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OF THE  
**RAMA VARMA**  
**RESEARCH INSTITUTE**

**VOL. V      PART II.**

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

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

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 According to the scheme approved by the Government the object of the institute was to collect books, journals and unpublished manuscripts on the History of South India in general and of Kerala in particular to afford facilities for carrying on research work on the ancient History of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

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

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

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

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

Secretary,  
Kerala Sahitya Akademi

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## MALABAR TEMPLES.

BY SAHITYA KUSALAN T. K. KRISHNA MENON.

1. It is a fascinating subject—temples in Malabar. The only difficulty is to decide where to begin and how to end; or, in other words, what to say and what to omit in a short paper like this. One meets with a variety of these temples in Malabar, from the wayside fane to magnificent, shrines, housing gods and goddesses of different types.

2. Malayālis are a very religious people. They consider that the worship of gods is one of the daily duties of a devout Hindu. That is why temples take a prominent place in popular religion.

3. A temple is as a rule, built in a conspicuous part of the locality which it serves, or, popularly speaking, over which the deity is supposed to preside and hold sway. It will have a beautiful setting, as it will be in a shady grove, or near a sparkling stream, or on a picturesque hill.

4. God, Universe and the Individual Soul, according to the Vēdas, are identical. That is the conception underlying the construction of temple structures. Into that abstract subject it is not my purpose to stray. I shall here invite the reader's attention to what he can actually see if he were to visit an ordinary temple.

5. A surrounding wall, with two or four gates, <sup>1</sup> marks off the temple premises from the lands around them. In the middle of this walled area is the sacred place <sup>2</sup> where the image will be found installed. This building will be a slightly raised one, and a flight of steps <sup>3</sup> will lead one to the door of the *sanctum sanctorum*. Beyond this, on all sides, there will

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1. Gōpurams.      2. Garbha-grāha.      3. Sōpāna.

be an open court-yard. <sup>4</sup>This space will be bounded by halls<sup>5</sup> open inside, but closed on the outer part. Portions of the halls are converted into rooms for storing articles for daily use and for preparing offerings to the deity. On the outer wall of the halls will be fixed a sort of wooden trelliswork<sup>6</sup> on which there will be a number of small metal lamps to be lighted on festive occasions. In front of the door of the holy spot, there will be a raised platform<sup>7</sup> for people to sit and pray and to prostrate before the deity. Further away, there is a hall<sup>8</sup> where the principal altar-stone is fixed. This hall, though it will be linked with the enclosing wall of the halls will lie outside it, as a projection into the outer yard that lies between this wall and the boundary wall. Outside this, but still in front of the deity, and on a line with the image and the altar-stone, there will be the flag-staff<sup>9</sup>. On this the flag will be ceremoniously furled during the festival of the temple. On the top of the staff will be installed the vehicle of the deity : a bull for Siva, a Lion for Durga and a Garuḍa for Śrī Kṛṣṇa. A few feet outside this staff, there will be, all round the yard, a paved path,<sup>10</sup> used for processions of the Deities and for the perambulations of the devotees. In certain large temples, the outer yard will also contain a large structure, with an elaborate and complicated workmanship, called Kūttampalam, a theatre from where Cākyars give Kūttu performances and from where, night after night “hundreds of people stream forth delighted and enlightened, and with ‘calm of mind, all passions spent’”. This, in brief outline, is a sketch of the temple premises.

6. There are many classic works that treat about the architecture of the temples, and of the manner in which the worship is to be conducted there. But, in Malabar, the work that is invariably followed is called *Tantrasamucaya* of Cēnnassu Nampūtiri. Elaborate rules there are for the selection of sites and materials for building temples, then for the consecration of the image and for the development and preservation of spiritual power in it. “This power has also to be protected from dissipation by the action of adverse influences.

4. Amkaṇa. This will be a paved one in large temples.

5. Nālampalam. 6. Viḷakkumāṭam 7. Maṇḍapam.

8. Balikkalpara. 9. Kotimaram. 10. Pradakṣhiṇāvazhi.

Here it has to be noted that the above *āgama* work of the Nampūtīri has only collected in a condensed form the canons of ancient Sruṭi and Smṛiti writers.

7. It is very interesting to trace the rise and history of temples in Malabar. The Vēdas do not tell us of idols or of idol worship. It was the Buddhists who began to build Vihāras and set up images of Buddha for purposes of adoration and meditation. That is the irony of fate. For, Buddhism did not acknowledge any personal God; or, for the matter of that, any God at all. But, with the rise of the Mahāyāna School of Buddhism, rites, rituals and image worship came into existence. Thus arose the need for building temples for worship. The Malayālis must have copied the practice from the Buddhists. For, Buddhism had a long and glorious innings in Kerala. Under the Buddhists, it is said, the Malayālis 'attained a marvellous degree of scholarship and acuteness in all branches of Indian Sciences'. The Malabar Vihārās were also centres of learning. There was a great University at Matilakam near Crāṅganūr, where, at one time, the Assembly of the Wise was presided over by Iṭan-Kō-Aḍgal, the author of *Silappadhikaram* and the brother of the Kerala Ruler Sen Kuttuvan. He was a Buddhist ascetic and lived in a *chaitya* near Matilakam.

8. Treatment that is even now given to lunatics in Tiruvādi and to lepers in Takaḷi temples in Travancore is reminiscent of Buddhistic times. For, Hindu temples do not prescribe or dispense medicines. The Kiḷirūr, Śāsthāncōtta, and Nāgercōil temples were originally Buddhistic institutions. When Buddhism was on the wane, the Viharas gradually got themselves transformed into temples

// 9. The term Śāstha, now the name of a Hindu deity who is also spoken of as the son of Siva, in classical Sanscrit is a synonym for Buddha, and one meets with any number of temples dedicated to Śāstha and to Kālī in Malabar, to the former especially in that line of hills to the east of the backwater system where the ancestors of the Malayālis lived.

10. The Nāyars and the Nampūtiris are the two enlightened classes of people who are the earliest to be seen in Malabar. From the points of view of physiognomy, and anthropometry, they look alike. Originally, they were all



classed as Kshatīyas. 'Amongst those same people (Nayars) again' says Abbe Du Bois 'is another class of people called Nambudiris'. Varthema has recorded, 'the first class of pagans in Calicut are called Brahmans. The second are Naeri who are the same as gentlefolks amongst us'. Ma Huan, a Chinese Muhammadan traveller of the 15th century, observes, 'The Nayars rank with the king'.

11. The position of the Nayars in spiritual matters is evidenced by the prominent part they played in the establishment and management of temples. On account of the accumulation of property under the control of these religious bodies, the owners began to exercise even judicial and executive functions which at times rendered the sovereign power in the land a mere shadow. The ruler took advantage of the disputes among owners of temples to intervene; and thus by conquest, escheat and surrender, almost all the temples owned by individuals or private bodies came into the possession of the ruler. Vestiges still remain in the practices of several of the large temples, especially on festive occasion, which will give clear clues of the original ownership. The families of those who owned the temples in olden days may now be in famished circumstances, yet their representatives will be treated with special consideration at the annual celebrations in several temples.

12. Before we view these annual celebrations, let us look at the daily life of a deity. The daily routine of a temple starts with the blowing of a conch-shell, three times. At the same time, a chorus is set up by the temple musicians. Both these take place at about 3 A. M. and are intended to wake up the deity. Immediately, the priest goes for his bath. Before he returns to the temple, Vāriar cleans the premises, and the priest's assistant lights up the lamps there. <sup>1</sup> The priest alone will open the sanctuary, trim the lights and remove the offerings of flowers of the previous day. It is considered meritorious to worship the deity at this time, <sup>2</sup> and many will come to the temple after their plunge bath to worship and to

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1. That cleanliness is next to godliness is nowhere so rigorously observed as in Malabar temples. For an environment for spiritual uplift one should go there.

2. Nimmālyam-cārttal.

pray at this hour. Next the image is washed with water, and in large temples, with the water of tender cocoanuts, with oil, milk and finally again with water. Flowers, fried rice with jaggery, fruits and water are then offered; and, some time after, an oblation of rice. The image is then taken round the temple thrice in procession with music and drummings. Offering of flowers with appropriate *mantras* follow; then an oblation of rice; and at about 10 a. m., the image is again taken round the temple. This closes the morning service. The temple is again opened at 4 p. m., At 6 p. m. the worship with lights is performed to the accompaniment of music and the chanting of hymns. This consists in waving lights, incense and lit camphor in front of the deity. This is another auspicious hour <sup>(1)</sup> for worship. Offerings of flowers oblation of rice, sweets, fruits and water and the third and final procession succeed one after the other. The image is taken inside for the rest at night, and the temple is closed. That completes the daily round of services in an ordinary temple. Then there are the annual festivals.

13. The nature of these celebrations varies with temples. It may be an *Ulsavam* in one, *Pooram* in another, *Tālappoli Pāna*, *Pāttu* or *Tiyyjātti* in some others. There will not be a single knowing Malayāli who has not heard of Alwaye Sivarātri, Vaikkath Aṣṭami, Guruvayoor Ekādeśi, Trichur Pooram, and Kodungallūr Bharani. Then, again, there are the *Durga Pūja*, *Rāma Navami*; and *Aṣṭami-Rohini*. In fact, to borrow the language of Max Muller, a Malayāli is 'born religious and dies religious. Religion is the Alpha and Omega of his earthly career'!

14. In other parts of India, *Rāmanavami* is the festival conducted by the votaries of Rama, *Śivarātri* is observed by the followers of Siva, while *Aṣṭami-Rōhini* is the principal celebration among the devotees of Krishna. But a Malayāli is a cosmopolitan and strictly observes all the three. What is called *Durga Pūja* in other parts is called *Ayudha Pūja* in Malabar; for, a Malayāli was a warrior by profession. It lasts for nine days and so is called Navarāthri as well. Every hour of these is filled with elaborate ceremonies; and there will be a round of merry-making among the young. For Ekādeśi you fast, while for Pooram you feast.

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(1) Dipārādhana.

15. *Tālappoli* is connected with the temples dedicated to Bhagavathi, the Mother-Goddess. There will be illuminations and processions. A bevy of coy maidens, with a sprinkling of militant matrons, spotlessly dressed and decked with jewels, will stand in two rows in front of the elephant on which the deity is mounted, with *tālam*s. These consist of light, saffron, cloth, looking glass and so on placed in small burnished bell-metal or brass plates.

16. *Ulsavam* is a very elaborate festival. Besides the purely numberless religious ceremonies, there will be grand processions on elephants decked with costly trappings and with large coloured silk umbrellas. 'Ulsavams are made the occasion for the gathering not of the worshippers only who muster strong during the holy week, but also of the wiry athlete with his rings, the skilled dancer with his quaint dress, the country wit with his sharp tongue for the men and events of the day, the juggler with his cups and balls and his sleight of hand, the melodious piper with his golden flute, the dexterous drummer with his bended back and tireless hands, and the clever trader with his inviting wares.'

17. It is these yearly celebrations in temples, and the inspiring tradition, legend or association connected with them that have attracted people to them, and contributed to the growth of so many places of pilgrimage. Whatever might be the origin of the institution of pilgrimages in India, there is no doubt that these have greatly influenced the religious and national life of the people of this vast peninsula. While saints find sacred places helpful for their spiritual practices, the commonality derive mental discipline and spiritual exaltation by resorting to them. Pilgrimages have also fostered a sense of solidarity among the masses and have largely contributed to the catholicity of Hinduism. They serve in these respects, the same purpose to the Indians as continental tours to Europeans. 'Many places of pilgrimages developed into great seats of learning. People, when in holy places, desire to acquire an additional merit by acts of philanthropy. So, they encourage learning, renovate old temples and build new ones. It is thus that Benares, the spiritual capital of India, became the greatest seat of learning. Architecture, sculpture and painting have been considerably encouraged by the construction of temples. In almost every holy place there will be besides *pāṭaśālas*, *saduvratams* and *Dharmaśālas* and other institution where the needy are helped, the poor fed

and indigent students are maintained.' Similarly, holy places have grown into centres of commercial activity. When you get a continuous stream of visitors, you can certainly expect a good sale for nice wares. Thus temples are highly useful from the standpoint of religion, education, national solidarity and of economics. A trip from Cape Comorin to Gōkarnam — how exhilarating, how educative it will be. Famous temples with centuries of history and tradition behind them, picturesque landscapes, well-known battlefields, *tōls* and *mutts* where even the stones and mortar will look learned by long association — these you will come across in great number. But I shall not tarry over there. I shall just sum up what I have been telling you during these few minutes.

18. Apart from the housing of idols, and without any reference to the prayer and ceremonies conducted there, the Malabar temples stood, as I have said elsewhere, 'for the administration of charity, the dissemination of education, the encouragement of trade and of fine arts and the employment of a great number of people. Many of the large ancient temples exhibit the wonderful development reached here in architecture, sculpture and iconology. The paintings on the walls and panelled ceilings are marvels of the art, and serve to impart instruction in the legendary lore of the Puranas. Temples are also centres of festive gatherings. During the time of these rejoicings, there will be processions, dancing and drumming, music and piping, drama, *Kūthu*, *Paṭhakam* sports and various songs. The songs that accompany the sports and dances, the dramatic literature and hymnology which are the outcome of the existence of these temples are of a high order. Many of these are rightly ranked as classics. They speak of the high and the excellent culture that prevailed in Malabar in ancient days.'

19. 'A Hindu Temple on the Malabar coast is' in the words of the *Travancore State Manual*, 'a centre of attraction to the old and the young, by its perfect system of worship by the sweet fragrance and peace it breathes, the health and recreation it affords, its remarkable neatness, its regularity and punctuality in all its varied functions, the active beneficence it dispenses, and, above all, by the devotion, the

reverance and the order which it silently inculcates on the thousands of votaries that visit it.' If you analyse its functions closely, a temple engenders religion and art and glorifies love and service. All the Srutis, Smritis and all the Puranas emphasise two points: to hurt another, by word, deed or thought, is sin; to do good is virtue. Let us translate these sentiments into our actions in our daily life. For, otherwise, it will end in no noble goal. We can realise salvation only by regarding others as brothers and shouldering their burden. Are we not sons of the same Father, creatures of the same God? Let us hence cultivate brotherhood by knowing, understanding one another a little more closely; and let us show to the world outside that we do stand for selfless service For.

"God is Love in deed

And Love Creation's final law."



# A PRIMER OF MALAYALAM PHONOLOGY.

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## CHAPTER II.

### Vowels.

#### a

1. This mid half-open vowel is largely retained, as in kaḍu, tar-, aḍi, etc.

In weak-accented positions, the a becomes ə. The final a of nouns like mala, ila, kara is a slightly more open variety of the phoneme.

2. The influence of certain initial sounds is responsible for the change of an immediately following a to ə or even e in the following types:-

(i) Borrowings and adaptations from IA with the initial voiced plosives g, ḍ, d, b, j and with initial y, r, l show ə or e in the stead of a;-

gəruḍan, dəya, bəlam, jəyam, yəjamānan, ləta, revī, in all of which ə may sometimes have the value of a full e too in the mass-colloquial.

If the initial consonants of the IA loans are voiceless or aspirated, then the change is absent:- karam, padam, cakram, ghaṭṭam, bhayam, dharmam. But when in the mass-colloquial the aspirate element of the original voiced aspirated consonants is lost, the tendency to change the immediately following a to ə sometimes becomes active, as illustrated by the "corrupt" mas-colloquial values like gənam (for ghanam), dənigan (for dhanikan) Cf. Tamil colloquial geḍiyāram (cf. ghaṭi, geḍam for ghata 'a pot').

(ii) The following adaptations from IA, with initial ś are often evaluated in the mass-colloquial with ə (or e in the

stead of a:- śəri (ultimately derived from IA sadṛśa), śəni (for śani), in both of which the change is due to the ś and to the r or n following.

Cf. n'āsəрман [TAS, VI, p. + o] for n'āgaśarman, where the ə may have been due to the influence of ś as well as to the weak-accented position.

(iii) Initial c changes a to ə or e in the colloquials in the following: —

cəli; for caḷi; cəri-for cari-, ceññādi (adaptation of IA; cf. OIA saṅghāta).

(iv) vərəikk-for varaikk-is sporadically heard in the mass-colloquial, owing to the influence of v and r.

[Cf. kalppikkum veṇṇavum in TAS, VIII, p. 94.] The bilabial v, when loosely uttered, involves an ə sound (Cf. Noel-Armfield, General Phonetics, p. 72)

2. (i) paḍ-, a very ancient south Dr. verb-base with ramified and generalized meanings, was used in Old Mal. (as in other south Dr. speeches) both as an independent verb with the significations 'to fall (dead on the battlefield', 'to happen, occur', 'to be included', and as a help-verb in the type of eḍukkap-pad-, etc.

The frequency with which it was employed in Mal. as a help-verb (the use of paḍ-as a fully independent verb gradually fell into desuetude in New Mal) led to the a of pad-becoming weak-accented (to ə), and pad-(in the contexts in which it is used today) has come to be evaluated as pəd— (written as peḍ-and often pronounced with full e).

Very old inscriptions and texts and texts use paḍ:— i-k-kaccattil pattadinukku [TAS, II, p-36—10th c.]; pon-tanda-p-pad-[ib.]; avat't'inu paḍum malaiyum [ip., II, p. 47-11th c.]

Dūt. uses paḍ-throughout; other texts like Līl., US, RC, KR have ped-as the help-verb (except occasionally in forms like kiḷpaṭtu, mēlpaṭtu, while pad-is used to signify 'to fall dead' as in the following;-padum en kayyāl [RC, 51], pattār [KR, Bāl., 107], cilar padu-g-ilum [Bhg.] pattāḷō [KR, Ar. 231]

New Mal. had *peḍ*-throughout, though the old *a* is retained in *paḍukka* 'a basement of stone', *paḍumaḷa* 'down-pour of rain'.

(ii) Old-Mal. *peṇṇ-* (= *pəṇṇ-?*) (cf. Tam. *paṇṇ-*) used numerously in KG as the second constituent of collocations like *bhōjanam peṇṇ-*, has an *e* which is derivable from the weak-accented variant *ə* of *a*.

(iii) *katt-* 'to tie' and *kattu* 'bundle' [occurring in Tam., Kann., Tel. and Tulu] appear as *kəṭt-* and *kəttu* in Mal. (represented in writing as *keṭt-* and *kettu*). Colloquial Tam. has also the forms with *ə*.

The Mal. forms with *e* for *a* are fairly old:— *māla ketti* [TAS, IV, p. 71]. I think that the change may have been first initiated in common compounds-like *n'aḍu-k-kəttu*, *tala-k-kəttu* *pāy-k-kəttu* where the older *a* was weak-accented.

Weakening of the accent is also responsible for the use of *e* in New Mal. *perumār-* 'to transact' for older *parimār-* [E]. Bhāg.]

3. The final-*a* of the old infinitive participles has changed to *ə* in many of the Mal. instances retained today with different syntactic functions.

This change appears to have commenced in Old Mal. itself, since inscriptions and texts like Dūt., KG have forms with *e* beside those with-*a* like *kūḍe kūḍa*; *perige, periga*.

In New Mal., the *e* appears in most of the forms that are in currency, the exceptions being the following:—

(i) The infinitives used in 'passival' constructions like *paṛayə-p-peḍ*, and in others like *paṛayə-t-takka*, where the older *a* has the value of *ə* only a value which is common for this sound in colloquial Tam. on account of the weak accent).

(ii) The first constituents of iteratives like *kūḍə-kk-ūḍe tuḍarə-t-tuḍare*, etc., and of collocations like *ērə-k-kure āgə-t-tuga*, *irikkə-k-kattil*, *irikkə-p-porṇḍi*.

(iii) The regional *okka* (beside *okke*).



In my view, the ə which appears as the weak-accented representative of -a was fronted to e in Mal. partly on account of the weak-accented position and partly owing to the influence of the emphatic ě, because of the semantic emphasis involved in the use of the old infinitive participles in contexts like ěřě paraññu, aḍukkě pōyi, agalě cen'n'u where the emphatic ě was annexed to the form after the ə was elided.

4. ellō (for allō appears in Old Mal. texts, e.g., exclusively in Dūt., and beside allō in the works of the Paṇikkars; the origin of this e here has to be traced to the weak-accented position of a of allō in collocations like ivan-allō, van'n-ittuṇḍallō. It may be observed that the actual value of the e of ellō was perhaps only ə.

5. Mal. enikku and tanikku show i, beside Tam. enakku and tanakku. The latter is common even today in regional colloquials (for instance, in the speech of some communities in the Cochin State). enakku and tanakku are exclusive in the fourteenth century Dūt. They are met with in inscriptions also [cf. TAS, II, p 173 ff ]

Colloquially Tam. has enuḱḱu where the ə (weak-accented a) has changed to u on account of the attraction of final u. It is possible that at an earlier stage, this u (with fairly advanced tongue-position) changed to i in Mal. This change is attested in other types also (cf. 6 below)

6. Mal. forms like paraññidu, paṇṇuvidu, paraividu [TAS, II, p. 36], allowed in the literary dialect. correspond in structure to colloquial Tam. forms like uṇbidu, uṇḡuvidu mentioned by the commentarian of the Middle Tam. grammar Vīracōḷiyam [Kriyā, II], and vaiccidu [SII, III, p. 233].

Here again, a literary Tam. form like vaittaḱu is evaluated in the colloquial as vaccuḱu, the weak-accented a 'of the penultimate syllable' being replaced by u on account of the "attraction" of the final u. From u (with advanced tongue-position) the change to a centralised i and then to i is quite easy.

7. The  $\text{u}$  of Tam. colloquial  $\text{vandud}\text{u}$  appears to have become a centralised  $\text{u}$  (along a different line of development) in Old Mal. forms like  $\text{vaṇṇudu}$ ,  $\text{alayuvudu}$   $\text{ōḍuvudu}$ , etc.

8. Lengthening of final  $\text{a}$  in the following is due to pausal emphasis:—

$\text{ariga}$  [E],  $\text{Cint.}$ ],  $\text{colgā}$  [Sabāpr, l. 4 +4] as polite imperatives (evolved from older optatives; colloquial  $\text{kūḍā}$  [TAS, VII, p. 77] < the old infinitive  $\text{kūḍa}$ —

9. Mal.  $\text{pilāvu}$  beside  $\text{plāvu}$ ,  $\text{kināvu}$  beside  $\text{knāvu}$ ,  $\text{pirāvu}$ , owe their  $\text{i}$  to the considerable weakening of the old sound consequent on the strong accent thrown on the syllable with  $\tilde{\text{a}}$ :—

$\text{pilāvu}$  <  $\text{palāvu}$  <  $\text{palā}$  (cf. Tam.  $\text{palā}$ );  $\text{kināvu}$  <  $\text{kanāvu}$ ;  $\text{pirāvu}$  <  $\text{purāvu}$  <  $\text{purā}$  cf. Tam.  $\text{purā}$ ). Cf. for the weakening of the first syllable, coll. Tam.  $\text{n'īlāvu}$  (for  $\text{n'īlavu}$ ), Middle Tam.  $\text{s'lā-lēkai}$  [SII, III, p. 248] for  $\text{śilā-lēkhai}$ , [adapted from Skt.], inscriptional  $\text{picādam}$  [TAS, VI, p. 109] (adapted from MIA  $\text{pasāda}$ ) which has given rise to Tam.  $\text{śādam}$  and  $\text{śāppaḍ-}$ .

### $\tilde{\text{a}}$

This long back open vowel is retained, largely as in  $\text{āna}$ ,  $\text{kāḍu}$ ,  $\text{n'īlāvu}$ , etc.

2. On account of the influence of the palatal nasal  $\tilde{\text{n}}$  in the following, the  $\tilde{\text{a}}$  tends to assume the value of a half-open front sound like long  $\text{ae}$ :— $\tilde{\text{nān}}$ ,  $\tilde{\text{nānnā}}$ ,  $\tilde{\text{nānnū}}$ ,  $\text{miniṇṇā'n'u}$  (<  $\text{munṇānd'u}$ ).

3.  $\text{nōm}$  (with long  $\text{ō}$ ), occurring in some texts and some colloquials has long  $\text{ō}$  from  $\tilde{\text{a}}$  (of  $\text{nām}$ ) on account of the bilabial  $\text{m}$  following.

K Bhāg. shows  $\text{ōḷōm}$  beside  $\text{ōḷam}$ ; the change of  $\text{a}$  to  $\text{ō}$  is partly due to the influence of the following- $\text{m}$ .

4.  $\tilde{\text{a}}$  is shortened to  $\text{a}$  in the following:—

(i) Colloquially, the negative affix  $\tilde{\text{ā}}$ , as in  $\text{vēṇḍa}$ ,  $\text{pōra}$ ,  $\text{kūḍa}$ ,  $\text{vayya}$ .

(ii) In fruit-names like *tēñña*, *paḷukka*, *aḍaikka*, etc. where the final *a* < *ā* < *ā'y* (see below).

(iii) In the seventh case post-position -*kāl* which is derived from -*kāl* [cf. *kōyilkkāl* in TAS, IV, p. 15, which is the "ancestral" form of *kōyilkkal*; and cf. Tam -*kāl* in TC, 82].

(iv) In *orikkal* which in Old Mal appears beside *orikkāl* [US, 2, 94; Lil. 4, 15] and *orukkal* [TAS, VII, p. 113]; cf. Tam. *orukkāl*.

### i

1. The sound is largely retained, as in *tin,-vaḍi*, *kaḍi*, etc.

2. The change (by a process of "anticipatory harmony") of *i* to *ē* in radical positions of words in which *i* is followed immediately by a short consonant and a more open vowel (or a more open element in an old diphthong) in the next syllable is common to all south Dravidian languages. In Tam. and Mal. this change is not ordinarily embodied in literary instances, while in the other south Dr. speeches it is largely literary also. *eḍam* < *iḍam*; *ela* < *ila*, *ivar*, *iva!* do not show the change, since forms like *eva*, etc. would conflict with the interrogatives.

Adaptations from Skt. or IA show the change only when they are "popular".

The colloquial *eḍam* is allowed in the Mal. literary forms like *van'n'ēḍam* beside *van'n'-iḍam* or *van'n'a-y-iḍam*; *eḍavam* *eḍavāḍu*, *erakkam*, *eraṭṭimadhuram*, *eraval* are other coll. forms used occasionally in texts.

3. The *e* in Mal. *ceṛu*, *ceṛiya*, *ceṛukkan*, corresponding to Tam. *ciṛu*, may have been due to dissimilation.

Mal *en'n'i-y-ē* (beside old *ind'i*) also owes its initial *e* to dissimilation.

New Mal. *eni* 'beside *ini* is still a regional form which has not received literary recognition.

4. *i* is lost in the aphaeresized *raṇḍu* in Mal. (and in colloquial Tam). The back-analogy of adaptations like *iraḷcikk*-[TAS, III, p. 165] beside *rakṣikk*-may have led to

the dropping of *i* in *iraṇḍu*. The form *raṇḍu* is vehemently disapproved by Līl. [III, 7, comm].

5. The weak-accented position has led to the change of old *i* to *u* (through centralised vowel-stages) in the following:-

(i) The Mal. present tense ending *-un'n'* < *-und'* < *-ind'*, The change here may have been accelerated by "attraction" of the final *u* of Mal. forms without personal endings.

The *u* appears fairly early:—*vāḷund'a* [TAS, II, p. 34]; but *i* persisted in colloquials down till a late stage: cf. *vikkin'n'a* and *ceyyin'n'avar* [TAS, III, p. 220—17th c.] and *koḍukkin'n'adallāde* [TAS, V, p. 210—18th c.]

(ii) Forms like *vādukkal* < *vādikkal*; *vaḍakkunḡuru* < *vaḍakkingūru*; *ātt'unṇal* < *ātt'ingal*; *arudu* < *aridu* < *ariyadu*; *valudu*; *āḷagudu*.

6. Lengthening of *i* is met with in the following:-

(i) *īla* for *illa* in poetry, as in *vaṇṇīla*, *pōyīla*, etc.

ii. *Dūt.* has *vaṇṇīlla*, *ceydilla* where, the long *ī* is associated with long *ll*. This may have been due to the analogy of forms like *kitiḷla* < *kiti-y-illa*, where *i* was the resultant of "vowel contraction".

(iii) *ī* in the following is due to "vowel contraction":—*avanīl*, *dharaṇīl*, *bhūmīl*; *ṇōkkīruṇṇu*, etc; *ṇōkkīttu*, *pāḍittu*, etc. The vowel group-*i* (*y*) *i*-arising from the loosening of the consonantal friction of *y*, undergoes "contraction" to *ī*. Cf. *ṇōkkīdu* < *ṇōkkiyadu*.

(iv) The final *i* of Mal past finites is sometimes lengthened *ih pausa* to differentiate them from the past conjunctive participles. The Ms. of *Dūt.* has *ī* always for such finites.

(v) The Paṇikkars have *īnd'i* for *ind'i*.

7. The influence of the initial bilabial is responsible for the change of *i* to *u* in the following colloquial

forms:— *puṛañṇu* [Bhīṣm., p. 15] beside *piṛañṇu*, *muḷuñṇi*—  
beside *miḷuñṇi* - and *viḷuñṇi*—

u

1. *u* is retained largely in accented positions, as in *uri*, *uḷi*, *kuḍi*, *puḷu*, etc. In unaccented positions, *u* becomes centralised, as in *kodutt-*, *oḷukki*, etc.

2. *u* changes to *o* when in initial (radical) syllables *u* is followed in the next syllable by a short consonant and a more open vowel or diphthong. This may be compared to the change of *i* to *e* in similar circumstances. This change also is colloquial in Tam. and in Mal., while it has been embodied in literary instances in the other south Dravidian speeches.

3. *u* of *uḷ* appears as *o* in some of the earliest west coast inscriptions and in regional colloquials of Mal:—

*oḷḷa* [TAS, II, p. 36-10th c.], *oḷḷidu* [ib., II, p. 173 ff.], *oṇḍāya* [ib, vi, p. 39]. Dūt. shows finite forms like *oṇḍu*, *oṇḍirikkind'ū* with *o*-only, though it has *uḷavag-*.

4. In unaccented positions, *u* tends to assume the value of *i*;— *irimbu* (<*irumbu*, *patippu*, (<*paruppu*), *irikka* (<*irukka*), *pōriga* (from *pōruga*), *irivar* (<*iruvar*), *perige* (<*peruge*), *kariṅgal* (<*karuṅgal*) The original *u*, even when retained (as sometimes it is) in forms like *pōruga*, *karuṅgal*, *iruvar* has only the value of a centralised vowel.

The sixth case ending-*uḍe* has its-*u*-weakened to *i*, the ending appearing as *iḍe* sometimes; this *iḍe* is mentioned in Līl., comm. This weakening marks the first stage in the process whereby the sound is ultimately slurred over and the meeting of final person-denoting-*n* (or the *n* of the augment in) is brought about, and *ḍ* (of-*de*) is converted to the alveolar *d'* in these contexts.

Lack of accent is also responsible for forms like *karakk-* < *karukk* - 'to be blackened', *aṛakk* - < *aṛukk-*, *aṛan'ūru* < *aṛun'ūru*.

5. Mal. *pūg-* < *pugu-ga* and *ūkk-* < *ugukk* owe their *ū* to "vowel contraction" following upon the weakening of medial-*g*-which is spirantized and opened out to a hiatus.

6. The long ū of Mal. finites like van'n'ū, eḍuttū, cellind'ū, used in some texts (like Dūt. which uniformly has this ū) is due to the pausal position. Forms like van'n'ūdu, pōgun'n'ūdu (with the expletive final) owe their long ū to the influence of finites like van'n'ū, etc.

7 "Popular" forms like celutticca [TAS, V, p. 6] <celutticca; iḍividu [ip, II, p. 173] <iduvidu; vettivittu [ib., VII, p. 8] <vettuvittu have-i-instead of-u-on account of "attraction" of the i following. Cf. iṇit't'-<iṇat't'-, and migidi <migudi where the i of the second syllable is due to the "attractive" influence of the i preceding.

8. Colloquial variants like pila [TAS, IV, p. 149] <pula; ūttupira [ip., V, p. 150] <ūtupura; pirapped-[ip., V, p. 217] <purapped-; piraḷ-, peraḷ-<puraḷ are "back-analogy" forms influenced by alternants like piraḡ > purage, piraḡk- > purakk-in which instances the u is due to the influence of the bilabial.

#### e

1. e is retained largely, as in eñṇal, eli teḷi-, etc.

2. e becomes changed to i on account of "contamination" with forms (having i) in the following:— cilavu 'expense' (<celavu), on account of the influence of cilavu 'some things', cila 'some'. cilavu 'expense' occurs in a 12th century stone inscription [TAS, VII, p. 8]. tiriyuga 'to understand' colloquially used for teri owes its i to the influence of the normal tiri 'to be turned'.

3. Colloquial inikku <enikku owes its initial i to the "attraction" of the second syllable.

4. e is changed to o on account of the influence of the bilabial, in Mal. covvu (<cevvu; cf. Tam. cemmai, covvā 'Mars' (cf. Tam. cevvē); covvappu (<cevappu; cf. Tam. cemmai 'redness'); cuvakk- (with u by back-analogy) <covakk-<cevakk-,

5. Short e is lengthened sometimes for emphasis:— the acc. ending (before um) <ai; e <ai, as in vare, n'āle; e < ai,

as in ālappuḷe pōy; e < a in inf. participles; e of the sing gen. ending (before-um).

ě

1. This is mostly retained, as in tēr, ělkk-, vėl, etc.

2. Mal. teṇḍ 'to roam about' corresponds to Middle Tam. teṇḍ-, tēḍ-with closely allied meanings

3. The ě appearing in Mal. qualificatory ě and in forms like kāṇaṭṭē (< kaṇ-ottum-ě, adē, is originally long [See my EMM, p. 110], but in the texts it often appears shortened.

The ě in forms like mumbě, pōrě, vayyě, kūḍě also suffers shortening sometimes.

o

1. o is retained largely, as in oru, ko!-, etc.

2. Mal. tuḍar-, tuḍaññ-correspond to Tam. toḍar, toḍaññ-; but Tam. colloquial varieties have forms with u also.

3. In Tamil inscriptional paḷisai [S II, I, p 116] and in Mal. paḷisa, the original o of poliśai 'derived from poli 'to be accumulated') may have changed to a. o is retained in polivu, poli-k-kāṇam.

4. The old o of old prohibitives like varollā has changed to ə in forms like varallē.

Similarly, varattē < varotē < varottuvē < var ottum-ē < vara-ottum-ē.

ippaḷe is often colloquially heard for ippoḷə.

1. Forms constituted of the negative conjunctive participle and koṇḍu like varādē koṇḍu 'the "ancestor" of colloquial New Mal. varāṇḍu) are written sometimes with kaṇḍu instead of koṇḍu. Here, the unaccented position of the o of koṇḍu may have caused its reduction to a mere neutral sound. This has wrongly led some people to regard kaṇḍu, the past conjunctive participle of kāṇ-, as the original second member of this collocation.

## u

1. The kut't'iyal-ugaram final of Tam. is retained in Mal. only in the first constituents of compounds like raṇḍu pēr, van'n'u kūḍi, eṇṇttu koṇḍn.

2. Before consonants and pauses, the old u changed in Mal. to a more open sound ə during the Old Mal. period. It is difficult to fix the exact time when the change occurred, since all the oldest documents and texts represent the final samvṛta with the symbol for u. Inscriptions of the late Old Mal. period have, however, forms like തെചത്ത, ഇടിയിച്ചത having finally the symbols ത, ത representing the sound value of the consonants followed by ə.

3. Old Mal. peṇḍi [Pr., 31] (corresponding to Tam. peṇḍi has been isolated from the Mal. plural form peṇḍigaḷ in which the i has developed from the unaccented u or ü of peṇḍugaḷ.

4. Old u has changed to i in forms like Mal. n'ūt't'i-pattu n'ālpatti-n'ālu, etc.

## ai (ay)

1. This group is pronounced either as a diphthong or as ay with full consonantal friction for y; this feature is true of Tamil also (cf. TE, 58).

2. ai or ay is fully retained in accented monosyllabic forms, like kai, tai, vai-k-kōḷ, and in forms founded directly on verb-bases like arai-, urai-, etc.

The second element of the diphthong (or the element y) is heard with greater or lesser distinctness in verb-forms founded on verb-bases with the kārita affix-kk, as in maṛaikkum, araikkun'n'n, vaḷaikkuvān. There are some colloquials where the ai has become changed to e, and others where the second element of ai (or ay) is almost on the road to ruin, the only effect left behind being the palatalised k' k'.

The second element is more distinctly retained in verb-forms founded on monosyllabic bases like vaikk-, kaikk-than



in those founded on *maṛaikk-*, etc. Derivative nouns, with *-pp*, from such monosyllabic verb-bases, retain the second element more or less distinctly, as in *kaippu* 'bitter taste', *vaippu* 'placing', while derivatives like *valappu* (from *valai-kk-*), *aṛappu* (from *on aṛai-kk-*) have lost it completely.

Word-compounds in which the first constituents are monosyllabics retain the second element of *ai* with greater or lesser distinctness, as in *kai-c-cittu*, *kai-k-kōṭṭu*, *vaikkōl*, though variants without the second element are also heard.

3. The old *ai* changed to *a* in final and medial positions numerous even in the Old Mal. period: finally in nouns like *mala*, *taṛa*, *iḍa*; medially in forms like *añju*, *kaḷañju* *vaccamacc-*.

The change in medial positions is not unrepresented in Middle, Tam. colloquial inscriptional forms.

The Mal. change in final positions is represented in a set of 11th century plates [TAS, V, p. 61]:—*ōla*, *ēḷa*. A 12th century stone inscription has *para-y-um* [TAS, III, p. 28]. *para kuḍa*, *vet'tiḷa* occur in a set of 12th century plates [TAS, IV, p. 46]

Instances showing the change in medial positions are met with in inscriptions of an earlier period:—*amacca*, *vaccu*, [TAS, III, p. 169].

4. While before pauses and generally before consonants following, the newly-developed *a* is used in Mal., the older *ai* makes itself heard or felt in the following contexts:—

(i) the dative forms with the old basal final *ai* show the *ai* (with greater or lesser distinctness), as in *ilaikku*, *sītaikku*, etc.

(ii) The seventh case forms with *-kal* (<older *kāl*) also show the *ai*, in *talaikkal*, [Regionally, one hears also a centralised *e* for *ai* in the above contexts].

(iii) The influence of the old *ai* is evident in the use of the front glide *y* after these words and before words or affixes with initial vowels, as in *tala-y-il*, *vāḷa-y-um*, *ñila-y-illa*; etc.

While in compounds like *tala-k-kettu*, the *ai* is lost, in the names of fruits like *vāḷaikka*, *kōvaikka*,; *pēraikka*, *avaraikka*, the old *ai* is heard more or less distinctly on account of the early influence of the *āy* of the older *kāy* (which was the second constituent of these compounds).

4. It may be mentioned here that in colloquial Tamil the final *ai* has changed to *e* from at least the Middle Tam. period. Cf. the inscriptional instances *vile*, *elle*, *mane*, etc. [SII, II, p. 351].

5. The old second case ending *ai* has changed to *e* [cf. colloquial Tamil] in Mal., apparently through the stage of a very much frontalised sound approximating to *e*.

The difference in the development here and that noted in 1 above is perhaps ascribable to the fact that the accusatives were not ordinarily succeeded by pauses. The non-pausal treatment of old *ai* is also reflected in the following Mal. instances:— *uḍe* < *uḍai*; *iḍe* (as a loc. postposition) > *iḍai*; *nāle* < *nālai*; *tale* (as in *tale nā!*) < *talai*; *mat't'e* < *mat't'ai*; *pit't'e*, also *pit't'a* [cf. *pit't'añā!* in TAS, II, p. 173 ff.] < *pit't'ai*.

Colloquially in Tamil, the *ai* of the nominal and verbal bases as well as the *ai* of the accusatives changes to *e*.

#### *āy* (*āi*)

1. This is retained in *pāy*, *vāy*, *kāy*, *māy*-, etc. In the colloquials, the *y* is elided in the first three nouns which appear as *pā*, *kā* (particularly in compounds).

The second element is retained more or less distinctly in forms directly founded on *kārita* verbs like *kāy-kk*-, *māy-kk*-, in datival forms like *pāykk*u, etc.

2. *āy* loses its final *y*, and the long *ā* is "shortened" in old compounds with *kāy*:— *māñña* < *māñgāy*, *tēñña* < *tēñgāy*, etc. Cf. inscriptional *paḷukkā*, *tēññā*, *aḍaikkā* [TAS, IV, p. 46].

The *y* of verb-forms is dropped in Old Mal. in instances like *māt't'inā*, *vend'ā* [US] and *colvā*, *pārā* [KR].

3. Modern *ambādi* < *aimbāḍi* [KG] < *āyanpāḍi* 'the village of the shepherd'.

4. Old Tam. *āyinum* (the conditional affix) changed to *ānum* and *ēnum* both in Early Middle Tam. and in Old Mal. Similarly, *āyilum* < *-ālum* [KG] and *-ēlum* [KG].

Late Old Mal. and Early New Mal. *-vān* (as in *uṇḍō-vān*) is constituted of *v*, the back glide, and *ān*, reduced from *āyin*.

7. *n'ēśyār* owes its *ē* to the reduction of *n'ā(y)cciyār* [TAS, VII, p. 90], the honorific feminine of the adaptation from IA *nāya*.

#### ey (ei)

1. Though *ei* does not find a place in the alphabet, the diphthongal value is often heard in speech in the evaluation of *ey*. *ey* is retained in forms like *mey*, *n'ey*, *cey-*, *pey-*.

2. *-ey* or *-ei* in final positions in the following fell together with *-ai* and suffered the change to *a*:—

(i) *n'añja* < *ñan-cey*; *puñja* < *pun-cey*.

(ii) *eṇṇa* < *e!-n'ey*; *veṇṇa* < *ve!-n'ey*.

(iii) *pattiśśa* (beside *pattiśśe*) < *pattu-c -cey* < *pattu-c-ceydu*. The history of this *-śśa* is clearly traceable with the help of inscriptional forms:— *irun'n'āḷi-c-ceyd-uppum* [TAS, V, p. 35—11th c.], *n'ānāḷiccai* and *n'ūt't'irubaduparaiccai* [TAS, III, p. 26—12th c.]; *uricce*, *muṇṇāḷicce* [ib., VII, p. 25] and *irun'āḷicca* [TAS, VII, p. 66]. *-a* of *-śśa* is from *ai* < *ei* > *ey*; while *-e* of *-śśe* is from *ei* < *ey*.

3. The instability of *y* has led to its elision in instances like the following and to the compensatory lengthening of *e* on account of the accented position:— *cēviccu* for *ceyviccu* [TAS, IV, p. 151]; *cēl* < *ceyal*.

## Vowel-groups

The “contraction with and without assimilation” of vowel-groups arising from the weakening of intervocal y, v, g is important in tracing the history of some literary morphological types like the following; the process of change is that the vowel-groups (arising in the manner mentioned above) become diphthongized (with rising or level or falling accent) and then monophthongized:—

1. a < u (v) a—vêṇḍa < vēṇḍuva; vēṇḍadu < vēṇḍuvadu.
2. ā < u (v) ā—ñōkkān < ñōkkuvān.
3. a < a (v) ā—paraññaṛe < parañña-v-āṛē.
4. i < u (v) i—ñōkkuvīn (Pl. Imp.).
5. ī < u (v) ī—viḍiccu < viḍuviccu.
6. ī < i (y) ī—ākkiṭṭu < akki-y-ittu; ñōkkīruñṇu < ñōkki-y-iruñṇu; rōhiṇīl < rōhiṇi-y-il.
7. ě < e (y) a—pèr < peyar; pèrttum < peyarttum.
8. ě < u (v) ě < u (m) ě—tarattē < tarottumē.
9. ē < a (v) < a (m) ē - parayanē < paraya-vēṇamē.
10. ê < a (y) a - kuṛē < kuṛaya.
11. ě < a (y) ê - paragē < paragayē; pōrē < pōrayē; kūḍē < kūḍayē; vēṇḍē < vēṇḍayē; atrē < atrayē.
12. ê < a (y) e - sabhē < sabhaye (Acc.)
13. ê < ā (y) ê - varallē < varollē < varollāyē
14. ē < u (v) e - vañṇuveikkām.
15. ē < ā (y) ī - ēnum < āyinum.
16. ō < u (v) a—tōrapparuppu < tuvarapparuppu; cōḍu < cuvaḍu.
17. ō < u (v) ō—vñ'n'ō < vañṇuvō.
18. ū < u (v) a—kūḷattinvēru < kuvaḷattinvēru.
19. ñ < u (v) u < u (v) a—ōḍūdu < ōḍuvudu < ōḍuvaḍu.

The colloquials have many more such “contractions.”

## CHAPTER III.

### Consonants.

k, g

1. k-> c-in Mal. cīra (beside Tam. kīrai) on account of palatalisation.

2. -g- intervocally is spirantized and sometimes elided:- ūkk- < ugukk-; ātrē < āgattē; ām < āgum; pōm < pōgum; pādi < pagudi; cempōtti < cembugotti < cembu-kotti. These are literary, while the following are colloquial:- mōn < magan (note the influence of the bilabial also here); eduttōlu < eduttu-kolluga; tinnūlum < tin-u-g-il-um, oṇṇūlō < oṇṇ-u-g-il-ō; vaṇṇūdā < vaṇṇu-kūdā; etrōṇdu < etra-kaṇdu; pārūtti < pārukkutti; cembulam < cembu-kalam; avara! [TAS' II, p. 173 ff.] < avarga!.

In the speech of the Nambudiris, -g-has become a voiced glottal fricative in mahan < magan; vaha; < vaga; alōhyam < alōgyam < Skt. alaukika.

Popular askyada < Skt. asahyata shows a converse change.

3-kk- has a palatalised appeal when immediately preceded by i or y (see Chap. I, § 5). In regional colloquial forms where the y preceding-kk-is on the road to disappearance, as in té (y)-kk- 'to rub', the palatalised kk may be said to have a phonemic importance in view of the existence of forms like tékku 'teak' where the kk is fully ve!ar. A general postulate however is not justified in view of the fact that the presence of the y preceding makes itself felt or heard in many regional and communal colloquials.

ṅg

1. The change of ṅg < ṇṇ belongs to one of the earliest sets of changes in the evolution of Mal. from the parent language. I collect below a number of instance of this change from the inscriptions (10th to 12th centuries) of the west coast.

tāññalēy [TAS, V, p. 35 — 10th c.]; tiññal [ib., V, p. 32 — 10th c.]; tuḍaṇṇi [ip, II, p. 76 — 10th c.]; aṇṇāḍi, pāṇṇu [ib., II, p. 173 ff.]; kuḷannare [ib., IV, p. 46]; kannāṇice- [ib.]; pannu [ib., III, p. 13-]; ul-ōḍunna- [ib., III, p. 164 — 10th c.]; tānn- [ib., II, p. 36 — 10th c.].

The change of *ng* to *ññ* has been far more active in Mal than the similar assimilative changes in the other consonant groups dealt with below. Nouns, verbs and indeclinables have all been affected by this change, though there are a few in which the change has not been permanently (or universally) embodied, like *pāngu* for which, however, the variant *pannu* exists in the inscriptions and in regional colloquials), *tingal* (in *tingalācca*), though *tiñnal* also is recorded in old inscriptions and texts.

2. In commonly used adaptations of I A words with *ng*, the change is frequent. Early inscriptional instances are the following:—

mannalattu [TAS, V, p. 6 — 10th c.]; kannāran [ib., II, p. 76]; cinnattil [ib., II, p. 49 — 11th c.]; pannuni [ib., IV, p. 46 — 12th c.].

While Skt. *ng*<sup>1</sup> is adapted as *nn* in words that are popular in Mal, Skt. *nk* is not so nasalized in Mal. adaptations of Skt. words with *nk*, because of the voiceless stop *k* which here acts as a bar to the Mal. assimilation.

3. It may be noted that apart from the old “internal” group *ng* of the parent language, the change affects also some instances of the group *ng* formed as the result of the meeting of different nasal consonants with *k* as in the plurals like *maranna* < *marangal* < *maram-ka*l.

Cf. inscriptional *kuḷannare* [ (a)m + k ], *cit’tāt’tannare* [ -aṁ- + k ], *kannāṇice-* [ -ṇ + k ], *māḍattinnal* [ -in + k ] [TAS, V, p. 52], *kōpurattinnal* [ib., VII, p. 120]; and cf. also *āñnal*.

1. Mal. *cannādi* is an adaptation of *sanghāta*, apparently through a stage in which the aspirate element in *gh* had been lost. *sangham*, *langhanam* do not show the change.

*n* represents = *ñ*

[ -ŋ + k ], peṇṇaḷ [-ŋ + k] and colloquial eṇṇil < eṇgil, in forms like uṇḍeṇṇil, etc.

## c

1. c is largely retained, as in cāl, cevi, pacca.

Medially, what was represented in old Mss. with the symbol for short-c-but is now represented with the symbol for ś (=ṣ) but perhaps in many instances only the value of the point-sibilant ś; but the medial long -cc- is always given the value and the symbols of the long affricate, except in the instances in 2 below.

2. -cc- medially has changed to -śś- in New Mal. in the following:—

-iśśa- in instances like nālicca [TAS, VII, p. 66] oi pattiśśa < patticca < pattuecai < pattu-c-ceydu [see Chap. II, p. 96]; eriśśēri < ericca-kari; talaśśēri < tala-c-cēri 'Tellichery'; -kuṛiśśi (in place-names) < kuṛicci; vāśśadu < vāccadu < vāyttadu [from the verb vāy-kk-'to rincease'], ṇēśyār < ṇāycciyār; iśśi < iccir < ittiri; kalaśśal < kalaccal.

## ñj

The old ñj is retained in a few nouns like aṇju, piṇju, taṇjam and in the verb-bases koṇj-, miṇj- wherever these latter are used.

In many nouns, old ñj < ṇṇ, as in n'eṇṇu (beside n'eṇju) maṇṇu, paṇṇi, kaṇṇi, kuṇṇu; also in the past stems ṇṇ < ṇj < nd (preceded by a palatal vowel or by y). The earliest inscriptions show the change, as in kaḷaṇṇu [TAS, II, p. 41—10th c.], aṇaṇṇa [ib., II, p. 36], āṇaṇṇ- [ib., II, p. 80].

2. A newly formed group -ṇc- has become changed to ṇṇ (through ṇj) in kaḍiṇṇul < kaḍum-cūl; but otherwise the ṇd remains unchanged or becomes ṇj only, as in the place-names ālvāṇcēri, vaḍakkāṇcēri, veṇjāmaram < veṇcāmaram.

3. ṇj of commonly used adaptations from IA changes to ṇṇ, as in aṇṇanam, maṇṇari, vyaṇṇanam.

IA ṇc, however, is only changed to ṇj, if at all; the reason for the difference was that the voiceless sound of the original, exercised a "protective" influence.

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ṇ represents = ñ

ñ

1. Initial ñ is peculiar to Tam. and Mal. among the Dravidian speeches.

2. While late Middle Tam. changed initial ñ to the blade-dental n' (to start with) and thence (in late Middle Tam. and New Tamil) to the alveolar point-dental n, Mal. has preserved many old words with initial ñ-. This persistence of ñ is connected, in Mal., with the popularity of the newly developed group ññ noted above.

ñān, ñāññal, ñāññal, ñeḷi-are unique in Mal.

3. While Mal. annāḷi < ainnāḷi represents a Middle Tam. change of the blade-dental n'n' (after monosyllabics with final ai or y) to the long palatal nn [cf. Nannūal, 124], Mal. does not have instances like i-n-nagaram [SII, III, p. 269], i-n nilam [ip, III, p. 244] where n'n' has become nn after the palatal vowel i also.

t, ḍ

1. These are mostly retained as in aḍi, kett-, vīḍu, etc.

2. Old tc [ < ! or ṇ + plosives ] corresponds to ḷcc in Mal., as in āḷcca [Tam. ātci; and cf. ātccai in TAS VII, p. 30], kāḷcca [cf. Tam. kātci], and vēḷcca.

The Middle Tam. colloquial instance n'āḍāḷcci [SII, I, p. 150] beside ūrāḷcci [ib.] shows that the change was not absent in Tam. colloquial.

The point whether it was the sandhi resultant t or the original sound (! or n) that was changed to ḷ cannot be precisely determined.

3. The t, ḍ of the Skt. consonant groups tk, ḍg, ḍj is evaluated as l, as in khaḷgam, vaṣaḷkāram. This peculiarity, along with the use of l for t or d in the Skt. consonant groups formed of t, d and following plosives, is I think, due to "false restoration" on the back analogy of native Dr. groups like vāḷkuṛumai and vāṛkuṛumai; kalkuḷam and kaṭ'kuḷam. I have discussed these instances of "false restoration" in detail elsewhere (IHQ, 1937).

n represent ñ and /ɳ/



## ṇḍ

1. Old ṇḍ is retained, as in āṇḍu, paṇḍu, ṇaṇḍu, vaṇḍu, koṇḍ-, uṇḍ-etc.

2. Skt. ṇḍ of loans "popularly" used in the language undergoes nasal assimilation to ṇṇ, as in daṇṇam, khaṇṇi-kk-, (beside older kaṇḍi-kk', bhaṇṇāram, etc.

3. ṇḍ of the past stem koṇḍ-loses its nasal and appears as koḍa in RC and other Old Mal. texts. Middle Tam. texts also evidence the form koḍu.

Mal. mēḍi-kk- < vēḍi-kk- < vēṇḍikk [K Bhāg., p. 219] shows a similar loss of the nasal.

In the Mal. verb-base vēṇ- < vēṇḍ-, the ḍ is lost.

## ṇ

1. ṇ is retained largely, as in kaṇ, uṇ-, āṇi, taṇṇir.

2. The Mal. verb tūṇi-corresponds to Tam. tuṇi-.

3. The Tam. sandhi group ṇm [ṇ or ṇ + m] appears as ṇm or ym in the following Mal. forms:—ūrāṇma [TAS, V, p. 78—12th c.]; ūrāma (<urāyma) [ib., V, p. 129]; kārāṇma [ib. V, p. 78]; colloquial veṇma; kāṇmān.

## t, d

1. The dental plosive is retained largely, as in tān, adu, anu, pattu.

2. The following Mal. forms have-ss-<tt;— mūssadu < mūttadu; taḍassam < taḍattam influence of Skt. taḍastam also here.

s < d in vaḷusam, vaḷusam, [K Bhāg, p. 33]; cf vaḷud- 'to slip off'.

3. -tt- is palatalised to-cc- in the following:—

(i) past stems of verbs with basal front vowels or front vocalic elements, as in aḍice-, < aḍitt, arace-, tōcc, etc.

(ii) the gender-denoter-cci < tti as in ceṭṭicci, paracci.

The earliest inscriptions show instances like vaccu [TAS, II, p. 39—10th c. ], amaicc-.

The palatalisation of tt to cc and n'd > ñj is met with in colloquial Tam. from at least the period of Middle Tam. :— vaiccidu [SII, III, p. 233], eḍuppicca [ib. III, p. 228], iśaiñj- [ib. III, p. 149].

Short -d- in intervocal positions is sometimes opened out, fricativized and lost:— caññāyittam < caññādittam; n'ambūri < n'ambūdīri; tāmūri; < tāmūdīri pattēri < pattādrī (bhaṭṭaśrī); mūssēmār < mūssadumār; varāṇḍu < varādekoṇḍu illānum < lla tānum; aḍiccē (as in ārāaḍiccē) < aḍiccadē; cf. "vulgar" colloquial ayine < adine; payināyiram < padināyiram, where the hiatus created by the opening out of -d- is filled by a glide.

5. Skt. t and d in the groups formed of these sounds as first constituents and plosives (voiced, voiceless, and aspirated), m and s (as sounds following) are evaluated in Mal. from an early period as I; the t or d of Skt. words like sat, jagat is also given the value of I, particularly in compounds in which these are first constituents, followed by words with the initial sounds mentioned above (all plosives, m and s). The change, therefore, essentially occurs in combinative positions, and the consonant groups concerned are the following:—

tp — ulpatti; db — bulbudam; dbh — ulbhavam; tk — ulkarṣam; dg — salguṇam; dgh — ulghātanam; ts — ulsāham; malsyam; tm — mālālpmyam, (or mālālt'myam); dm — palpmam, (or palt'mam).

The p in mālālpmyam, palpmam, ālpmāvu is due to the early assimilative influence of the initial plosive of the group (tm or dm) on m.

The groups formed of t followed by plosives were never tolerated by the parent language; the nearest native equivalents were those with the alveolar t' (represented by ṛ) followed by the plosives. At a certain stage in Mal. (and in Middle Tam. too) attempts were made to restore the "genuine" forms; but "popular" etymology appears to have made itself active and

the groups t'k, t'p, t'c, etc. were wrongly resolved<sup>1</sup> into lk, 'lp, lc (ls), on the back-analogy of the relationship of instances like kaḷkuḷam and kaṭ'kuḷam.

The use of l instead of t' became very common in Mal., while in Tamil it was current (perhaps in a less intensive way than in Mal.) in the colloquial, as is evidenced by numerous instances in Middle Tam. inscriptions of the form candrādityaval (beside candrādityavat' and candrādityavat) and by the existence in regional Tam. colloquials today of the form alpudam (for adbhuta).

As for lpm (from tm and dm), it may also have been due to the "false restoration" of l for the t' of the group t'p which was the original naturalised adaptation of tm and dm in the parent language.

Since the form candrādityaval occurs in many tenth and eleventh century Tam. inscriptions, this change must have started early.

#### n'd

1. While the old dental group n'd is retained in nouns like ṇ'də and in verb-bases like cīnd-, mānd-, n'īnd-, it becomes n'n', by the assimilation of the voiced plosive to the dental nasal n', in many past stems like n'aḍan'n-, tan'n'-, van'n'-, pōn'n'-, tuṇan'n'-etc. In the past stems vend- (of vē) and n'ond- (of nō), the change does not occur because of the main-stressed position.

This change appears to have occurred in the earliest stages in view of inscriptional instances like the following:—

aḷan'n'- [TAS, IV, p. 19]; tan'n'a [ib., IV, p. 46]; pan'n'-iru kaḷaṇṇu [ib., II, p. 36—10th century]; pan'n'īraḍiyil [ib., II, p. 47—11th century]. These two last-mentioned instances show n'n' in pan'n'ir- < pandir- where the modern speech has only n'd.].

1. For another type of false restoration in Mal., cf, pilkālam (for pit'-kālam), polpū (for pot'pū), mulpāḍu

2. IA n'd becomes n'n' in very popular words from the earliest known stages:—

kōvin'n'anār [TAS, II, p. 23—10th century]. The contraction kōndu commonly heard in parts of Malabar is evidently derived from an older form adapted as nt originally]. cēn'n'an [ <cēn'dan <jayanthan] ib., II, p. 49—11th century], can'n'aṇam [ib, V, p. 7—10th c.].

Though the original Skt. word from which cēn'n'an is derived has nt (which must have become voiced, in the process of adaptation, to n'd before being changed to n'n',) usually adaptations of Skt words with nt (if directly made from OIA) show only n'd with the late voicing of t, the further assimilative change being “protected” by the old voiceless character of the original stop t. Contrast the adaptations dandam (Skt. danta), andam (Skt. antam) with man'n'am (Skt. manda), in'n'u (Skt. indu), etc.

3. Old native n'd, when preceded by i, ai or y, changed to ñj already in the Middle Tam. stage: moḷiñj-, aiñju; ariñj-.

Mal. has accepted palatalised forms with ñj uniformly in its literary dialect.

#### n'

1. This blade-dental nasal is prominently preserved with its pure dental value in initial positions of Mal. words, while Tam, from the period of Late Middle Tam. has merged the sound in the alveolar n and given the alveolar value to both the dental and the alveolar varieties, though in literary Tam. the symbols are differentiated.

The preservation of the dental n' in Mal. is connected with the development of n'n' n'd. In colloquial Tamil the “confusion” between n' and n set in during the late Middle Tam. period, as is clear from many colloquial inscriptional instances.

2. n'n' is simplified to n" owing to lack of accent and this n' becomes cerebralized to ṇ on account of the influence

of the preceding back vowels in the following: — āṇe < āgun'n'u; pōṇu < pōgun'n'u; ceyyūṇu < ceyyun'n'u; old < n'ēṇ-n'igan'n'.

3. n'aḍāḍe "for the first time" occurring in the Cochin State colloquials goes back to n'aḍān'aḍē where the suppression of the syllable n'a- was due to haplology

Other instances involving different sounds) of haplological dissimilation in Mal. are the following: — pīran'n'āl < pīran'n'an'āl; kaṇṇūr < kaṇṇanūr; pannīr < panin'īr; -kār (as in vaṇḍi-k-kār) < -kārar; amarēttu < amṛdattu-āttēmmār < agattēmmār < agatt-amma-mār; varāttu [used in Early New Mal.] < varāttadu; ipōgun'n'a kaṇḍu [used in Early New Mal.] < pōgun'n'adukaṇḍu; mūssu < mūssadu < mūttadu; dēhaṇṇam < dēha-daṇṇam.

Cf. also van'n'oḍaṇṇi for van'n'u toḍaṇṇi; sūprēṇḍu for English superintendent.

Tamil āndai < ādantandai < pūndai < pūdantandai; aṅgai < agam-gai; pōndān < pōtandān; tēṅgāy < tēṅgangāy, are all literary instances showing haplology.

# EARLY TAMIL STUDIES AND MISSIONARY EFFORT

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## I

The pioneers of the modern study of the South Indian Vernaculars were the European Missionaries. The earliest European effort at the enrichment of Tamil may be said to have been that of the celebrated Saint Xavier who arranged to have the Creed, the Ave Maria, the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue rendered into Tamil and is said to have himself committed it to memory (circa 1542 A. D.) The first Tamil book was printed in 1577-79; and the first printed Tamil Dictionary was brought out at Cochin in 1679 by Father A. de Proenza. A Tamil Grammar by Baltasar de Costa was published in 1680; and the Grammar of Ziegenblag the famous Danish missionary of Tranquebar, was printed in Latin in 1716, under the title of *Grammatica Tamulica*. The well-known jesuit missionaries, Robert de Nobili and Constantius Beschi (1680-1747), inspired by their mastery of the Tamil language and of Indian literature, great admiration among Indians of all classes. Nobili joined the Madura Mission in 1606 and laboured for about half a century, combining in his own person the sanctity of the *Sanyasi* and the erudition of the *Pandit*. Beschi spent the years 1710-1747 in the Tamil country, where he acquired a marvellous knowledge of the language, especially of its classical dialect which, according to the authority of Dr Caldwell (Introduction to the Comparative Study of the Dravidian Languages, 1875 (2nd ed.) pp. 149-150) was such "as no other European seems to have acquired over that or any other Indian language." The labours of these great scholar-missionaries, in their study of Indian languages are fully portrayed in the "annual letters" of the priests of the Madura Mission preserved in the archives of the Society of Jesus, and, in some cases, in the public libraries of Europe.

Beschi's great reputation as a Tamil scholar and poet has always attracted the sympathetic attention of all Tamils as

well as of the Protestant missionaries engaged in Tamil studies, like Rottler, Caldwell and Pope. One writer, remarking of the value of Beschi's works on the grammar of the Tamil language and of his dictionaries, says that they have proved to be "invaluable aids to his successors and to Protestant missionaries, and indeed to all students of Tamil after him." A list of Beschi's works in Tamil and in Latin was published in *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1840; a Tamil life of Beschi had been prepared in manuscript about 1790; and this was probably utilised for the Saint's life, published in Tamil, in 1822, by A. Muthuswami Pillai, Manager of the College of Fort St. George, who had undertaken a tour, some years previously, in the southern districts of the Madras Presidency for the purpose of securing a collection of Beschi's works, at the instance of F. W. Ellis, of the Madras Civil Service and a noted linguistic scholar. This book was supplemented by a catalogue of Beschi's works and by extracts from some of them. Muthuswami Pillai gave in 1840, at the request of Sir Walter Elliot, an English version of his work and there is a translation into French of this Tamil work made by Father du Ranquet, S. J., in a letter dated 1841, March.

Beschi's *Grammar of the Common Dialect of the Tamil Language* (*Grammatica Latino-Tamulica*) was compiled in 1728. The first edition of the work was printed at Tranquebar in 1739, and reprinted at the College Press of the Madras Government in 1813 and at Pondicherry in 1843. An English translation of the book was prepared by Mr. C. H. Horst and published by the S. P. C. K. Press at Madras in 1831. Another and more authoritative English translation of the same work was made by the Rev. G. W. Mahon and published in 1848. This translation is considered the most accurate of the original, "to which reference can be made as to the original Ms. itself". An abridged French translation of this work of Beschi was in the possession of the French pioneer orientalist, Anquetil Duperron and presented by him to the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale (then Royale.) (J. Besse's *Father Beschi*—1918—p. 214)

Beschi's grammar of Colloquial Tamil, as distinct from the literary dialect aimed at giving the missionaries a means for equipping themselves for their task of preaching to the mass of the people while "leaving it to the taste and

ability of each one to master its literature. It has however been held that it helped to perpetuate a variety of Tamil—Christian Tamil as it has been termed—which is “decidedly less polished than the language of the schools.”

Beschi's *Grammar of High Tamil*, the preface of which was dated September 1730, was in Latin and remained unpublished for nearly two centuries, though an English translation of it was brought out in 1822 by B. G. Babington of the Madras Civil Service and printed by the Madras College Press. Dr. G. U. Pope calls this translation “an exceedingly correct and scholar-like edition of a most masterly work.” (*Tamil Hand-book*, Madras 1867 p 67). In 1917, the Latin text with the English translation was published at Trichinopoly, the latin text being edited by the Rev. L. Besse, S. J.

Connected with his *Grammar of High Tamil* are two other works by Beschi on the Tamil language:—(1) The *Tonnul Vilakkam*, all in Tamil, and (2) (The *clavis humaniorum litterarum sublimioris Tamulicæ idiomatis*). The first work has a title meaning the ancient scientific treatise, and is based on the Nāṇūl of Bhavarādī, but marked by a different arrangement, though bodily taking over its sutras in many cases. It has been published several times; and a prose version of it is included in the Rev. W. Taylor's *catalogue raisonnée* of Oriental Manuscripts with the Government of Madras. (Ms. No. 2179, p. 2 Vol. III; Madras, 1862). The manuscript prose version of this book was deemed by Taylor to have had the appearance of a class-book when the Madras College had a school attached to it. M. J. Vinson ranks the *clavis* among the doubtful works of Beschi; but Dr. A. C. Burnell, the learned author of *South Indian Palaeography*, was convinced of Beschi's authorship of it and had it printed at Tranquebar in 1876 from a manuscript which he thought had been revised by the author in person.

Beschi's Dictionaries were more important than his works on grammar. His famous *Quadruple Dictionary* (*Sadnr Aharādi*) broke entirely new ground in Tamil lexicography and diverged off completely from the methods of ancient indigenous works, abandoning the metrical form of the earlier *nikanto* works “as it tended to obscurity rather than clarity” and also the ‘hard word’ tradition. The work consists of four parts. The



first part consists of an ordinary vocabulary, giving the meanings attached to the words. The next part is an arrangement of synonyms. The last is a rhyming dictionary; and the remaining part is a classical one, embodying "the subordinate species of the technical and general terms of science and literature." (*Land of the vedā*; p. 119; and *The Tamil Lexicon*, published under the authority of the University of Madras, in 6 volumes — Introduction — pp. XXXVI & XXXVII: "The first and fourth parts correspond to the eleventh section of such works as the *Nikaṇṭu*—*Cūṭamāṇi*, the second part answers to their first ten sections; and the third comprises the matter in the twelfth sections: Thus it will be seen that the *Saṭur-akarāṭi* (*Saṭur Aharāṭi*) is an index-treatment of all the special features of the *nikaṇṭu* works. This was the first dictionary which bore the name of *akarāṭi* as its title." (*The Tamil Lexicon* Introduction — XXXVII).

This work disclosed in its author, according to Bertrand, a vast erudition and an astonishing knowledge of the Tamil language and its classics." It was composed in the years 1732-47; and it was published by the Madras College in 1824 under the supervision of two Tamil pandits who revised the manuscript and added supplement to each of the four sections. It was reprinted several times in Madras and in Pondicherry; and the edition of 1872 was brought out at Pondicherry, being the work of Father Dupuis, an authoritative and accurate scholar. The second section alone had been published in 1819 by Mr. F. W. Ellis with the help of an eminent Brahmin scholar. The second edition of the work was brought out in 1835 by the Rev. J. Smith of the London Missionary Society; and it incorporated the supplements of the first edition in their respective divisions. The first part in this edition treats 12,400 words, many more than the number in the original manuscript.

The lexicographical labours of Beschi included a Tamil-Latin Dictionary of about 9,000 words, and a Portuguese-Latin-Tamil Dictionary in which the meanings of 4353 Portuguese words are given, Portuguese having been then commonly understood by all the Europeans South India. With the help of this second work, other missionaries prepared French-Tamil dictionaries which are usually attributed to Beschi. The Rev. E. Hoole, in his preface to Beschi's *Rules for Catechists* 1844 mentions a Dictionary of Tamil and

English among the works of Beschi Muthuswami Pillai attributes to him a Latin-Tamil Dictionary not known to exist now(?). The Tamil-Latin Dictionary of Beschi has a long Latin preface, wherein the author compares himself to St. Paul, "the custodian of the garments of those who stoned St. Stephen." He also therein praised Father Bourzes, the author of a Tamil-Latin Dictionary which had been useful to him in the compilation of his own work. There seemed to have been a French translation of the work, of which Anquetil-du Perron wanted a copy made for him by the Superior of the Mahe Mission.

It has also been suggested by Father Besse that Beschi composed a Telugu grammar as de Nobili had composed works in Telugu which was the language spoken by the ruling Nayak nobility of the Madura country. Vinson is not inclined to accept the tradition; and perhaps the Telugu Grammar was the work of one of the fathers of the Carnatic Mission.

Beschi's humorous skit—the *Story of Paramārtha guru (guru Noodle)*—has been translated from Tamil into several European languages. It was originally put in the Tamil-Latin Dictionary, along with a Latin translation, as an appendix. His *Tirutchabei Kanidam* (Ecclesiastica Calendar) was a work in prose and verse, a perpetual calendar such as are to be found at the beginning of the Roman Breviaries. Beschi's prose work in Tamil are for the most part apologetics directed against the Protestants, like the *Veda Viḷakkam* (Elaboration of the Faith), *Pēdayamaruttal* (Refutation of the charge of corruption) and *Lūtherinattiyalpu* (Character of the Lutheran sect). Beschi's *Vediar-Oḷukkam* (Rules for catechists) was in existence as early as 1730; it is according to the Rev. E. Hoole, "the most unexceptionable of the writings of Beschi, next to the Grammars and the Dictionary"; and Dr. Pope has given the opinion that it would serve as "the best model for the student of Tamil prose." Among the manuscripts collected by Muttuswami Pillai as being among the works of Beschi are found numerous theological and secular tracts.

The *Thēmpāvaṇi* (Unfading Garland) is a long and highly wrought religious epic of Beschi, dealing with the life of St. Joseph in 36 cantos, in the style of the ancient classic of

the *Chintāmani* and containing 3615 strophes of four verses each. This work placed Beschi in the very first rank of Tamil poets; and "the Tamils could not believe that it was the work of a foreigner" (Nelson—*A Manual of the Madura Country* (1868). Part III; p. 299). Dr Caldwell who does value highly Beschi's prose style in the colloquial dialect, says that his poems in the classical dialect are "so elaborately correct, so highly ornamented, so invariably harmonious—that I have no doubt he may fairly claim to be placed by the votes of impartial native critics themselves in the very first rank of the Tamil poets of the second class .....it seems to me, the more I think of it the more wonderful that a foreigner should have achieved so distinguished a position." *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*. Second edition, 1875—Introduction p. 150). Vinson says that "it is a strange imitation of old classical Tamil works with which the author mixed up Italian reminiscences, notably an episode of the *Jerusalem Liberata*, the hero of which is St. Joseph. I was going to say, Childebrand." According to him Beschi imitated in canto XX, *II Tasso* chapter XVIII; and he does not value its literary merit very highly. Caldwell remarks that while the work displays too close an adherence to the manner and style of the Tamil classics, it is "still more seriously marred by the error of endeavouring to Hinduise the facts and narratives of Scripture and even the geography of Scripture, for the purpose of pleasing the Hindu taste." Beschi's poetry has been greatly admired, but read very little; but his proseworks and grammars of both the dialects were more widely read.

The first printed edition of this classical epic was brought out by Father Dupuis at Pondicherry in three volumes in 1851-53. The edition was based on a manuscript written by Beschi himself which came into the possession of Sir Walter Elliot and which Father Dupuis held to be the genuine original of Beschi. F. W. Ellis, already noted above, translated into English Portions of the epic.

Beschi greatly admired the *Sacred Kural* of Saint Tiruvalluvar. He compiled a Latin translation of its first two parts which were edited by Pope in his *The Sacred Kurral* (1886) from a manuscript belonging to the India Office Library, supposed to have been the only one in existence and written

at least a century ago. Pope says that the Latin was tinged with Tami and “would help the student more than a more strictly classical version.” This copy belonged to F. W. Ellis and was used by Dr. Graul, a devoted student of Tamil literature, who published an edition of the work in Leipsig and in London, in 1856, with German and Latin translations. Ellis also printed a small portion of the *Kural* with copious notes and translations. Pope had had to amend the Latin text of Beschi occasionally, but “generally allowed even doubtful things to appear as in the manuscript. Beschi was known by three names or titles:—(1) Dairya Nātha Swāmi, his official designation as a Christian priest, being a translation of Constantius, with *Nātha* and *Swami* added; (1) Vīra Mahā Muni, the title given him by the Hindu *literati*, also equivalent to Constantius, with the addition of the words ‘great devotee’; and (3) *Ismati sannyaṣi*, signifying the chaste or Noble Ascetic and being the title given him by Nawab Chanda Sahib.

(*To be continued*).



## RITUAL GAMES OF THE KOTAS

BY M. B. EMENEAU.

The Kotas of the Nilgiris are a small tribe (or caste) of artisans and agriculturalists. Their important annual religious ceremonies are grouped in that part of the year when they have most leisure from agricultural occupations, viz, from the N. W. monsoon to the time of ploughing and sowing, i. e. from October-November to March-April. Four great festivals occur in this period, 1st the 'dry-funeral' or final ceremony for those who have died during the preceding year, 2nd the *devrgecdpabm*<sup>1</sup> in which the gods are worshipped with more elaborate rites than usual, 3rd the *pabm* or *pulpabm*, 4th the *vititdpabm*, the seed-sowing ceremony. It will not be necessary in this paper to give elaborate accounts of these ceremonies; only the games connected with the latter three will be treated in detail. It is necessary however to place them in the Kota calendar in order to stress the fact that they all take place in a time of comparative leisure; this will assist in the final interpretation that we are to make of the games.

Each of the seven Kota villages has its own dry funeral and it is considered essential that all Kotas should attend each of these ceremonies, if it is at all possible. Consequently they are spread over three months, no two funerals occupying the same days, with one exception. These months are *tay*, *pematv*, and *kūḍl*.<sup>2</sup>

1. The symbols used in this paper to denote sounds of the language of the Kotas will be familiar, with perhaps one or two exceptions. The language has a set of alveolar stops which are phonemically different from the dentals and the retroflex stops; they are denoted by italics. *r* is a one-flap tremulant, *r* a trill.

2. The list of Kota months is: *kūḍl*, *ālāṇy*, *nalāṇy*, *āṇy*, *āḍyr*, *āḍy*, *āvāṇy*, *pertāḍy*, *doḍdivl*, *kirdivl*, *tay*, *pematv*. They are lunar months, each starting on the day, before the new moon is seen. *kūḍl* begins with the new moon in January. Though it is obvious that this calendar does not correspond too well with the solar year of natural events, I have been unable to find that there is any systematic method of correcting the discrepancy, which amounts each month the

days on which the ceremony may take place are two, determined as follows. A preliminary ceremony, called *kotanm*, is performed on the Monday or Thursday after full moon, on Thursday if full moon is on Sunday, Monday, or Tuesday, on Monday if full moon is on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, or Saturday; the rule is that the ceremony cannot be done on the day immediately following the full moon, but must be done of the day immediately following the full moon, but must be done thereafter on the soonest permissible day. Within the week following this ceremony there are two days on which the dry funeral may be held, viz. Monday and Thursday. Calculation will show that these arrangements allow the funeral to be finished before the new moon of the following month. Two villages therefore may have the dry funeral in each month, one on the permissible Thursday, the other on the permissible Monday. The two villages in each month arrange between them each day. In *tay* the villages *kināḍ* and *porgāḍ* have the ceremony, in *pematy* the villages *kurgōj* and *kolmēl*, in *kūḍl* the villages *mōnāḍ* and *kalās*. The seventh village *ticgāḍ* must perform its ceremony, on one of the four possible days in the first two months, thus conflicting with one of the other villages. It should be observed that if a village has had no deaths during the preceding year it does not perform the dry funeral.

Pollution having been removed by the dry funerals, each of the village then performs the *devrge cdpabm*. This takes place in the month *kūḍl*, except in the case of the villages *mēnāḍ* and *kalās*, which perform it in the following month *ālāṇy*, *kūḍl* being roughly to one month is three years. My Kota informants cannot tell me of any method that they use, except that they watch for the blossoming of a certain tree and then know that it is the month *āṇy* when the ploughing and sowing should start. The monsoons also to some extent assist in keeping the calendar straight, but they are much less certain than the tree. Some of these month-names will be familiar to Dravidian speakers and scholars; divergences in the phonetic shape of some of the familiar names are undoubtedly to be explained as due to process of phonetic change and analogy. Others of the names which are quite unfamiliar will probably be explained when the source of the whole list is found. It will be noted also that the familiar months do not coincide in time with the same months of their calendar.

used by them for the dry funeral. In the following month, ālāṇy for all villages except mēnāḍ and kalās, which use nalāṇy, the pulpabm takes place in each village. In āṇy, the month after nalāṇy the seed-sowing ceremony takes place, and this is the beginning of the year and of strenuous labour in the fields.

The devrgecdpabm lasts for seven days. The first five days are occupied with religious rites, the sixth is called 'dance-day, āṭṇāl), the seventh 'song-day' (pāṭṇāl). These last two days are primarily days of social enjoyment, but that they are regarded as part of the religious festival is obvious, since the prohibition against men and women sleeping together holds from the night before the first day of the festival during all the seven days and comes to an end on the evening of the 'song-day', as does also the prohibition against eating meat and chillies. On the 'dance-day' dancing takes place before the temples during most of the day. At about five in the evening the people move to the dancing-place in front of the houses and dance twice. Then begins what I call a game for the purpose of this paper, though it might better be called a dramatic performance.

Some men put on their clothes in Toda fashion and after loosening their hair tie it up in some attempt to represent the Toda men's haircut. The women wear their clothes in Toda fashion and arrange their hair in the Toda women's ringlets. About eight young men dress as kurumpas, blackening their faces with charcoal to imitate their very dark complexions and wearing the waistcloth to the knee and a small cloth over the shoulders. They also knot their hair on the top of the head in the Kurumba style. Six or seven couples of young men dress up to represent as many buffaloes. One man of a couple holds a pair of buffalo horns to his forehead with both hands. The end of a large dark cloth is brought between the horns and over his hands, and horns, hands and cloth are secured in place by a rope tied around his head. The other man of the couple bending at the hips puts the top of his head in the small of the first man's back and holds him tightly round the waist with both arms. The black cloth then covers the bodies of both men and we have a buffalo; this animal is of course reminiscent of the horses sometimes seen on the comic stage.

The actors now being dressed proceed to give a representation of a Toda two-day dry funeral. The relics are indicated by a cloth on the ground, and around it the women weep sitting on the ground with their heads together. The men dressed as Todas dance in the Toda manner shouting hau hau (or, xau xau), while those dressed as Kurumbas furnish music. There is a general saluting in Toda fashion, the men litting in turn the two feet to foreheads of the kneeling women; the Kotas of course do not know the Toda rules determining which women salute which men, so their imitation saluting is quite promiscuous. Then the buffaloes come into the dancing-place, driven by a man wearing a rag tied round one leg and limping as if he had gored by a buffalo. The buffaloes charge around pretending to gore people and making their performance as amusing as possible. Then some of the men dressed as Todas catch the buffaloes in the Toda fashion, with much amusing pantomime (with no attempt of course to follow the Toda rules which determine who shall catch the buffaloes), and bring them up to the cloth representing the relics. Then the buffaloes are put within a circle of cloths which represent the pen of the Toda two-day funeral. The Toda men dance in a circle around the pen, and then the buffaloes are driven around inside the circle all the people standing round and making remarks about the various buffaloes. The buffaloes are then caught again, brought out of the pen and 'killed' by being struck on the head. The men representing Kurumbas put on each of the dead buffaloes a circle of creeper and a lump of dried manure. Then the Kurumbas drag off the buffalo which they have decided in their mock conversation at the pen-side is the fattest and Kotas take the remainder. All the Todas then sit down and eat a little puffed millet (pacek) such as is eaten by the Todas at a real funeral. This performance lasts for an hour or more and is, according to my informant, a most hilarious affair.<sup>1</sup>

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1. An earlier account of this performance is to be found in Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of southern India*, vol. 4, art *Kota*. For the details of the real Toda funerals of all kinds, see W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, Macmillan and Co., 1906, pp. 337-404. The two-day funeral is seldom held at the present time and Rivers was unable to see one (nor have I seen one; what he knew about it in so far as it differs from an ordinary dry funeral, is on pp. 383-4. The presence of



At the pabm and the seed-sowing ceremony regular games are played with elaborate rules.

The pulpabm, more usually referred to simply as pabm, begins on the Saturday after new moon in the month already indicated. On this day, as on the corresponding day of those months in which no ceremony complicates matters, all the men pray at the temples in the early morning. On Sunday the houses are cleaned in more detail than in ordinary months. On Monday all again pray, as in ordinary months, and then spend the day until about five o'clock in the evening playing the game of the festival. For the next hour or so the men engage in running races. Then loaves, which the women have been baking during the day, rice and broth are offered to the household god in each house of the village. On the following morning this food is eaten by the small children,

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Kurumbas is noted by him. My enquiries among the Todas yielded the information that formerly Kurumbas (especially those attached to the Toda mund concerned) were invited to all Toda funerals of important people and to all two-day funerals. Nowadays they attend especially the funerals of the people of pan and kyōr r (in the language of the Todas is a trill in retroflex position), whose munds and funeral places are in the south of the Toda territory and near a Kurumba village. When they come to a funeral, they make music on clarinets and flat drums. After the buffaloes have been killed, they put on some of the carcasses (apparently those of the best buffaloes) a twig or leafy branch and a lump of dry dung, thus establishing a claim to them. The Kotas, before they can flay and carry off these carcasses, must pay to the Kurumbas an amount which varies according to the excellence of the animal, but may go as high as eight or ten rupees. It will be noted that the Kota burlesque is based on a state of things which has fallen into some disuse among the Todas at the present time. Some of the details do not correspond with what the Todas report; notably, the Kotas represent the Kurumbas as claiming all the buffaloes and as taking off one of them (or a portion of one) to eat, while the Todas say that only some are claimed and none are used by the Kurumbas as food. Further enquiries, best among the Kurumbas themselves, will probably reconcile the two accounts of correct-  
one of them.

and during the day each man goes to every house of the village and eats a little food this feasting takes place also at two other ceremonies and is not peculiar to this one). That night there is dancing. The following two days are respectively āṭṇāḷ and pāṭṇāḷ. Prohibitions followed during the days of this festival are: men and women may not sleep together on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday nights (this is the same prohibition observed in ordinary months); meat and chillies may not be eaten on Monday or Tuesday. The central and important element of the ceremony is the feeding of the household gods. It will be clear from the duration of the prohibitions and the days on which they are observed that the ceremony possesses in this respect no more sanctity than the ceremonies after new moon in an ordinary month, as compared with the peculiar sanctity of the devrgecdpabm.

The game which is played is called puḷāt 'pul-game'. All males in the village play, down to those boys who have just had their hair dressed in the Kota adult style, i. e. those who are about 13 or 14 years old. The game is played on ground between the temples with three sticks, a short one called puḷ, from which the game is named, a long one called tac, and a long one with a crook at one end called koḍṭgōḷ (kōḷ 'stick'). The plays are two. In the first the puḷ is hooked from the ground with the koḍṭgōḷ in such a way that it flies through the air and may be caught by the opponents if they are agile enough. In the second the puḷ is placed with one end in a hole in the ground, the projecting end is struck with the tac and as the puḷ flies up the player strikes it toward the opponents with the tac.<sup>1</sup>

Before the game proper begins, each of the 'holy meh' of the village takes the three sticks between his hands and makes an añjali, praying to the gods in words with the following meaning: 'Oh gods (naming them) : We, your sons, have begun the pulpabm which we perform once a year in order to gladden you. Today with our minds fixed on you

1. This is a variety of the game called in the standard English dictionaries 'tip-cat'. In my own town, Lunenburg in Nova Scotia, it is known to children as 'peggy' from the 'peg' or short stick; on the linguistic history of this town, see my article in *Language* 11, 140-7.

we will play your game. Guard all your sons so that no player may be injured and grant that we may complete our ceremony successfully (lit. give making us win our ceremony). Whatever faults we have committed, small or great, pardon us, watch over us, sustain us. Oh gods! whatever faults there are in us, we will bear the burden.' After he has prayed thus, each man makes the two plays described above. This praying and playing is called a *sātrm*; the word denotes any religious ceremony and is derived indirectly from Sanskrit *śāstram*. The 'holy men' are called collectively *sātrkārn*. In five of the seven villages, viz. all except *kolmēl* and *ticgāḍ*, there are five of these, two *mindkāṇōn* or priests, and three *tērkārn* or diviners, the gods' mouthpieces, all of whom serve the old Kota gods called *doḍaynōr*, *kunaynōr*, and *amnōr*.<sup>1</sup> The two exceptional villages have, beside these, one priest

1. These divinities are two gods and one goddess. *aynōr* = 'father, god', *amnōr* = 'goddess', *doḍaynōr* = 'elder god', *kunaynōr* = 'younger god'. They are called collectively *kamaṭrāṇy*, which is interpreted as having as its final element *rāṇy* (or perhaps *rāṇy*) = 'king'. The initial element is known otherwise only in the name given to many males *kamatyn*. The two gods are elder and younger brother and the goddess is the wife of both. We have here a reflection of the polyandry which the Kotas formerly practised apparently in a pure form, but which has now developed into a system in which each brother has his own wife whose children are accounted his, though she may have intercourse with any of his real brothers and under certain circumstances with his cousins in the male line, who are denominated 'brother'. The Toda institution of polyandry is well known, but this I think is the first published reference to the same institution among the Kotas. It is obvious that their possession of the institution make necessary a re-examination of Rivers' view that the Todas may have originated in Malabar. We have, it seems, a small culture area of the Nilgiris with a number of features in common between the two tribes above mentioned. (Other common traits are known to me, but this is not the place to develop them.) In some specific details the Badagas also agree with these two tribes, but there is a probability that there has been fairly recent borrowing here. It is possible also that the Kurumbas of the Nilgiris will be found to

and three diviners of the newly introduced gods *raṅgrāṇy*, *rāmr* or *rāmaynōr*, and *betdamn*. The *sātrm* is performed by these men in the order: the priests of the old gods, the priest of the new gods, the diviners of the old gods, the diviners of the new gods.

After the *sātrm*, the men divide into two sides. The *sātrkārn* divide, on one side the *doḍmindkāṇon*, the *doḍtērkārn*, the *amnōrtērkārn*, and the *rāmaynōrtērkārn*, on the other the *kunmindkāṇon*, the *kuntērkārn*, the *raṅgrāṇytērkārn*, and the *betdamntērkārn*. The *raṅgrāṇymindkāṇon* joins either side as he please. In those villages which do not worship the new gods, their *sātrkārn* are of course to be omitted. The headman of the village, *gotgārn*, then divides all the other men evenly in respect of numbers and ability in playing. He himself acts during the game as referee in all disputes (the word is *poslārgārn*, *ārgārn* being 'player' or 'one who is concerned in any way with a game'; *posl* is of unknown meaning, but we shall meet it again below). He also however plays twice during the game, once on each side after the *sātrkārn* have played. Play now begins, the side headed by the *doḍmindkāṇon* playing first, each man of the side playing until he is 'dead', beginning with the *sātrkārn* in the order given above, then the *gotgārn*, and then the ordinary men according to their ages, the eldest coming first. Each man before he plays makes an *añjali* with the sticks between his hands

belong closely with the Todas and Kotas in their institutions. Research is needed here to determine the extent and the peculiarities of the area, to determine if possible which tribe is the originator of the various peculiarities, and to connect the area more closely with other sections of the larger South Indian culture area of which this smaller area is obviously a part.

The new gods of two of the Kota villages were introduced not more than thirty years ago and are due to the influence of pilgrimages to Karaimadai at the foot of the Nilgiris. *raṅgrāṇy* is Raṅganāthan, and *rāmr* is Rama. *betdamn* is the 'goddess of the mountain' and is obviously a borrowed word, since the Kota word for mountain has initial *v* and not *b*, though initial *b* is not rare in words of the language.

and says: sōmī 'god (s) !'; any old man who is ior feeble to play performs this sātrm and then abandons the stick to the next man.

The first striker of the playing side does the hooking play; if the pul is caught in the air by a player on the opposing side, the striker is dead. If it is not caught, he does the second play and continues with this play until the pul is caught in the air and he becomes dead. For each play of the second type which is not caught, a stone is placed for the playing side. when the first striker is dead. Then the opposing side receive the sticks and play in the same way. When this side have all died, the first side plays again, and this alternating play continues all day, the two piles of stones becoming higher and higher. When play ceases at about five o'clock, the two piles are counted. The side with the fewer stones are the losers; as a penalty, each man of the losing side must take pickaback one man of the winners and carry him three times backwards and forwards between two marks 100 cubits apart, a total distance of 600 cubits.

For the running races that follow the men are divided into groups of six or seven on the basis of age and each group runs a course of about a furlong and a half. A starter stands at the end mark and begins the race by sharply lowering a cloth which he has held above his head. The winner in each group of runners receives from each man in the group one of the loaves previously mentioned.

*(To be continued.)*



## KERALA PAINTINGS.

BY V. K. R. MENON, B. A. (Hons.), M. Sc. (Lond.).

Indian literature of all kinds from the 'Early Sangam' period (1st century B. C.) onwards, makes incidental references to painting. <sup>1</sup> "It may be taken for granted that from a very early period, not only were sculptures and architectural details covered with thin plaster and coloured, but that the flat walls of temples and palaces were decorated within and without with pictures or with painted 'wreaths and creepers'". In classical Sanskrit literature painting is considered an occupation not unworthy of princes. Painting appears in all lists of the sixty-four kalās. The 'Kāmasūtra' of Vātsyāyana mentions the drawing panels, paints and brushes as parts of the regular furniture of a gentleman's chamber. In the Nāgānanda, a drama attributed to King Harṣa of Kanauj (606-47 A. D.), a prince of the Vidyādhara's whiles away his time by drawing the portrait of his beloved, Malayavatī. A considerable part of Act VI of 'S'ākuntalam' is taken up with a painted portrait of S'akuntala with which Duśyanta consoles himself. There are in fact so many references to painted portraits in Sanskrit literature that evidently the prohibition of it in S'ilpa-S'āstras applied only to temples and other sacred buildings and not to the practice of painting as a secular art.

Most of the treatises on architecture have chapters devoted to the theory of painting and sculpture. 'Viṣṇudharmottaram' distinguishes between the kinds of painting appropriate to temples, palaces and private houses, and applies the theory of 'Rasa' to painting. 'Silparatnam' <sup>2</sup> treats at length about 'Ideal proportion', 'Distinction of Types', 'Preparation of Colours'

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1. p. 87. 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art'

Kumaraswamy.

2. 'Sulpa-ratna'—A Kerala Treatise on Architecture, by S'rī Kumara, composed under instructions from King Devanārāyaṇa of Ambalappuḷa in Travancore. (16th century.)

and other subdivisions of the art of painting.<sup>1</sup> Treatises were also written exclusively on painting; but few of them have been published. Prominent among these unpublished manuscripts are the following *granthas* obtained from Nepal.

1. "Pratimālakṣaṇam or Ātrēya-tilaka" by Ātrēya.
2. "Sambuddhabhāṣitr Pratimālakṣaṇa Vivaraṇanam."

"Art in Kerala", says Dr. Cousins, "as in the rest of India, has always been mainly the expression of religious ideas and sentiments. The temples have been the centre of its origin and growth. Painting and sculpture in particular are found in a highly developed state in most of the important temples and palaces of Travancore and Cochin States."

Kerala temples have always been characterised by the predominance of wood architecture though the foundation and base are frequently of granite or laterite. These edifices are profusely decorated with ornamental figures in wood, terra-cotta and carved stone. All of the more ancient specimens in wood and terra-cotta show signs of having been painted over. The Kerala artist seems to have acquired great skill in lacquer work, perhaps from Chinese sources; but it is now an almost forgotten art. The most recent specimen of lacquer work executed on a fairly extensive scale, may be seen on the pillars, beams and architraves inside the 'Kūṭam̃balams' at Trichur and Guruvāyūr. Wood carvings are also frequently painted over with indigeneous colours. The scroll-designs on the panels at Tiruvancikkālam, the 'Gaje-mālās' and 'Bhūta-mālās' on the cornices of 'Maṇḍapams' at Perinṭrakōil Urakam, and Udanāpuram, or the exquisitely finished Aṣṭa-digpālās on the ceilings of the Western Gōpurams at Trichur and Trippūṇittura may be cited as examples.

From the age of the Pallavās onwards, sculptures on the East Coast are known to have been covered by a thin coating of plaster and painted on; but the few specimens of stone sculpture in Kerala show no evidence of being plastered over or painted on. The faces of idols are, however, generally covered with sandalwood paste and the details of the eyes, nose and mouth worked out in ivory black and saffron before

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1. Cf. 'Modern Review', Vol. 33. pp. 734 ff.

being decked with ornaments and precious stones. This may very well be a survival of the ancient "plaster" tradition

The numerous terra-cotta figures found under the cornices or on the facades of most ancient temples of Kerala were definitely painted over. The 'bhūtamāla' under the cornice and the 'Mithunās' above it are modelled with admirable skill, and made to affect amazing emotional attitudes. At Lāloor and Udanāpuram, — to mention two temples where the modelling is far above average, — the paint has been white-washed over; a procedure infinitely preferable to that adopted at Trichur and Guruvāyūr, where recent repainting has robbed the figures of all their pristine virility.

Kerala mural paintings have recently come into the line-light, many specimens of them having been 'rediscovered' on the walls of temples and palaces. Yet Fra Paolino<sup>1</sup> writing as early as 1796 A. D. states, "The painting of the Malayālis) is the same as with their sculpture ..... They are finished in an original Indian style, which is very different from the Grecian or the Egyptian ..... Here and there I observed on the external walls surrounding the pagodas, several beautiful paintings, which were delineated with great freedom and correctness. The Indians possess also a wonderful dexterity in imitating the paintings and drawings which are given them by the Europeans to copy. Their colours, which they prepare from the juice of certain trees, flowers, herbs and fruits are uncommonly lively, and seldom or never fade." And it must be remembered that Fra Paolino had no entrance into the interior of temples, or palaces, where he would have seen many more of these

"A citra-śāla' or gallery of mural paintings" writes<sup>2</sup> Havell, "was an indispensable annexe to a Hindu palace until quite modern times, or until Indian art fell into disrepute and it became fashionable for Indian princes to import inferior European oil paintings and European furniture..... These paṭṭa citra-śālas were quadrangular cloisters surrounding one of the palace gardens or pavilions." In Malabar, unfortunately, the lure of European paintings was felt soon after

1. "A voyage to the East Indies"—Fra Paolino.

2. "Indiaa Sculpture and painting"—E. B. Havell.



the arrival of the Portugese, and the decadence of indigenous culture was clearly demonstrated during the Dutch interregnum by the predominant <sup>1</sup> popularity of Flemish 'nudes'. Paolino mentions in one instance that he "purchased without delay two European paintings, a large mirror, fifteen pounds of red sandal-wood, and twelve bottles of Persian rose water; articles, which according to the established etiquette, must be presented to the king (of Travancore) by those who wish to obtain an audience". That European paintings could be *purchased without delay* in Malabar at the close of the 18th century is significant. It lends support to the view that at least from the 17th century onwards, Kerala murals show signs of European influence.

The earliest relics of wall-painting in Kerala are alleged to be found in the cave temple of Tirunandikkara in Travancore. The few remnants that are still visible have <sup>2</sup> been tentatively ascribed to the 9th century by Dr. Cousins. That ascription awaits conviction. The murals on the walls of the Mattahcēri Palace, Cochin, and of the <sup>3</sup> Padmanābhapuram Palace near Trivandrum are supposed to date from the 15th century to the 18th. The Cochin Palace was presented to the Raja by the Portugese in 1552 A. D. but has undergone extensive repairs during the Dutch period. The head-dresses of the deities represented in the Cochin Palace murals may proudly be divided into two groups and seem to indicate that they were painted at different periods. The older of the two are identical with those found on the walls of the central Vimāna at Trichur temple. "From a two-line inscription <sup>4</sup> written in black letters in Malayālam characters on the southern side of the wall of this shrine," it is made clear that the paintings were renovated about 1731 A. D. It may,

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1. Specimens of these are still preserved in the palaces at Trippunnittura and Trivandrum.

2. Dr. Cousins—"Catalogue of the Sri Citrālayom, Trivandrum."

3. The Murals at Padmanābhapuram show definite Tamil influence.

4. Annual Report of the Archaeological Department Cochin State. (1934—5 A. D.)

therefore be tentatively stated that all the extant mural paintings in Kerala were executed at a period when the influence of European oil painting was being increasingly felt. That these murals show very little traces of alien influence reflect great credit on the painters who executed them. Yet it will be futile to assert the total absence of foreign influence. In Plate I—'Kṛṣṇa as Gōvardhana-dhārin'—the two hunters wear non-Hindu attire, which has a close resemblance to the long frock-like garments worn by the Portugese in India. The griffin represented there may also be ascribed to European influence. Again, in Plate II the glass mirror in a wooden frame, held by Pārṇatī, appears to be imported rather than indigenous. As has been stated earlier, the alien influence is indeed very small, but the embryo of the Indo-European school—as Dr. Cousins styles it—which later on was to take definite shape in the marvellous productions of the Kīṣimānūr artists, may perhaps be detected in these murals by the discerning observer.

There are at least a score<sup>1</sup> of temples in Cochin State itself—and many more in Travancore—which can boast of mural paintings, either on the walls of the Vimāna itself, or on the walls of the surrounding nālambalam. They date from the period of the Cochin Palace murals down to the recent attempts in oil-colours on the walls of the Vimānas at Trichur. Guruvāyur and Cōttānikkara and on the ceiling of the Natappura at Trippuṇittura. A careful study of them would help us to understand the gradual evolution of Kerala painting from a purely Indian art to the highly eclectic technique of Ravi Varma and his disciples.

Even a cursory study of the splendid murals of the Cochin Palace leads one to endorse the view of Dr. Cousins that they bear unmistakeable "traces of the influence of Buddhist painting that link the art of Kerala with that of Ajanta and Bagh." But perhaps Kerala art owed much more to the Pallava school of painting as illustrated in the frescoes<sup>2</sup> in the rock-cut temple at Sittannavāsai. These frescoes have been attributed by Professor Jouveau Dubreuil to the reign of Mahendra-varman I circa A. D. 610-640) and it may be

1. Temples at Cemmantatta, Pāramēlkkavu, Tiruvancikkulam, Irinjalakkuda, Ūrakam etc.

2. Cf "Notes on Indian Paintings"—N. C. Mehta I C. S.

mentioned that the rock-cut temples at Kaviyūr<sup>1</sup> and Tirunandikkara, in Travancore have groundplans, pillars, and Dvārapālas closely conforming to the Mahēndra type of Rock-cut temples in Pallava territory, and reveal the unmistakable influence of Pallava Hindu art in Kēraḷa. The careful and exact delineation of fauna and flora may be taken to indicate Gujerat or Rajput influence, but the borrowing, if any, is likely to have been at second-hand, from the Vijayanagar school. The tempo of the murals in the lower storey tends to support this view. The first room there must obviously have been used exclusively as a bed-chamber and not as part of the women's apartments, since the numerous acts of amorous indulgence depicted on the walls must have rendered it unfit for general feminine occupation. The 'rāsa krīḍa' scene, especially, where Lord Krishna is depicted in a highly polygamous sexual pose with copulating animals all around, tempts one to class this bed-chamber with numerous others of that ilk which formed so necessary an adjunct to the palaces of the Vijayanagar kings.

"The technique of the painting at Ajanta" states Coomaraswamy, "and of Indian wall-painting in general, is as follows: the surface of the hard porous rock was spread over with a layer of clay, cowdung and powdered rock, sometimes with rice-husks, to a thickness of 3 to 20 millimetres. Over this was laid a thin coat of fine white lime-plaster which was kept moist while the colours were applied, and afterwards lightly burnished (with a polished agate stone). The under-drawing in red on the white plaster surface, then comes a thinnish terraverde monochrome showing some of the red through it, then the local colour, followed by a renewed outline in brown or black, with some shading, the latter employed rather to give some impression of roundness or relief than to indicate any effect of light and shade."

The technique employed in the Cochin Murals, is similar but less elaborate. The ground is composed of sand and lime to the thickness of about one centimetre and on this is laid more than one coating of about one centimetre and on this is laid more than one coating of fine plaster, most probably prepared by mixing lime with curd and albumen in adequate proportions. The final surface appears very smooth and glazed, and must have undergone the polishing process. Whether the surface was allowed to dry completely or

1. "Travancore Archaeological series"—Vol. V Part 1.

not it is difficult to judge. <sup>1</sup> M. Goloubeff states that the paintings at Ajanta are true frescoes, though some of them have been finished or retouched by a process analogous to tempera. It is just possible that a similar process was adopted at Cochin. It is interesting to note that just as at Sigiri, Bagh or Sittannavāsai, the design has been put on the wall in the first instance by stencilling, the dots of the pouching being clearly visible under the vigorous strokes of the finishing brush-work.

An estimate of the artistic qualities of these murals will naturally depend on the standards by which they are judged. Dr. Cousins has many nice things to say about the "excellent technique and finish" and the remarkable power exhibited by them. It is, however, difficult for one born and brought up as a Hindu and a Malayāli to agree with the learned doctor's assertion that the atmosphere of these murals "is always that of sanctity; they are eloquent with spiritual instruction." The three plates published have all been chosen for their artistic excellence. The grouping of figures round Kṛṣṇa and his brother (in Pl. I) reminds us of a similar though more secularised group in the great fresco of the "Rang Mahall at Bagh." <sup>1</sup> Plate II gives an intimate revelation of Kēraḷa social life at the period. The same scene of bustle and activity precedes the 'Tṛittāli-cārttu' ceremony of the Kṣatriya Princesses of Kēraḷa in modern times. Umā-mahēswara scene (Plate III) reveals the finished technique and powers of composition of the unknown artist who painted it. Occupying as it does a prominent position in the 'bed-chamber,' the amorous posturē of the central figures and its reactions on the attendants around, form the main theme of this most interesting mural. While the maids-in-waiting express coyness or indifference according to age and outlook, 'Nandi' the bull is obviously bored; he sprawls at the feet of his divine Master and licks his haunches in lazy contentment. Taken all in all it may safely be stated that though the theme of the Cochin murals is essentially religious, the social element is given as great an emphasis as at Bagh and Sittannavāsai.

A careful search is likely to reveal mural paintings of a secular type on the walls of other ancient palaces and aristocratic residence in Cochin State. The 'Dēvata-mālika' at Trippūṇittura which contained a good number of them was

1. "Ars Asiatica". M. Goloubeff.

2. "Indian Sculpture and Painting." Plate LII.

unfortunately pulled down a few years back. There is yet another palace at Trippūṇittura where portraits of Cochin Rajas interviewing Europeans may be seen. Exhibit 181 in Room K of the Sri Citrālayam depicts a similar scene. The residence of the Punnattūr Nambi (15 miles off Trichur) is also reported to possess mural paintings.

The mural paintings in the churches of the State have received very little attention so far. One gathered from the accounts of foreign missionaries that these murals were not always of the religious type. On the walls of the Gōpurum-like structure in front of the ancient church at Vellārappally, there is a remarkable action picture of European officers in the red uniform of the English East India Company, co-operating with the tufted, barebodied soldiers of the State in a pitched battle against an invading army, possibly that of Tippoo Sultan. The mural covers an area of at least 200 square feet, and the outlines are still very clear, even though it has been exposed to the rigours of our climate for at least one century. It is possible that the painting was executed in 'fresco buono.' The technique employed is as indigenous as that of the Cochin murals. The paintings on the walls and ceilings of churches, however, are preponderantly European in technique; in fact the Syrian Catholic church at Chālakkudi boasts of having employed Italian painters to execute its murals. Definite opinions can only be formed after an extensive survey of these murals has been made.

A careful and expert survey of all the mural paintings in the State, whether religious or secular, Hindu or Christian, remains to be made. Conservation of valuable specimens will naturally present a difficult problem. It has been estimated that the Cochin murals will fade out in another century. The remarkable enduring qualities of the mural at Vellārappally, however, does not support this view. Attempts at retouching are bound to be disastrous, even if attempted by expert hands. Colour photography is now possible and is bound to be cheaper than the tiresome and expensive task of recopying. It is hoped that a grant for work of this kind will be made in the near future. Meanwhile the fruits of the efforts of Messrs Chitra and Parikh to recopy the Cochin murals, shall be awaited with the interest that this laudable attempt so richly deserves.

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# THE APPURTENANCES OF KATHAKALI.

BY PRINCE KERALA VARMA, B. A., B. I.

(AMMAMAN THAMPURAN).

Kathakali, the Malabar Dumb Drama, needs no introduction to the literary or dramatic world, or for that matter to the world at large. Consequent on the awakening of a fresh interest in the glories of the East among Westerners, the achievements of histrionic luminaries like Gopinath and Udaya Sankar, and the patriotic propaganda of the 'Kalāmaṇḍalam' this art, the sole and solid monopoly of Kerala, is now known everywhere. What was till a decade or two ago known only within the four frontiers of Malabar, and even there was dying out, has now evoked world-wide interest, and shows a sort of strong revival. In fact, there is a craze outside Malabar, especially in the Western countries, for witnessing and studying this art, and there are various articles published on the subject, by various eminent writers. In the last issue of this Bulletin itself, there was an interesting and instructive description of this drama as it is staged today.

The endeavour of the present article is to make certain remarks on the historical side of the appurtenances of this drama. In this connection, it may be stated at the outset that relevant records for reference or research are very scanty, nay almost nil, and any analysis or observation or opinion has to be based mostly on circumstantial evidence. So it is possible that this article may provoke refutations from various quarters; but if the readers are set a-thinking on the views recorded below, in any light, favourable or adverse, the article will have served its purpose. It exhibits only the personal opinions of the writer, formed on the basis of the scanty records he has been able to get.

First of all what is the origin or the source of this art? Different scholars attribute it to different sources. Some say that it is evolved out of Jayadeva's Gīta Gōvinda and the Kṛṣṇa Yātras in Bengal. Others are of opinion that it is a secular development of the Cākyar Kūttu, another and purely religious dramatic art restricted to Kerala. A third view suggests that its evolution is from neither and that a sort of this art in some crude, unpolished and rough form existed here

as an indigenous art long before the advent of the Aryan Kūttu or the Bengal Yātra, both of which have exerted influence on it only in the shape of polish or modification. One thing is certain: at present it is a semi-secular, semi-spiritual art, an Aryanised version of an indigenous treasure, Dravidian or even pre-Dravidian. Though the Aryans have encroached into it, as they have done in other departments such as the Yātra Kālī, and tried to pass it as their own coin, still Kathakālī is much more than anything else a pre-Aryan, wealth of Kerala.

The stories of all these Kathakālī compositions, as we now have them, are taken from Purānas and Epics, especially the Rāmāyana and the Mahabhārata, and so far they appear Aryan—but only so far,—since all the other elements and appurtenances are thoroughly and simply non-Aryan, and pre-Aryan. The plot-factor is the spiritual element in it, the rest being either purely secular or only quasi-spiritual. Even in the plot, there is the strogly and luridly prominent non-Aryan feature of fight, death, eating etc. Depicted on the stage. It may be asked whether the Sanskrit Dramas composed by Malabar Aryans, long after their settlement here,—to quote an example, the Āścaryacūdamāṇi of S'akti-bhadra—do not contain these traits. The answer is that this 'exceptional' characteristic of Malabar dramas only corroborates our positon, as they must have been composed to cater to the fancies of non-Aryans and thus modelled on the indigenous dramas of Malabar which must have been very popular and which must have won the approbation of the Aryans. As Mr. Attūr Kṛṣṇa Pisāroṭi says in his pamphlet "Bhāsa's Works, —a criticism": "all these Sanskrit dramas of Malabar poets are also purely Keraliya in outlook".

The plot apart, everything else seems to be pre-Aryan. Let us first consider the musical portion of it. Because music is a portion of Aryan drama —as in their idea a drama is composed of dancing, acting, and song— it may be suggested, though wrongly, that the music-element in the Kathakālī is an Aryan introduction. Far from it, in the history of the drama of any country, it can be seen that music is prominent and inevitable. Mr. V. M. Kuttī Kṛṣṇa Menon, who has made a scholarly research into this subject, comments thus on the

manner in which music came to be in any drama—"The part music has in drama is already expressed when it is stated that poetry is an inseparable collaborator of drama. It adds richness to literature and strength to the expression of sentiment. The only difference is that literature affects our feelings through intellect whereas music does it directly. We experience separate sentiments and feelings when each rāga is manifested along with its particular mēla. The reason for the inclusion of music in the dramatic art is the development in tuning, pitch octave and the like, and the realisation that when all these that are capable of exciting emotion are mixed and exhibited together, the consequent beauty is unique."

So there must have been a peculiar kind of music connected with Kathakali. This is clear also from the instruments used. The instruments are all purely and solely Kēraliyan, as also their names. Ceṇṭa, mattalam, cēṅgila, elattālam are all musical instruments found only in Malabar, and these terms have no Sanskrit or Tamil equivalents from which they might have been derived as tadbhavas. It has even to be presumed that these items may not be Dravidian even, as these terms are not seen in the other offshoots of Kotumtamiḷ, from which the ancient Malayalan language (malayāṇma) was born. It is true that these instruments are used in the temples, but it has to be surmised that the Aryans, in order to attract the original dwellers of Kerala to their religion and their method of worship, incorporated these indigenous musical instruments into their own religious orchestra. For, even now in the most holy and spiritual ceremonies in the temples, they are not used, but only dhakka (called etakkyā in Malayalam) and its variants. Also in the Aryan drama, Kūṭiyāṭam, which is ultra-religious, they are not accepted. On the other hand, in the Pulayarkali and such 'aboriginal' pastimes, they are seen in an unpolished form.

The same may be said of the vocal music also. It is true that now the songs are sung in the rāgas which are the property of aliens really, but they are sung in a method peculiar to Kerala. Celebrated Malabar musician have sometimes been criticised for the nātan mattu (indigenous method) in their performances. All the Kathakali songs are sung in this nātan mattu (as opposed to the dēśikan' (or alien) mattu). The very fact that there is such a method even



now shows that this was the original form of Malabar music, and it is a reminiscence of that, that we now find in this Kathakali song also. Further, the women characters in the Kathakali 'indulge' on the stage in tiruvātīrakkali (or kaikoṭṭikkali) which is purely a Malabar dance performed to music by women during the tiruvātīra festivāl—only both dancing and singing are done by these dancers themselves. The music sung for this Kathakali is purely a Malabar type, in rhyme, rhythm, time, and tune, just like Keka, Mañjari, Kākali, Koratti and other songs. So that there was an indigenous sort of song in Kerala even in very early days is clear, and it may then be inferred that the present maṭṭu (method) of Kathakali pāṭṭu is only a cultured improvement of it. Else, one may have to go to the extent of saying that in Malabar, the art of music itself is an alien introduction, and the original settlers here had no musical bent—which certainly is not consistent with reason, logic, or sence.

Thus it would seem that the Kathakali in its original form had music also as an appurtenance—both vocal and instrumental. In other words, it had tāla, mela, and gāna. It may have been in a crude, and probably to the modern musical minds harsh, form; but the fact still remains that the ancient people of Kerala also realised the necessity for music as a part and parcel of histrionic performances. Probably a pot with its mouth covered by a skin, a metal vessel beaten by a stick, two metal plates, or some such contrivances might have been the ancient ancestors of the modern ceṇḍa, cēṅgila etc. The songs that are now the music of the Ceṛumas, the Vēlans and other backward classes, may have been the songs, or may have been the developments of the songs sung in the ancient Malabar dramas. A further proof of this, if need be, is that in the now available earliest grammar, 'Lilātilakam,' all poetical compositions in Malayalam are described as songs. Poetry of course was a sine qua non of every drama in any literature or any country, for, to quote Mr. V. M. K. Menon again, "what Drama does is only to discharge the function of poetry in another method. Both are mirrors for the human heart to reflect. Their coming-ling contributes to an indescribable aesthetic beauty. Kathakali literature illustrates this inseparable bond between drama and poetry." It may be thus safely surmised that the songs of the Kathakali, in its earlier stages, may have been Gāthas, Kekas, Kakālis, Kalakāncis etc. and their predecessors

Just like music, the dance-element in the Kathakali is also an indigenous factor and not an importation. For where music is, there dance also exists: "Dance is only music with the feet. In a dramatic composition, dance is as indispensable as music. Dance is nothing but the result of a divine impulse to move the body in tune with the beating of time" (Mr. V. M. K. Menon). The dance adopted in Kerala for this Kathakali, has also its own unique features. In fact, the dance of the men characters is only a slightly modified variation of the Kalaripayat't'u, resorted to by warriors for martial training. Both the Kathakali actors and the martial men undergo the same sort of physical training in a Kalari, even to this day. Both learn "kayyu" (how to use the hand) and "meyyu" (how to use the body). On the stage, the men characters' dance is an histrionic counterpart of the ancient Malabar method of martial feats, so well described in the Vatakkannpattu and other martial songs of Malabar. This Kalari training and this martial method are quite peculiar to our country also, and must have won the admiration of even cultured immigrants, for in the Aryan Kutiattam, the actors do the same sort of dance (or attam), only in a simplified way. The dance of the women characters in the Kathakali is only the Kaikottikkali in probably a more masculine form.

The reason for this resemblance between the martial feats and the Kathakali dance is also easily conjecturable. To the Nāyars of Malabar, who were also the warriors in ancient times and who were most probably the grandees of the land, must have belonged this art. It is natural too. The song and the dance of the Kathakali are intelligible in that way also. Almost all the present day Kathakali compositions have battles, death etc., depicted on the stage,—which is quite opposed to the canons of Aryan Dramaturgy. This only corroborates the power and influence the Nāyars must have exerted on the Kathakali which, then, may be regarded as having been their wealth and their preserve. Even today, there is no Kathakali troupe composed of castes below Nairs, and in general it is a Nair organisation, as opposed to or in juxtaposition with the Brahmin Kutiyattam. This is also why women characters dance in a more 'heroic' form, and why women do not take part in the performance. Still in the performance of Kathakali has always been a matter for pride

amongst Nairs, placed in however high a position they may be. This is how Chāttu Paṇikkar who was a Tahsildar in Cochin and Is'wara Piḷḷa who was the Vicarippukaran in the royal household of Travancore are better known as Kathakaḷi actors than as officials in their respective states, though they were eminent too in the latter capacity. The Brahmins and the castes "higher" than the Nairs generally never appeared on the stage, as they considered such a thing to be derogatory to their social dignity.

*(To be continued.)*

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

A History of Kerala written in the form of Notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar—By K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B. A., B. L., Edited by Sahityakusalan T. K. Krishna Menon—Vol. IV—vii, 23, 564—4 Plates—Price Rupees 8 or 12 sh.—Printed at the Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam.

The appearance of this volume marks the close of the publication of the late Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon's informative work on Kerala antiquities. Like the previous volumes, this volume provides the student of Kerala history, folk-lore and sociology with valuable and interesting material, neatly classified and critically discussed. The present volume deals with topics suggested by Numbers 23 to 27 of Visscher's Letters from Malabar. The subjects include among others the following: Kerala temples and their architecture, ceremonies and services performed in temples; Malabar houses and their architectural and other peculiarities; witchcraft in Malabar; Malabar festivals like ōṇam, viṣu, maḡam, tiruvādira; Malabar games; trade in Malabār; notes, on the fauna and flora of Malabar.

In a supplementary Note, the editor furnishes a rapid and summary survey of Mal, literature from its beginnings down till today.

Objectivity in the presentation of facts and a scrupulous regard for truth in estimating their evidentiary value,—the distinguishing traits of the late Mr. Padmanabha Menon's historical outlook,—are as much in evidence in the present volume as in the previous ones.

Thanks are due to the editor, Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon,—a keen student of Kerala culture and antiquities himself—for the zeal with which he has carried out the testamentary behest of his friend, and made available to the world of scholars a very valuable source-book left behind by one of the foremost among the 'antiquarians' of Kerala.

L. V. R.

കേരളത്തിലെ ക്രിസ്തീയ സാഹിത്യം (The Christian Literature of Kerala)—Part I—up to 1800—By Prof. P. J. Thomas M. A., D. Phil. —The Athirampuzha Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., Mannanam, Travancore.—Price Re. 1-4-0.

This book from the pen of Prof. P. J. Thomas whose interest in the study of Kerala antiquities is well known, has not attracted the attention that it deserves. The book is the result of investigation carried on for many years during which Dr. Thomas collected material both from old palm - leaf Mss. in Malabar and from the old records preserved in the libraries of Europe. Embodying all this material in this work, Dr. Thomas gives us an interesting survey of the early history of Kerala Christians, their ceremonial and religious songs, the literary and linguistic achievements of foreign (mostly Jesuit and Carmelite) and native missionaries, and the educational system current among Kerala Christians before modern westernization set in.

Many new facts and perspectives are revealed; and many new lines of work for the student of Kerala antiquities are suggested. The book, in our opinion, supplies nuclei for at least a dozen separate monographs on Kerala topics. It is to be hoped that the book will serve both as a fillip for further research and as an urgent call to the learned bodies of Kerala to initiate work—in a fruitful, but much - neglected field.

It would be most useful, for instance, to collect together the Xian songs, a few samples of which are given here by Dr. Thomas. An intensive search has to be made for trying to secure at least some of the productions of the old seminaries (now defunct) at Cranganore, Chennamangalam and Ambalakkādu. The 17th century work called *Hortus Malabaricus* which contains Mal. passages has to be secured and studied. The Mal. works of the Hungarian Missionary John Ernestus Hanzleden (അർജ്ജുൻ ഹാൻസലീൻ) who was perhaps the first among the westerners to specialise in the study of Sanskrit, of the Austrian priest Paolino (18th century), and of indige nous missionaries like കരിയാററീൽ മല്ലാൻ and തോമ്മാ-മാക്കത്തനാർ who wrote a book recording his impressions of a visit to the western countries, have to be collected together, edited and reprinted.

The contributions of Christians to our literature (whether secular or religious) form as much the property of Kerala as those of other communities; aside from this, some of these contributions are of first-rate importance for the study of Kerala antiquities.

The few extracts and facsimile photographs supplied by Dr. Thomas in the book would make one yearn for the day when these works will have been collected together and reprinted on the model of the publications of associations like the Early English Text Society.

L. V. R.

Ancient Karnāṭaka. — Vol. I (History of Tuluva). — By Bhasker Anand Saletore M. A., Ph. D. — (Poona Oriental Series, No. 53). — vii, 659 — The Oriental Book Agency, Poona. — Price Rs. 10/

Dr. Saletore is one of the youngest amongst the Indian historians of today, and he has already enriched Indian historical literature through his studies on Vijayanagara history and other subjects of capital importance. In the present volume, he gives us an account of the political history and the social life of his own district, viz. the Tuluva nāḍu.

Cultural and commercial contacts existed from a very early period between Kerala and Tuluva nāḍu. Our വടക്കൻ പാട്ടുകൾ, കേരളോല്പത്തി and കേരളപഴമ refer to some of these contacts. The Tulu Brahmins have from time immemorial enjoyed unique privileges in Malabar temples, and numerous families have settled down in Malabar. Dr. Saletore tells us (p. 299, foot note) that there are Nair colonists in Tuluva nāḍu. An account of Tuluva history and Tuluva culture would therefore be of special interest to Keralites.

The first chapter deals with the origin of the word Tulu, critically discusses the Parasurama legend, and points out what evidence can be relied on for proving the antiquity of Tuluva. Chapters II and III treat about the Alupa rulers of Tuluva (who seem to have guided the destinies of this part of the country from the early centuries of the Christian Era down till the middle ages), and their relations with other political kingdoms. In Chapter IV, the Mayūrvarma story and the Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya tradition are critically examined, and the usefulness of the *Grāmapaddhati* (embodying Tuluva tradition) is estimated. Chapter V contains interesting accounts of the different religious movements that gained a foothold in

Tuḷuva nāḍu during the course of its history: Buddhism, S'aivism, Jainism, Vaiṣṇavism and the Bhāgavata sampradāya. Dr. Saletore postulates the existence in early times of Buddhism in Tuḷuva, mainly on the basis of the following:—Kadri (old Kadarikā) was a Buddhistic centre in the 10th century; there are caves at Kadri resembling Buddhistic caves; the śāstāvu kallu and śāstāvu temples are Buddhistic in origin; many religious centres of today appear to have been Buddhistic in an earlier period (as attested primarily by the names of the deities; names of towns like Māyikaḷ (a portion of modern Mangalore) are fundamentally Buddhistic.

The next chapter concerns itself with the social life of Tuḷuva nāḍu, so far as one can reconstruct it with the help of the folksongs — the only material now available for this purpose. There is little doubt that some of the folksongs embody old traditions; but it is difficult to agree wholly with the outlook that seeks to find in them a faithful reflection of the primeval culture of Tuḷuva nāḍu. These folk - songs perhaps belong to different periods, and some of them may have been comparatively recent too. Subject to this caution, the usefulness of folk - songs for historical reconstructions is indisputable. — There are three appendices: the first one treats about an old Greek farce supposed to contain Kannaḍa passages, and attempts at supplying a plausible reconstruction; Appendix B is a list of the households in the 32 grāmās; and the third Appendix contains an Ālupa Genealogical Table. A serviceable Index rounds off this finely got - up volume.

L. V. R.

Though all the conclusions and perspectives of Dr. Saletore may not command acceptance, he has marshalled valuable material and interpreted the facts and estimated their historical value with remarkable ability. It is to be hoped that Dr. Saletore will pursue his study of Karnāṭaka history and complete the series which he has so well begun.

Two Bulletins on Architecture— By Dr. Gravely, Madras. Dr. Gravely deserves unstinted praise for the two bulletins on Architecture (General section—Vol. III. Parts 1 and 2). A comparative study leads the learned author to prophesy that it may be possible to discover “some sort of fundamental unity underlying all the various styles of Indian temple architecture.” He admits (p. 10, part 2) that the multiple-roofed temples found mostly in Malabar and Nepal

may "presumably represent an older style of architecture than the Northern and Southern forms now occupying the wide area between them," though he is inclined to favour the view of Chinese influence in Malabar. The theory of 'Independent origins' of these three closely allied styles, based on the similar climatic conditions, may perhaps explain away the difficulties arising from the 'Diffusion Theory' adopted by the author. The vexed problem of Nair Polyan-dry need not have been raked up in this connection. Postulated by Melennan and tentatively accepted by Fergusson, the hypothesis has been so effectively refuted by Rivers, Lowie and others that Burgess wisely omitted it from the 1910 revised edition of Fergusson's treatise on Architecture. It need not have found a place in this Bulletin. The author rightly moans (b. 2) that "practically nothing seems to have been worked out regarding the characteristics and evolution of the forms of decorative detail found in temples outside the Tamil country," and he may therefore be pardoned for giving Fergusson's sketch of the temple at Maḍubadri near Mangalore (p. 9. fig 5) as a typical example of the Malabar type of temple.

The lamentable lack of authoritative information regarding Malabar (or Kerala) architecture and architectural treatises must have been responsible for the author's statement in part I (p. 5) that the 'Silparatna' account of the three main styles of architecture is "obviously confused". S'ri Kumāra, like all other architects of Malabar, implies, '*four-cornered*,' and not '*two-cornered*,' by the term 'yugāśram' (from four yugas). This statement is made here on the authority of living architects of Malabar like Vēṇād Nambūdiri and Kāṇippayyūr Nambūdiripāḍ. Translation of the text (quoted in footnote page 4 and 5) along this line will considerably clarify the issue. Cf. 'mūlādāśikharam yugāśraracitam gēham smritam nāgaram' etc.). I was under the impression that the author had already been informed about this, and expected a footnote on this point from him in part 2.

A part from these minor blemishes for which the author is scarcely to be blamed, the two bulletins reveal deep critical study and admirable restraint in expression and may well be taken as models for workers in this field.

V. K. R. M.



## NOTES

The sudden and unexpected death of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal casts a gloom over the very large number of his admirers and disciples. His pioneering work in the field of Archaeology is too well known to be recounted at length. His valuable treatises on the History of Ancient India during the Buddhist period remain monuments of patient research, critical analysis and lucid exposition. In this hour of sorrow it almost seems that 'we shall not look upon his like again'.

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Mr. C. P. Achyuta Menon, the learned author of the "Cochin State Manual," passed away quietly a few months back. He was undoubtedly one of the earliest scholars to be interested in Kerala culture and arts, and has made valuable contributions to our knowledge and appreciation of the glorious heritage of Kerala, during his long and distinguished career. He has long been an Honorary Member of the Rama Varma Research Institute, and though of late his failing health had prevented him from continuing his researches, his guidance and advice were a constant source of help to us. We hold out our sincerest sympathies to his bereaved relatives.

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After the article on 'Kerala Painting' had already gone to the press' information is to hand that a "Copy of the Report on the preservation of the old frescoes of the State submitted to the Government by the art expert Mr V R Chitra" has been published in the 'Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Cochin State (1935-6 A. D.) Mr. Chitra had apparently not the opportunity of seeing some of the murals referred to in the article.

V. K. R. M.