷakkē naṭayaṭaccu patinṇārē naṭa tuṭannatinu sēaṣmē nān dēvaṇe pūjikkayullu ennu” and similar usages show that the work might be a translation into Malayāḷam from a Sanskrit original. It must be said that the prose style of this Malayāḷam work does not help us much in determining its date. “nōkkiyāre”, “pōyāre,” etc., are comparatively old usages in literature; but a word like “bākki” (of Arabic origin cf. Arabic bāqī) has not found a place in Eḷuttaccan or even in Kuṇcan Nampyār who so enriches his vocabulary by free borrowings. Such loan words seem to have gained currency in literature only about M. E. 1000.

Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon has, with his characteristic love of literary exploration, done a valuable service to Cochinites in particular and to the people of Kerala in general by rescuing from oblivion a work of singular value. In his excellent introduction he also refers to the authenticity of the stories and to the historical value which they can possibly afford through the pictures of society in that slimy sea-given land of Cērttara. Mr. Menon deserves special praise in having placed within easy reach this book which acts as a sure inspirer to the pious, as it so beautifully records the actual experiences of devotees who have recovered from life's cruel hardships through divine grace.

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ii. THE COPPER PLATE GRANT OF
ŚRĪ VIRARĀGHAVA CAKRAVARTIN—
A STUDY.†

Dr. K. Goda Varma, M. A., Ph. D.
(London).

(*H. H. Kerala Varma Tampuran, B. A., B. L.*)

We acknowledge with grateful thanks this highly interesting book sent to us for review. In this study the Doctor has shown keen critical acumen, and his treatment is very scientific, deep and elucidating. He shows insight and grasp of the field he has surveyed, and the survey has been a true research on correct lines. We wish that this faculty which he has in plenty, he will not allow to rust.

The important points one has to consider in the review of the book are:—What is the date of the document? Who was this Iravikortanan? Which is this Maṇigrāmam? Is the document genuine or otherwise? As to the first, we think that the date of the document must be in the 14th or 15th century A. D. The palaeographical evidence supports this view as also the language and style. Further, it must have been written during the period when the reign of the Perumāls was over and the matriarchal successors of the last Perumāl were practically only rulers of Cochin, though nominally they were the sovereigns of Kēraḷa. At that time a ruler of Cochin could be officially installed as the ruler of Kēraḷa and wear the Crown worn by the Perumāls (which is still in the possession of the Cochin Government) provided he conducts certain ceremonies at Vannēri. For those ceremonies the rulers of the States who were informed of the Grant, had to render service to the Cochin ruler in one capacity or another, thereby accepting his paramountcy. At this function the ruler of Bimbili State had no part in any of the

(†) Copies can be had at Chitra Publishing House, Trivandrum—
Price Re. 1.

ceremonies and that is one reason why his name is omitted in the Grant. Again, there was no necessity also to give information to the ruler of Bimbili, since there were marital relations existing between the two States, the Cochin rulers generally marrying the females in the other State. Thus for these reasons, we have to accept the date as suggested by the Doctor.

Coming to the names Iravikortanan and Maṇigrāmam, we have to say that the suggestion of the Doctor that Iravikortanan is a dravidianised form of the Sanskrit word 'Ravi Govardhanan', seems sounder and plausible than the other suggestions. 'Godavarman' is changed into 'Kothorman', 'Godamangalam' to 'Kothangalam', and on that analogy, 'Govardhanan' is changed into 'Korthanan', and simplified still to 'Korthan'. The only point of doubt here is whether one below a Brahmin or a Kṣatriya, had, in those days, the name Ravi given to him. Regarding the other name, Maṇigrāmam, the suggestions made seem to be unconvincing. Is there any other instance of Vaṇik changing to Maṇi, even in the colloquial language. Both Vaṇik and Grāmam are Sanskrit constituents, and thus that the Sanskrit word Vaṇikgrāmam changed into Maṇigram in the Dravidian language is not believable, unless more and general evidences are adduced, especially inasmuch as the change of 'v' to 'm' in the Dravidian tongue itself is of a sporadic nature. Since this word has a wide spread occurrence, as these places of the same name in Persia, Siam and Trichinopoly, instead of saying that the Dravidian merchants migrated to Kerala, Persia and Siam can we not say that this leads to the doubt the term may have been pre-Āryan? Or else, if the Doctor's interpretation is correct, since the merchants might have migrated into other places, why is it that names are not found in those places also?"

Lastly, it is hard to accept the general inferences which the Doctor makes on the language of the day, basing his illustrations on this single document alone. For there is a special style and

(1) See *Economic Conditions in South India* (Madras University Publication), pp. 392—402, and also the articles of Venkayya and Gopinath Rao in the *Epigraphica Indica*, referred to there. These substantiate the contention of Dr. Goda Varma.—Ed.

form followed even to-day in similar grants and titturams of the Rulers of Cochin and Travancore, which may make one to mistake a grant of this time to one of a far older time. That this grant is genuine, one has to believe with the present data available on the point, is what we have to say on it.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

(By the Editor.)

The Editor is grateful to all those who have kindly assisted him with articles and notices for this issue of the *Bulletin*. He is indebted to Professors Clemens Schoenar and J. Otto Schrader and to the other scholars for the encouraging remarks they have made about his paper on the "Dravidian Culture and its Diffusion". The Editor has published the contributions in the order in which they were received by him. He has not altered the copy, nor does he undertake the duty of defending everything that is contained in this number. The Editor's obligation to Mr. N. M. Parameswara Ayyar, the Superintendent of the Press, for help given is great.

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The Editor takes this early opportunity to publicly express his profound gratitude to the Government of Baroda for the generous, favourable order made in generous response to his request to supply to this Institute "a complete set of Gaekwar's Oriental Series" and to place its name on the distribution list for future issues on a reciprocal basis (Vide No. EDN 44/92 B of 21st July 1936, Huzur Political Office, Baroda).

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The Mythic Society Journal (Vol. 5, No. 4) refers to a *Līlā-tilaka Bhāṇa* by the boy-poet Bhāskara, who lived during the great renaissance of Kerala literature.

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In the *Journal of the Greater India Society* (Vol. 2, No. 2) there is an article on "the Influx of Indian Sculpture into Fu-nan by Dr. Ludwig Bacher. Fu-nan is the southern part of Cambodia. Summing up, he says, "the sitting Buddha from Vat Romlok is definitely connected with South India. It goes without saying that the art of western and southern India was spread to Further India by sea".

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Dr. Golak Prasad, D. Sc., writing on the "Astronomical evidence or the age of Vedas" in the *Journal of the Bihar and*

Orissa Research Society, (Vol. 21, part 3), comes to the conclusion, "we can say that there is strong astronomical evidence that the Vedas are older than B. C. 2500. They might be as old as B. C. 4000". Why not still older some may ask. The Doctor bases his conclusion on a passage in the Śaṭapatha Brāhmaṇa (11-1, 2, 3) (*Sacred Books of the East XII*) which states that Kṛthikās "do not move away from the eastern quarter".

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According to Mahāvamśa, Yaśōdhara had two daughters, Māyā and Prajāpathi, and two sons, one of whom was Suprabudha. The two sisters became the wives of Sudhōdana. Buddha was the son of Māyā. Buddha was called after his mother's clan, probably, as in his family there was the matrilineal descent.

When Buddha was staying with Rudrakarāṇputra, Sudhōdana sent 300 men and Suprabudha sent 200 men to wait on Buddha. He kept two of the maternal clan and three of the paternal clan. It was these two sets that subsequently became the five.

In the *Alulasarvasthivadaṇvina* it is stated that Buddha imparted his doctrine to the two in the morning, while the three went to the city to beg. In the evening the process was reversed. This too is intended to show reverence to the mother's clan.

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Kadambari-kathasara-kavya, a Malayalam rendering of which is extant, is by Abhinandan. His father is Jayanta Bhatta, the author of *Nyāyamañjari*. His great-grand-father, Śakthi Swāmi was a saint and scholar, and was the minister of Mukthāpīḍa, a king of the Kārkōṭa dynasty. As the result of his performance of a great sacrifice, he received Gouramūlakagrāmam.

Jayanta's scholarship in Karma Mīmāṃsa was well-known. As an authority on Nyāya his position was unique. He was well-versed in all Sastrās and Vedās. His criticism of Buddhist philosophy showed the mastery he had over that subject. He was also a poet of no mean order.

Mukthāpīḍa came to the throne in 733 A. D. Jayanta refers to Sankara Varma who ruled over Kashmir from 883 to 902 and

to Ānandavardhanan who lived during the days of Avanṭivarman (855 to 883 A. D.). As a pattern of unattachment to worldly assets, he put forth the name of Govindaswāmi, the teacher of Śāṅkarācārya. Vāchaspaṭi, in his *Nyayakanika* refers to *Nyayamanjari*, and calls its author his *guru*. Vāchaspaṭi dates his Nyāyasūchinibandha as A. D. 898. (Calcutta Review.)

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Professor Sten Konow has a scholarly article on Takshaśila in the *Oja Jubilee Memorial Volume*.

Pāṇini mentions Takshaśila. In Buddhistic literature, it is referred to as a seat of learning. The ruins of this city have been excavated, and Sir John Marshall has brought to light a series of facts bearing on the history of this ancient place. A copper-plate, dated in the year 78 of an old Saka era, states it was deposited to the north and eastern direction in the town Takshaśila (തഖശിലയേ നഗരേ ഉത്തരേണ പ്രാചുഭേരോ).

The oldest record is an Aramic inscription which Sir John found at Sirkap (the original name of the site now known as തക്കശില). It takes us to the 3rd century B. C. when Asōka was Bindusārā's Viceroy in Takshaśila country. The record praises the zeal of a Ro.nedata, an Iranian, as a town-friend of Nāgārūta and refers to Priyadarsi (Asōka) as the Viceroy of the locality.

Professor Andreas explains Nāgārūta (as a regular abstract noun from the base nagār) as carpentry. It is meant as a translation of Takshaśila (തക്കശില, തച്ചശില, carpenter and śila means custom or practice). In Bramhāṇḍa and Vāyu Purāṇas, it is the residence of Taksha, son of Bharata. Kalidāsa adopts this story in this Raghuvamśa (XV, 89). A third explanation is (vide the 22nd tale of Divyāvadāna) that in old days Takshaśila was called Bhadrāśila. In a previous birth Buddha was King Chandraprabha of Bhadrāśila. He was famous for his liberality and went so far as to cut off his head and give it to the Brahmana Raudrāksha. Hence Bhadrāśila to Takshaśila. We are told that the story was originally narrated in Māgadhi where the words are (ശിലം തച്ചശിലം) *silam thachchithva* for ശിലം തച്ചശിലം.

Chadaśila it would seem meant range-hill, and, further, town on the range of hills. Similarly, Takshaśila might mean

chop-hill, and, further, on a below or detached hill a Sirkap was mercilessly sacked by Kushanas

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After Śuka Munīndra, the next teacher in the school of Vedānta Philosophy founded by Bādarāyana was the great scholar Goudapādāchārya. He originally belonged to the Dravidian country, and is said to have learnt the Mahābhāshya, the commentary on Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī by Patañjali, from that sage himself at Pundarikapura.

While in his wanderings in Northern India, Goudapāda happened to halt at Ujjain for some time. From there he taught the Mahābhāshya to Chandra Sarma, a learned Brahmin of Prāchyadēśa. It was this Chandra Sarma, or as he is familiarly known as Gōvinda Yōgin, or Govinda Bhagavatpāda as Sankara uniformly calls him, who preserved to the world Patañjali's Mahābhāshya or Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī, as amplified by Kātyāyana's Vartika. Tradition and the accounts in *Patanjali Vijaya*, *Goudapadollasa* and *Harimisriya* inform us that Govinda Yōgi was an extraordinary great scholar, that he settled down at Ujjain and married four wives, one from each of the four castes. He became the father of the four sons who became renowned in Indian literature as Bhartṛhari, Vikramaditya, Bhatti and Vararuchi. He subsequently became a Sanyāsin under the name of Govinda Muni. He spent his days partly at Badarikāśrama where he learnt Vedānta from his teacher and partly at Amarakanta on the bank of the Narmada where he taught Vedānta to his disciples. Though Govinda Muni was not as great an erudite scholar as his guru Gaudapādāchārya, he was like his Paramaguru, Śrī Śuka Yōgīndra, a born Sidha and a great Yōgin. It was to him that Sankarāchārya went for formal initiation and for higher philosophic, and esoteric studies. ¹

Bhartṛhari was the eldest son of Govinda Bhagawatpāda by his Brahmin wife. He ruled Ujjayain for some time; but realising the unchastity of his queen, he renounced his kingdom, became a Sanyāsin, and remained with his father as one of his

1. Between 557 and 583, the Bhashya of Gaudapada on Samkhya Karika of Iswara Krishna was translated into Chinese.

constant chēlas. Hari was his proper name, and Bharṭṛi was only a title of honour. It is a pity that his commentaries on the Prasthānatraya are lost; but Vākyapadīya, his famous treatise on grammar, and his Subhāshitaratnāvalī, consisting of the three śatakās on Śṛṅgāra, Nīti, and Vairāgya, are still studied with admiration.

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Śūdrās—who are they? The *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* has collected a lot of points on the subject. A few shall be extracted here, as the subject is of topical and local interest. The derivation of the word Śūdra is uncertain. Some derive it from Sanskrit *such*, ‘to be afflicted’. The name was originally given, so it is supposed, to a tribe living near the Indus. (Ptolemy, VI, 20.) This is also identified with Āshēras and Nishādas, a black, long-haired, aboriginal race, not of the Āryan stock, but brought under it by conquest. Subsequently, all races conquered by the Āryans were called śūdrās. The term Dāsyu and Ml̥ēcha was then applied to all unsubdued, foreign tribes, who did not speak Sanskrit and were not brought under Āryan culture. (Caldwell’s *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 112 (1875); Wilson’s *Indian Caste* (1877, i. 111 ff.) The latest view is that the term was applied by the Vēdic Indians to the tribes that opposed them, and to those classes, ranked as slaves, who supplied the needs of the village communities. It also included Āryans who, for some offence against tribal discipline or for other reasons, were excluded from their community. (*Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* 1912 ii, 265, 388, 391 f.)

The legendary account is somewhat different. In the hymn known as Purusha Sūkta, when the primal male, *purusha*, was cut into pieces, “the Brahmin was his mouth, the Rājanya was made his arms; that which was the Vaisya was the thighs; the śūdrās sprang from his feet. (Rig Veda, X, XC, 12). Bhāgavatam also gives the same story (ii, 5.37). The *Bṛahadaranyaka Upanishad* states that Brahma created the caste of the śūdrās as the nourisher. The earth is the nourisher. (J. Muir, *Orig. Skt. texts*, 1858. i. 13). According to the *Taittiriya Brahmana*, the Brahmin is a caste derived from the gods, the śūdra from the Asurās. (ib. i. 14). For the prosperity of the world, the

Creator caused the Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaisya and the Śūdra to proceed from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively (Manu i. 31); while in another place he (Manu) says that elephants, horses, Śūdrās, lions, etc., are the middling states caused by tamasi (ib. 12, 43.).

In the Vāyu Purāṇa we are told that those who were cleansers, and ran about on service, and had little vigour were called Śūdrās by Brahma. He assigned the mechanical arts and services to the Śūdrās (Muir. 1-31). According to the Hari-vamśa, the Śūdrās were formed from the modification of smoke. They are unserviceable for want of initiatory rites (ib. 1. 35). In the Mahābhārata (Sānti Parva 188 f) another theory is suggested. The Brahmins who were addicted to violence, lying, drink and debauchery, and subsisted on all sorts of work fell into the condition of Śūdrās.

One point is clear: Śūdrās were members of the Hindu polity in contrast to the outer, non-Āryan barbarians, the Mlēcchas and Dāsyaś. Still the overlords tried to reduce the Śūdrās to a condition of degraded servitude, perhaps, to preserve the purity of the white dominant race, or to prevent the peril of an insurrection on the part of the slaves who were numerically superior to their rulers. The legal position of the Śūdrās is clearly stated in Āpastamba, Gautama, Vasishta and Baudhāyana. [*Sacred Books of the East*, XXV (1886), (ib. 1897), XIV (1882)].

If a Śūdra has intercourse with a woman of the twice-born class, he shall be mutilated or lose his life. (Manu VIII-373. Āpastamba XXVI-20, XXVII-9). If he intentionally hears the recitation of the Vēdās, his ears shall be filled with molten tin or lac; if he recites them, his tongue shall be cut; if he remembers them, his body shall be cut in twain. (Gautama XII-4-6). The penalty for killing a Śūdra is only loss of caste to a Brahmin, or the same as killing a crow, a rat or a dog (Manu—XI-67; Baudhāyana I. X. 19-6).

A Śūdra cannot be initiated (Manu X-4), be a judge (ib. VIII-20 f.), receive spiritual advice from a Brahmin (ib. IV-80 f.), sacrifice (ib. III-178), or travel with a Śnātaka, that is, a Brahmin who has completed his studentship (ib. IV-140.).

In North India, a Śūdra is supposed to be a low-caste man, while in South India, he generally ranks next to the Brahmin. The term is inappropriate (Caldwell, p. 116f. cf. Kanakasabhai, *Tamils 1800 years ago*, 1904—p. 113, 116). In 1901, in deference to popular sentiment, the use of the term Śūdrās by enumerators was forbidden by the Madras Census authorities. Mr. Bhattāchārya in his *Hindu Castes and Sects* (1896, p. 225) expresses surprise at the use of the expression Śūdrās to a class of people in South India who claim a high social position, and enforce rigid precautions to secure personal purity not by touch alone but even from the immediate neighbourhood of out-castes.

Nayars are not Śūdrās: they never were; and not even courts can make them what they racially are not and were not. (*History of Kerala*, Vol. III, pp. 161-185).

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The original idea of the Research Institute Committee was that the same member should not be saddled with the task of editing its Bulletin successively. It was under a kindly compulsion that the present Editor took up the work of numbers 3 and 4. To lighten the burden of editing, the Bulletin will hereafter be under the joint editorship of three members.

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Rama Varma Research Studies No. 1.

THE EVOLUTION OF MALAYALAM MORPHOLOGY

by

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(Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.)

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