

Some Mile Stones

IN THE

HISTORY OF TAMIL LITERATURE

FOUND IN AN ENQUIRY

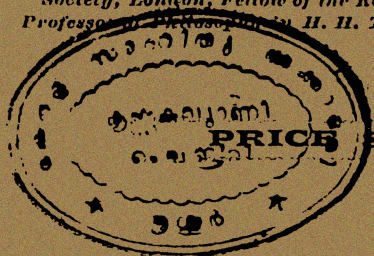
INTO THE

AGE OF TIRU GNANA SAMBANDHA

BY

P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M.A.,

Fellow of the Madras University, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, London, and Professor of Philosophy in H. H. The Maharaja's College, Trivandrum.



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DEDICATED AS A MARK OF ESTEEM

TO

DR. E. HULTZSCH,

The Leader of Historic Research in Southern India.

PREFACE.

WITH the exception of a few paragraphs enclosed in square brackets, this pamphlet is substantially a reprint of what appeared in the last few issues of the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for 1901, under the title of ‘*The Age of Tiru Nana Sambandha—a question of South Indian Archaeology*’, and my thanks are, therefore, due to the conductors of that periodical for so readily acceding to my request, when, pressed by a few earnest Tamil scholars here and there for copies of the original issues for reference, I applied to them for permission to republish the paper.

I owe it to Dr. E. Hultzsch to acknowledge that the inception of this dissertation is due entirely to him. But for his frequent and encouraging inquiries, it would never have been written. Having ventured to ascribe a higher antiquity to Sambandha than usual, in a review of *The Ten Tamil Idyls* in the *Magazine* above named, I was asked to support my statement with facts, and in my endeavours to do so, ensued this essay.

I am glad to acknowledge my obligations also to Mr. T. Ramanatha Aiyar, B.A., L.T., of Patcheappah’s College, Madras, who, though unknown to me, spontaneously offered to help me in any literary venture I might have in hand, and gladly under-

took to go through the proofs of this paper; and how carefully he has done it, it is needless for me to say.

Though it is now more than four years since this essay was written, I have not met with anything to alter the views expressed in it. A doubt, however, has arisen as to the priority of *Manikkavāsagar* to *Sambandha*, and it has been daily gaining ground, particularly after I had the pleasure of hearing from Advocate C. Brito of Ceylon—another zealous and generous friend of Tamil letters. But I have not altered the incidental expression indicating their relative age in the essay for two reasons;—1st, it does not affect the general line of argument followed in it, and 2nd, the subject deserves an independent handling.

In conclusion, I beg to express my earnest hope that other Tamil scholars in the country, with better health and more leisure, will interest themselves in such inquiries concerning their own language and history, and push them on to wider and more positive conclusions than I have been here fortunate enough to reach. It is the hope of stimulating such continued activity in however small a degree on the part of a younger generation that constitutes my main justification for this republication.

HARVEYPURAM,
TRIVANDRUM,
24th March 1895. }

P. SUNDARAM PILLAI.

SOME MILE-STONES

IN THE HISTORY OF

TAMIL LITERATURE

AN INQUIRY ABOUT
THE AGE OF TIRU GNANA SAMBANDHA.

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AMONG the Śaiva community of Southern India, no name is held in greater veneration than that of *Tiru Nana Sambandha*. By Śaiva community, I mean the Hindus that regard Śiva as the head of the Hindu Trinity. Śaivas, in this sense, form the bulk of the population in the districts of Tinnevely, Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, South Arcot, Chingleput, Madras, North Arcot, Salem, and Coimbatore, and are also found in large numbers in certain parts of Ceylon, Malabar, and Travancore,—in short, wherever Tamil is the prevailing tongue. The Canarese people are also more or less exclusively Śaivas; but they adopt a bigoted form of the common faith, and are therefore known as *Vira Śaivās* or *Linghaites*. Among the Brahmins too, there is a section specially called Śaivas, and the vast majority of the rest, though known as *Smārtās*, venerate Śaiva traditions and ceremonials, and are Śaivas to all appearance.<sup>(1)</sup> For all the Śaivas, and

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(1) For instance, the use of holy ashes, *rudrākṣa* beads, &c.



particularly for the non-Brahminical Tamil Saivas, *Tiru Nana Sambandha* is the highest authority, and his works have all the sanctity of the Vedas.

In fact, the Tamil Saivas have their own system of sacred literature, compiled and arranged, so as to match the Vedas, Purānas and Sastras in Sanskrit. The hymns of Sambandha, together with a few other songs, are in fact known as *Tamil Vēdas*. These hymns and songs were compiled and arranged into eleven groups, or *Tiru Murai*, by one *Nambi Āndar Nambi*, a Brahmin priest of *Tiru Nāraiṇūr* in the Tanjore District, the sovereign who patronized this Tamil *Vyāsa* being *Rājaraṇja Abhaya Kulasekhara Chola*,<sup>(1)</sup> as will be seen further on. Of these eleven collections or *Tiru Murai*, the first three contain the hymns of Sambandha, and the next three, those of a *Vēlāḷa* saint, called *Appar* or *Tiru Nāvukkarasu*, an elder contemporary of Sambandha, and an earnest and pathetic writer, whose thorough renouncement of Buddhism<sup>(2)</sup> seems to have been the first of the irreparable reverses, that that religion experienced in Southern India. The seventh comprises the rather humorous hymns of *Sundarar*, a Brahmin devotee of a later generation.<sup>(3)</sup> These seven collections form the compilation called *Dēvaram*; also known as *Adangal Murai*, and are perhaps meant to match the hymns of the earlier portions of the Vedas, which they closely resemble in being but praises and prayers offered to the Deity. They are used also, much in the same way as the Vedic hymns, on ceremonial and religious occasions. The mere learning of

(1) Vide stanza 2, *Tiru Murai Kaṇḍa Purāna*.

(2) Under this term *Buddhism*, I include all forms of *Anti-Vedic* heresy that prevailed in this age. Though they differed among themselves, all these schismatics, known variously as *Shapanās*, *Buddhās*, *Jains*, *Thérar*, *Sākyar*, *Arugar*, &c., were at one in rejecting the authority of the Vedas. Useful tidbits of interesting information may be gathered from the *Dēvara Hymns* concerning all these sects of South Indian Buddhists.

(3) See stanza 16, *Tiru Murai Kaṇḍa Purānam*.

them by rote is held a virtue, and special provision is made in respectable Śaiva temples throughout the Tamil Districts, for their public recitation after the daily *pūjas*, by a class of *Velūḷa* priests, called *Ōdurārs*. The earlier work<sup>(1)</sup> *Tiru Vāsakam* forms a part of the eighth *Tiru Murai* or collection. It is perhaps intended to take the place of the *Upanishads*, and there is decidedly no work in the Tamil language, more deserving of that distinction. There are, indeed, but few poems in any language that can surpass *Tiru Vāsakam* or 'the holy word' of Mānikkavāsagar, in profundity of thought, in earnestness of feeling, or in that simple childlike trust, in which the struggling human soul, with its burdens of intellectual and moral puzzles, finally finds shelter. The hymns of nine other minor authors, composed in apparent imitation of the *Dēvara* hymns, make up the ninth group called *Tiru Isaippa*. Among these nine authors was a Chola King named *Kaṇḍarūḍiṭṭiya*,<sup>(2)</sup> and I am glad to find his name in Dr. Hultzsch's table<sup>(3)</sup> of Chola Kings, as the one, from whom *Rājarāja*, who ascended the Chola throne in 1004 A. D.<sup>(4)</sup> was the fifth in succession. The tenth collection contains the mystic songs of an old *Yōgi*, called *Tiru Mūlar*. The eleventh or the last evidently looks like a supplement, and was perhaps intended to provide room for all other sacred writings current at the time. It embraces a number of miscellaneous treatises, some ascribed to *Nakkīrar* of the old Madura College. The last ten pieces in this, the eleventh *Tiru Murai*, were written by *Nambi Andar Nambi* himself; and of these ten pieces, the third

(1) The priority of Mānikkavāsagar is generally accepted only on tradition, and on the genealogy of the Paudias given in the *Madura Stala Pūṇḍu*. Better evidence is found in the *Dēvaram* itself. Vide stanza 2, page 652 of Ramaswami Pillai's edition, where *Appar* directly alludes to a miracle ascribed to Mānikkavāsagar.

(2) Vide stanza 10 of his *Tiru Isaippa*.

(3) Page 112, Vol. I., *South Indian Inscriptions*.

(4) Page 169, Vol. I., *South Indian Inscriptions*.



or the *Tiru Toṇḍar Tiruvantāti* forms the basis of the Tamil Purāṇa, popularly called the *Periya Purāṇa*; and this completes the analogy we have drawn between *Nambi Āndar Nambi* and *Vyāsa*,—the compiler of the Aryan Vedas and the supposed author of all Purāṇas. These eleven collections, together with the *Periya Purāṇa*, make up the sacred literature of the Śaivas, if we put aside the works of the *Santāna Āchāryas* called *Siddhānta Śāstras*,<sup>(1)</sup> 14 in number and professedly philosophical. These last correspond to *Védānta Sūtras* and their commentaries, which, though not held as revealed, form still an integral portion of the sacred Sanskrit writings.

From this short account, it must be clear what position *Tiru Nānu Sambandha* holds among the Tamils as a religious teacher. He is decidedly the greatest and most popular of the Tamil *Rishis*. There is scarcely a Śiva temple in the Tamil country where his image is not daily worshipped. In most of them, special annual feasts are held in his name, when the leading events of his life are dramatically represented for the instruction of the masses. All classes of poets, from his colleagues *Appar* and *Sundarar*, to the latest of Purāṇa writers; from the purest *Védāntists* like *Tatuvārāyar*<sup>(2)</sup>, to the most uncompromising Dualists like *Arul Nandi Sivāchāriyar*; from the iconoclastic *Kaṇṇudaiya Vaḷḷulār*<sup>(3)</sup> to the *Vīra Śaiva Sivaprakāsar*,

(1) *Umāpathi Sivāchārya* was the last of the four *Santāna Āchāryas*, for whom the Śaiva Calendar provides an annual fest-day. They constitute, together with the devotees whose lives are described in the *Periya Purāṇa*, the canonized saints of the Śaivas.

(2) This excellent poet and subtle metaphysician deserves more attention than he now generally receives.

(3) The only work of this author now extant, called '*Oḻiviloḍukkam*,' is an endless mine of what Dr. Bain calls "intellectual similes." Compared with his merciless sarcasms on all kinds of idolatry, the words of *Sivavākyar* and others, so frequently quoted, are the tamest of jejune platitudes. The author of the Tamil Plutarch does not mention this writer; he mistakenly ascribes his work to *Sāntalingar* of a totally different school.

unite in invoking his spiritual aid, at the commencement of their literary labours; and indeed any Tamil scholar ought to be able, at short notice, to compile a goodly volume of the encomiums paid to the memory of this religious teacher, by an appreciative posterity.

• Even as a poet, Sambandha has more than ordinary claims to be remembered. His hymns, of which three hundred and eighty-four *Patigams*<sup>(1)</sup> or more than 19,000 lines are now extant, are models of pure and elevated diction, generally earnest and touching, but always melodious and well-turned. Most of them appear to have been uttered *impromptu*; and all of them, being lyrical, are set to music. The original tunes are now mostly forgotten. They were lost in the later airs introduced by the Aryan musicians of the north. Some of the old names<sup>(2)</sup> are however still retained; but it is difficult to believe that they denote, in the new system, the same old Dravidian melodies. The very instrument upon which these melodies were played, namely the *yâl*, is so completely forgotten that no small difficulty is felt in following the descriptions of it in such ancient classics as the *Ten Idyls* and *Silappatikâram*. The *vinai* now in use would appear to be of quite a different structure.<sup>(3)</sup> The melody of some of the hymns of Sambandha, therefore, may not be fully realised, since the tunes to which they were set are now lost. Taken all in all, Sambandha must be reckoned as a great genuine Tamil poet, certainly the greatest in the lyrical department. It is a pity that he composed nothing in any other line; with his masterly command over the language and his marked individuality, he might have left behind, more imposing monuments of his genius, in the epic

(1) A *Patigam* is a collection of ten stanzas. *Sambandha* generally adds an eleventh, giving his own name, &c.

(2) Such as the tunes now called *Kurunchi*, *Kolli*, &c.

(3) *Tiruvâśagam* distinguishes the *vinai* from the old *yâl*. So also *Kalingattu Paraṇi* and other works of the middle ages.



or the dramatic line, if his vocation and circumstances had permitted him the requisite leisure.

But, evidently, his time was otherwise fully engaged. His life is narrated at great length in the *Periya Purāna*, but scarcely with such particulars as a modern historian would care to have. He was born of good Brahmin parents of the *Koundinnya Gōtra* at *Srī Kālī* or *Shāyālī*, few miles to the south of Chidambaram. His father bore the name of *Sivapādaṅṇudaya*, and his mother was called *Bhagavati*. Evidently, they had no other children. At the age of three, Sambandha, who was then called *Pillai* or *Āṇudaya Pillai*, accompanied his father, one morning, to the bathing ghat of the local temple tank. Busy with his own ablutions, the father forgot the presence of his son; and the boy, left to himself, cried and wept, and called to his mother. The local goddess heard the cry; and appearing before the boy, gave him a cup of her own milk. The boy drank the holy draught, and forthwith became *Tiru Nāna Sambandha*, or the one related to (the godhead) through wisdom. In the meantime, the father having finished his ablutions, came up to his boy, and wished to know about the cup in his hand. The child broke out in verse, and pointing to the divine figure, still but vanishing through the sky, proclaimed the source of the gift. The hymn still exists, and is the very first of the compilation called *Dēvaram*, but it seems to give no support to the miracle narrated. Probably, Sambandha's was one of those cases of marvellous precocity now and then puzzling psychologists; and no doubt, he was a born poet who 'lisp'd in numbers, for the numbers came.' Anyhow, after declaring himself the elect, Sambandha could find no rest. Crowds of people came to have a look at the prodigy and to invite him to their villages. He responded to their calls, and commemorated his visit by composing a hymn of ten stanzas in praise of *Siva* and the village visited.

It was, while he was thus travelling about, raising un-

bounded admiration among the people, and securing the staunch support of the leading men of his age,<sup>(1)</sup> that an invitation from *Mankaiarkkarasi*, the queen of *Kûn Pândia* of Madura, reached him at *Vêdûrñiam*. The Pandia had been converted to Jainism, but his queen and his minister, *Kulachirai*, retained their traditional faith; and wishing to reclaim their sovereign, they naturally looked to Sambandha, the marvel of the age. Nor was he slow to respond. Though the Purâna records no previous conflict with the Buddhists, it is clear from the uniform imprecations pronounced upon them in every one of his hymns—not even the first excepted—that he must have already encountered them frequently in the course of his incessant movements. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Sambandha was anxiously looking out for an opportunity for a decisive trial of strength. The invitation was accordingly accepted with alacrity, and the champion of the Saiva faith appeared in Madura. It would be interesting to get a historical account of the meeting of the two opposing creeds of the time at the court of the Pândia. That there was such a meeting is beyond all dispute. Of this, the hymns connected with the proceedings at the meeting, bear ample, and so far as I can see, unquestionable evidence. But of the debate, we have no particulars; the story is replete only with miracles. Suffice it to say that the Buddhists were routed, and that Kûn Pândia was duly reconverted to the Saiva faith. This event is the most important historical fact connected with Sambandha's life. After re-establishing the traditional faith in Madura, he recommenced his travels. He appears to have been an indefatigable traveller, and to have visited almost every town and every village of any consequence then

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(1) Six of these are expressly mentioned: *Tirumârukkarakasi*, his fellow hymn-maker; *Chirutonḍar*, *Tirunilanakkar*, *Mârīggar*, and *Tiru Nilakkaṇḍa Yâlpânar*, who accompanied Sambandha for the rest of his life, singing on his matchless *yâl* every hymn his youthful master produced.

in the Tamil Districts.<sup>(1)</sup> A marriage was at last proposed and settled with the daughter of a pious Brahmin called *Nambandâr*,<sup>(2)</sup> but, at the end of the wedding, a miraculous fire appeared, in answer to the prayers of the bridegroom, and all present, including the married couple, says the *Purâna*, departed this life to Heaven.

Thus the life of Sambandha begins and ends with miracles.<sup>(3)</sup> But in spite of these supernatural elements, it is impossible not to see in him a powerful historical personality. If the downfall of Buddhism, at least in the Tamil Districts, can be ascribed to one individual more than to another, that individual is Nâna Sambandha. That he looked upon the final overthrow of the Jains and the Buddhists as the one object of his life will appear from every one of his numerous hymns, the tenth verse of which is uniformly devoted to their condemnation. Even after his glorious victory over them at Madura, the habit of cursing them is continued, showing that the schismatics, however vanquished, had still a hold on the land. An express mention of a subsequent debate at *Tiru Telichêri* is also met with. But from Kân Pândia's conversion may be dated the downfall of Buddhism. Buddhism never regained its lost prestige, and by the time of Nambi Ândâr Nambi, *i.e.*, the eleventh century, it was practically extinct in the Tamil country.

It is difficult, at this distance of time, to understand why so implacable a hatred was implanted against the Jains in the heart of our otherwise amiable author. The religion of Aruga must have deteriorated, 'no doubt, a good deal, after it got itself established under Aśoka in the

(1) There exist hymns commemorating his visit to more than 200 places, mostly in the Tanjore District.

(2) The author of the *Tamil Plutarch* mistakes *Nambândar* for *Nambi Ândar Nambi*,—quite a different person.

(3) It is but just to add that some of these do find support in the Dêvara Hymns. There is clear evidence to prove that *Sambandha* believed in his own powers to work miracles.

north and equally powerful potentates in the south. Religious sects, like political parties, are generally good and promising, only till they attain to power. However corrupted the creed of Gautama had become, that fact alone could not have been the sole ground of Sambandha's intolerance, or the sufficing cause of its rather rapid downfall and disappearance. With the hopelessly impenetrable darkness that envelopes the history of this period, it is idle to open such questions. We should rejoice, if we could, with any tolerable certainty, determine what that period itself was.

It is scarcely possible to conceive greater confusion than what prevails with reference to the question of the age of Sambandha. Mr. Taylor places Kûn Pâṇḍia, and therefore Sambandha also, who converted him, about 1320 B.C.,<sup>(1)</sup> while Dr. Caldwell contends that he was reigning in 1292 A.D. Thus it would appear possible to assign Sambandha to 1300 B.C. or A.D. indifferently! This is certainly very curious: and I am not sure whether we can find the like of it in the whole range of history. Indeed, the truth is, South Indian Archæology is yet to begin its existence. We have not, in fact, as yet, a single important date in the ancient history of the Dravidians, ascertained and placed beyond the pale of controversy. It is no wonder, then, that, in the absence of such a sheet anchor, individual opinions drift, at pleasure, from the fourteenth century B.C., to the fourteenth century A.D.! I am not sure, whether even, the conditions under which South Indian Archæology has to proceed, have themselves been sufficiently attended to. Whatever else there exists or not of the ancient Dravidian civilization, there exist the Tamil language with its various dialects, including the classical dialect, now gone out of use, and the extensive literature written in that dialect. A critical study of this dialect and of this literature, would certainly, under ordinary circum-

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(1) Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part III., Chapter II., page 55.

stances, be held as a pre-requisite for conducting South Indian antiquarian researches. But, unfortunately, for reasons that cannot be here explained, critical scholarship in Tamil has come to be regarded as not so essential to those researches.<sup>(1)</sup> Hence the absurdities that we sometimes meet with in the writings of those whose oracular utterances pass in certain quarters for axiomatic truths. For instance, Dr. Burnell, in an otherwise very masterly treatise on *South Indian Palaeography*, goes out of his way to add the following foot note:—

“Buddhamitra, a Buddhist of the Chôla country and apparently a native of Malakûta or Malaikûṭṭam, wrote in the eleventh century a Tamil Grammar in verse, with a Commentary by himself, which he dedicated to the then Chôla king and called after him *Vīrasôliyam*. The Commentary cites a great number of Tamil works current in the eleventh century, and is therefore of much historical importance, for the approximate dates even of most Tamil works are hardly known. He cites Amrita Sâgaram; Avinayanâr, Ârûrkôvai; Eliviruttam; Kapilar; Kamban; Kaviviruttam; Kâkkaipâḍiniyâr; Kâtantras; Kânḍi; Kuṇḍalakêsi Virattam; Kuṛal; Saṅgai-authors; Sîntâmaṇi; Sôlarâjvarisai; Taṇḍi; Tiruśśirumbalakkôvai; Tirumanni-vaḷaru; Toḷkāpyam; Nambi; Nalavenḇâ; Nariviruttam; Nâladiâr; Niyâyaśûḍâmaṇi; Nêminâdam; Perundēvar's Bharatam; Maṇippiravâḷam; Mâyêśuranâr; Vīrasôḷaṇ-mêṛkavi. This then represents the *old* Tamil literature prior to the eleventh century, and to it must be added the older *Saiva* works. The above mentioned literature cannot be older than the eighth century, for in the seventh century Hiuen Tshang expressly states that the Tamil people were then indifferent to literature. That this litera-

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(1) Dr. Hultzsch too seems to complain of this prevailing prejudice. “It is still a popular opinion,” he writes in his preface to the first volume of *South Indian Inscriptions*, “that a colloquial knowledge of one of the vernaculars with a slight smattering of Sanskrit is sufficient for editing successfully the records of bygone times.”

ture arose under North Indian influences and copied North Indian models can hardly be disputed; but it is time now to assert", so runs the emphatic edict, "that it is nothing more than an exact copy; if there be any originality, it is in some of the similes and turns of expression only."<sup>(1)</sup>

But it is time also to see that such assertions do not go uncontradicted. It was but the other day, I found this passage cited in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,<sup>(2)</sup>—a work supposed to contain nothing but reliable matter. But the passage in question is a veritable nest of errors. In the first place, to say that Buddhāmītra is a native of *Malakūta*, while there is his own authority for saying that he belonged to a place called *Ponparri*, argues either ignorance of the very opening verses of his grammar, or an inclination to substitute the unknown for the known! For to this day, nobody knows what *Malakūta* is. It is, in fact, Dr. Burnell's own conjecture for the Chinese *Mo-lo-kin-ch'a*; and its identification with the Tanjore District rests entirely upon an erroneous reading of his,—taking *MANUKULA-chūlamani chatur vēdi mangalam*, in an old Tanjore inscription for *MALAKŪTA chūlamani chatur vēdi mangalam*.<sup>(3)</sup> In the second place, to say that Buddhāmītra wrote his grammar in the eleventh century, may be permitted as a venturesome conjecture; but, before we accept it as a bit of *terra firma* on which to build historical conclusions, we must demand better proof than what Dr. Burnell is able to offer. Here again, a mistaken identification is at the bottom of his argument. *Vīra Chōla* to whom the grammar is dedicated, is assumed to have been, the same as *Rājendra Chōla* who "reigned from 1064 to 1113," and whose coronation "took place in 1079."<sup>(4)</sup> But neither Tamil literature nor

(1) *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, page 127.

(2) Article Tamil by R. R. I find myself anticipated by this able writer in an investigation, I have been of late conducting, regarding the tense-formations of Tamil verbs.

(3) Page 240, Vol. XVIII., *The Indian Antiquary*.

(4) Page 40, *South Indian Palaeography*.

the latest epigraphical researches, lend the least support to this identification. Nay, there can be now very little doubt that Dr. Burnell simply mistook for a genuine Chola king the Châlukya Prince *Vîra Chôda Vishnu Vardhana IX.*, who ascended the throne in 1079.<sup>(1)</sup> In the third place, it is hard to account for Dr. Burnell's supposition that the commentary was by Buddhamitra himself. The old grammarian was really more modest! The commentary was written by one *Perum Dêvanûr*, and not by that author himself.

It is harder still to explain how Dr. Burnell got the curious list of books he gives. Mr. Damodaram Pillai—the veteran editor of *Vîrasôliyam*—ought to be able to say, whether he found any such list in the many manuscript copies he examined in order to bring out his remarkably careful edition. But the list is its own best condemnation. It is full of enigmatic conundrums, sufficient to amaze and humble the proudest of Tamil Pandits! For, has he read *Eliviruttam* or *Nariviruttam*? He may know *Kundalakesi*, but does he know *Kundalakesi Viruttam*? *Kali Viruttam*, as a metre, he may be familiar with, but has he read *Kaviviruttam* as a book? *Kândiyai*, as a mode of exposition, he may know, but what is *Kândi*? He may condemn *Maṇiprâvâlam*, as a mongrel sort of poetic diction, and may even be aware that it is referred to in the commentary in question, (for *here* we actually come upon something that has a basis in fact,) but has he had the rare fortune of meeting with it as the title of a Tamil work? But he must feel considerable relief when he comes to *Tirumanni-vaḷaru*: for, he must know that that is but the initial phrase of a particular stanza in the book under reference, and cannot be *itself* the title of a treatise. But to be serious, it is a pure waste of time to examine the list. The errors in it are too many and too transparent to mislead any one with the least pretence to Tamil scholarship. In this fanci-

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(1) Page 32, Vol. I., *South Indian Inscriptions*.



ful list, no doubt, some real names do occur; but even these show only what hazy ideas the author had of their bearing. For instance, "*Saṅgui-authors*," if it has any meaning at all, must mean the poets of the Madura College. It might be too bad to suppose that Dr. Burnell could mistake the Augustan age of Tamil literature itself for a particular book; but how else are we to avoid the charge of cross division, which enumerates, as of co-ordinate importance, the class and some individuals of that class? Further, is there any justification for saying that even these real authors and works are cited in the commentary? The most patient study does not reveal a word of reference to most of them. On the other hand, there is evidence in the book itself to show that some of them did not exist to be cited. For instance, Buddhāmītra alludes to the Sanskrit grammarian *Taṇḍi* in a way that could leave but one impression—*viz.*, that the Tamil *Taṇḍi* was yet to be born. With the exception of *Kural*, *Nāḷadiyār*, and a few other works, the bulk of the illustrations are the commentator's own composition, as the new principles of this Sanskritizing Grammar could not find apt support in the old Tamil literature.

Turning now to the conclusion drawn, does it look probable that such an extensive literature, as must be assumed to have existed from the list given, started into existence in the course of but three centuries of those *backward* times? Even supposing there existed no works but those cited in the commentary, (which is really difficult to believe,) and omitting also the "*older Sāiva*" works, which are allowed to have existed, though not cited by Buddhāmītra, Dr. Burnell's list would give us ten important works for a century, that is, one standard work, worthy of being cited in a grammar, for every ten years; and yet, the Tamils were all but recently indifferent to letters! But the truth is, Dr. Burnell is simply indulging his fancy, and piling up conjecture upon conjecture, to construct his cloud-land. Hiuen T'sang says not a word about the Tamils.

He simply notes what somebody told him of the people of *Mo-lo-kin-chá*. But to the anxious ears of Dr. Burnell, *Mo-lo-kin-chá* sounds like *Malakúta*, and to his no less anxious eyes, the innocent word *Manukula* in the old 'Tanjore inscription, though written in characters "of two to three inches height," appears as *Malakúta*; and forthwith, he hurries to apply what is said of the people of *Mo-lo-kin-chá*, not merely to the village of *Manukula-chûlû-mañi-chatur-vêdi Mangalam*, nor even to the 'delta of the *Kâvéri* where that village is supposed to have been situated, but to the whole Tamil race itself! Untrustworthy as such sweeping assertions about whole nations generally are, the hearsay report of the Chinese pilgrim would appear to be extremely so, when taken along with another choice bit of news, his worthy but unnamed informant seems to have favoured him with. The capital of *Mo-lo-kin-chó*, Hiuen T'sang was told, was three thousand *li* from *Kánchi*; and General Cunningham, wishing to discover the place, finds himself quite at sea, having to go far out into the ocean beyond Cape Comorin to cover the distance given! Yet with Dr. Burnell, the hearsay evidence of Hiuen T'sang about the literary tastes of the people of that curious missing city and country, is sufficient evidence, to declare that the Tamil people had no literature till the eighth century A.D.! It cannot be untrue that *some* angels, in their flights, do extend their wings too far forwards to be good for their vision! With all my admiration, I can find no other explanation for the state of mind that could indulge in such gratuitous and unprofitable dogmatism. Possibly the indifference noted is also not to letters in general, but only to Buddhistic canons, in search of which the pious Chinese traveller came to India.<sup>(1)</sup> Lastly, as regards Dr. Burnell's emphatic assertion about Tamil literature being but an exact copy of Sanskrit works, it need not concern us much, seeing what proofs the author gives in the same

(1) This is the view adopted in my first article on "*The Ten Tamil Idyls*."

paragraph of his scholarship in that literature. Even one that has studied no other Tamil classics than the popular *Kural*, may know, if pressed, what answer to give to this charge. I am sorry, only for the reputation of Dr. Burnell, that this unlucky note of his, as unlucky as uncalled for, has found its way into the stately columns of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Be it far from me to disparage the labours of the few European scholars, to whose indefatigable endeavours alone is due whatever light there exists in this and similar branches of study. The blame, if anywhere, must rest with the native scholars themselves. If they fail to imbibe the historical spirit of modern times, and do not stir themselves to help forward the researches made regarding their own antiquities, they will have themselves to thank, if their favourite language and literature are condemned and thrown overboard, as is summarily done by Dr. Burnell.

Returning to our subject, I am aware of only two serious attempts to determine the age of Kân Pandia, or which is the same thing, the age of Sambandha. The first is that of Dr. Caldwell<sup>(1)</sup> in his *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, *Introduction*, pages 137—143, and *Appendix III.*, pages 535—540, and the second is that of Mr. Nelson in his *District Manual* called the ‘*Madura Country*,’ *Part III.*, *Chapter II.*, pages 54—70. Neither of these two attempts appears to me successful or satisfactory. It will take too much time to review their arguments in detail, but I shall briefly note what strikes me as the leading features of these theories.

Dr. Caldwell’s hypothesis as to the age of Sambandha is based entirely upon two assumptions—first, that Kân Pandya’s name was Sundara Pandya, and second, that

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(1) It was after the completion of this paper, that the sad news of the death of this venerable Tamil scholar, reached the writer. The loss to the Tamil language and literature is really great, and it may be long before that language finds so devoted a student and so patient an enquirer as The Right Rev. Bishop Caldwell.

Sundara Pandya is identical with the Sender Bendi of Marco Polo, that reigned in 1292. As Mr. Nelson also proceeds upon the first of these two suppositions, it is necessary to observe once for all that Sundara Pandya is hardly a proper name. The deity at Madura is called Sundara, and Sundara Pandya by itself is no more the name of any particular Pandya, than is *Sri Pudmanabha Dasa*, the individual appellation of any sovereign of Travancore. Hence we find the term Sundara associated with the name of so many kings of Madura. That it never stood by itself as the distinctive name of any individual Pandya, it may be hazardous to assert, but that it was too common a designation to yield us any historical clue, requires no proof. Still for the satisfaction of European scholars, I shall quote just one or two authorities. Dr. Hultzsch says with reference to the phrase 'Crown of Sundara,' "The name Sundara occurs in the traditional lists of Pandya kings. In the present inscription the term 'Crown of Sundara' seems to be used in the sense of "the Crown of the Pandya King."<sup>(1)</sup> So Sundara means nothing but Pandya. Be it also noted that this expression, 'Sundara's crown', occurs in an inscription of Rajendra Chola, who according to Dr. Hultzsch, ascended the throne about 1018 A.D., that is, 274 years before Polo landed at Kâyal.

It is possible also to trace the source of this common error that confounds Kûn Pandya with Sundara Pandya. When Kûn Pandya was converted by Sambandha, the Saivas in their exultation called him Ninra Sîr Nedu Mâran,—the tall or prosperous Pandya of established beauty or grace ;—probably meaning thereby nothing more than a compliment, like the title 'Defender of the Faith,' conferred by the Pope on Henry VIII. I am not sure, whether the name Kûn Pandya itself was not an after designation, to be understood metaphorically and theologically, rather than, literally and physically. Anyhow, the Kûn Pandya

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(1) *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., page 96.

of Sambandha still continues to be worshipped as a canonized saint, only under the name of Niṇṇa Sîr Nedu Māraṇāyanār. When, however, the time came for the Sanskrit *Stala Purāna* to be written, the pandits, who must needs translate even proper names, rendered Kūṇ Pandya into Kubja Pandya and Niṇṇa Sîr Nedu Māraṇ into Sundara Pandya, exactly as they translated his queen's name Māṅkajarkkarasi into Vanitêswari, and his minister's name Kulachirai into Kulabandhana. The *Purāna* itself makes it clear that Sundara Pandya was simply a title assumed after the conversion (1); and the Tamilians know of no other title then assumed, but the name of Niṇṇa Sîr Nedu Māraṇ. Be the explanation what it may, to build any theory upon the name Sundara Pandya, is simply to build upon quicksand. I shall add but one more testimony to this simple fact. The Rev. E. Leventhal in a fine paper on 'The Coins of Tinnevely' says, "The name Sundara Pandya is found on such a multitude of coins, both in Tinnevely and Madura Districts, that it sometimes is difficult to believe, that all those coins should have been struck by one king. Could it not be that some of his successors had used that name as a title on their coins, the meaning of the name being only 'beautiful.'"(2) Of course, such perplexities are unavoidable, when one proceeds upon a wrong hypothesis. For, it should be added, Mr. Leventhal goes upon Dr. Caldwell's theory that there was a particular Pandya, called Sundara Pandya, who reigned in 1292. Error in these regions of pure speculation is always infectious.

Now with regard to Marco Polo's Sender Bendi, Polo distinctly says, he ruled over Soli, 'the best and noblest province of India.' Madura does not answer this description, nor can we conceive how it can possibly be corrupted

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(1) Stanza 68, Chapter 69, *Tiru Viṭaiyadal Purāna*, and Stanzas 4 and 5, page 748, *Tinnevely Stala Purāna*.

(2) *The Coins of Tinnevely*, page 19.

even in the language of these flying foreign visitors, into 'Soli.' Colonel Yule may be right in identifying Soli with Tanjore, the then capital of the Chola country: but it looks more probable that it was the name of some province about the sea-coast yet to be identified. At any rate, it cannot be Madura. That in some undated <sup>(1)</sup> inscriptions in the possession of Dr. Caldwell, the expression 'Sundara Chola Pandi' occurs, will be scarcely accepted as an argument for confounding Soli with Madura, unless we have a foregone conclusion to maintain. More reasonable appears to be the conclusion arrived at by Colonel Yule, that Marco Polo's Sender Bendi was no sovereign of Madura, but some adventurer "who had got possession of the coast country and perhaps paid some nominal homage to Madura."<sup>(2)</sup> It is unnecessary for our purpose to follow Dr. Caldwell through the maze of dreamy tales he cites from two Mahomedan historians, to show that there was a king in Madura about 1292 called 'Sundara Bandi.' The earlier of the two, Rashiduddin, says that a Sundar Bandi ruled over Malabar, extending from Kûlam to Silawar, (which Dr. Caldwell interprets as Nellore!) with a Mahomedan minister, named Shaik Jumaluddin, and that he died in 1293, leaving his throne and seven hundred bullock loads of jewels to his lucky minister! Wassaf, the second historian, agrees as to Sundar Bandi's death in 1293, but amplifies the *seven hundred* bullock loads into *seven thousand*, and gives the treasure to a brother of Sundar Bandi, instead of to his Mahomedan minister. But not so harmless is his other exaggeration about the extent of Malabar, which is *here* described as stretching from the Persian sea to Silawar (or Nellore),—which, indeed, would be a noble province to rule over, but neither Malabar,

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(1) I have now with me some inscriptions with this name which I should have published a year or two ago, but for want of time and health to make out their full bearing—*vide* my 'Early Sovereigns of Travancore,' page 58.

(2) Colonel Yule quoted by Dr. Caldwell; see Appendix III., page 537.

Madura nor Soli ! Still more remarkable is another statement of this historical authority depended upon by Dr. Caldwell. The Sundar Bandi who dies in 1293 re-appears in 1310, and flees from Madura to Delhi for protection against a rebellious brother of his ! But it is needless for our purpose to go into the evidence of these so-called historians, cited by Dr. Caldwell to support his view. Let us suppose that the reconciliations he proposes, between these and other queer statements of theirs, are satisfactory, and also that the identification of Marco Polo's Sender Bendi of Soli with their Sundar Bandi of Malabar, is as sound as the learned Doctor could wish ; still are we any way nearer our conclusion ? A distinctly different identification would yet remain to be made. Is the Kûn Pandya of Sambandha the same as the Sundar Bandi of the two Mahomedan historians ? There is not the least shadow of evidence in favour of the supposition, while every historical fact known is decidedly against it. We need mention here but two. (1) The minister of Kûn Pandya was not the Mahomedan, Shaik Jumaluddin, but Kulachirai Nâyanar—one of the sixty-three canonized Saiva Saints<sup>(1)</sup>. (2) The dominions of Kûn Pandya, instead of extending from Kûlan or the Persian Gulf to Nellore, did not go beyond Trichinopoly, where the three Tamil Kingdoms met in the days of Sambandha.<sup>(2)</sup> The Chola Kingdom itself did not embrace Cuddalore which was then a Pallava province.<sup>(3)</sup>

Now turning to Mr. Nelson—surely his procedure is more judicious. He has no decided theory to uphold, but arguing from certain premises, he concludes that “ it is

(1) We have Sambandha's own evidence for this fact. For instance, he says “ செந்நவன் நன்கு மந்தியிய குலச்சிறை குலவி மின்றேதகும்,” page 828—Ramaswamy Pillay's Edition.

(2) Sambandha's *Mukkîchara Padigam*, page 344.

(3) See *Tiru Nâvukkarasar Purâna*, stanza 84. Tiruppâtirippuliyûr, now called old Cuddalore, was the capital of a Pallava province and the seat of a Buddhist University ; hence its name, which is simply a Tamil rendering of Pataliputra.



very possible that Kûn Pandya reigned in the latter half of the eleventh century." The premises assumed are, (1) that certain conquests and feats, claimed for one Sundara Pandya in an undated inscription, are true and applicable to Kûn Pandya; and (2) that Mankairkkarasi, the queen of Kûn Pandya, was the daughter of Karikâla Chôla, who persecuted Ramanuja. Now both these premises appear to me more than questionable: and I shall consider them separately.

The undated inscription appears suspicious on the face of it, and for the following considerations:—

(1). It is not as usual a single document but a composite one, containing an original grant, attributed to one Sundara Pandya, and two successive confirmations,—the first by a certain Rama Nari Bhûshana 'the Emperor of the three worlds', and the second, by some one else whose name and rank Mr. Nelson does not give.

(2). All these three documents are dated the eighth year of the reign of the respective executants;—surely a strange coincidence, if real.

(3). The last witness of the original grant appears also as the last witness of the first confirmation!

(4). The second witness of the original grant bears the title of Sri Vallavan Sundarattôl, which last word surely seems to be a corruption of Sundarattôlan,—a name *coined and given to Siva*, because of the familiarity with which Sundara Nayanar treated that deity. Here it occurs as the name of an attesting witness to a grant, which, if true, must have been issued before Sundara Nayanar himself was born! We may pass over the fact that the first witness to the first confirmation also bears the name of Sundarattôlan, as the date of *that* confirmation is not in issue.

(5). The original grant begins with the present tense but unconsciously lapses into the past; as for instance, when it makes the grantor speak of himself as one 'who *swayed* the sceptre everywhere avoiding sins in such wise

that the whole world *lived* in happiness under his one umbrella', &c.

(6). A composite document like the one under consideration can be, at its best, only an evidence of the *opinion* of the *last executant*, as to whom the original grant itself might be ascribed.

(7). That such inscriptions do exist, Mr. Nelson himself furnishes the best proof. He quotes another inscription at the end of the chapter, dated Saka 1495, purporting to be a confirmation of Kûn Pandya's grant of certain lands to the mosque of the 'Delhi Orukol Sultan'; but rightly considers it no evidence of the grant itself, (which would bring down the date of the great Saiva Constantine to a period later than 1324), but only an indication of the opinion of the executant, who in this case was one Virappa Nâyakar Aiyar Avargal.

(8). The only circumstance in Mr. Nelson's inscription, which entitles it to any consideration, is the alleged occurrence in it of the name of Mankairkkarasi, the patroness of Sambandha. Otherwise, the Sundrâ Pandya to whom the grant is attributed might be passed over, as only of as much historical significance, as the two Sundara Pandyas,<sup>(1)</sup> who appear as the third and eleventh witnesses in the third confirmation of the grant. But, as a matter of fact, the name of Mankairkkarasi *does not* occur in the document. Epigraphists now reckon it a mere misreading of Mr. Nelson for Avani Muḷutudaiyâl or Bhuvana Muḷutudaiyâl—a totally different person whose historical position is yet to be ascertained. This removes the only ground for any plausible identification of Sundara Pandya with the Kûn Pandya we are in search of, even allowing the genuineness of the grant in question.

(9). The only other historical allusion in the document

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(1) Here is another bit of evidence, if further evidence be necessary, to show that the name Sundara Pandya can by itself give no historical indication. I know of some coppersmiths and common workmen in Travancore who are called Sundara Pandyas.

is the burning of Tanjore and Uraiyûr. Much is made of this by Mr. Nelson. But it is altogether fatal to his theory. Kûn Pandya *could not* have burned Tanjore, for the simple reason that Tanjore did not then exist. Neither Sambandha nor Appar nor Sundarar found such a place in their systematic incessant peregrinations. They do not even seem to have heard of such a place, which would be certainly inexplicable, seeing that all of them and particularly the third, spent so much of their time in what is now called the Tanjore District, where scarcely a village<sup>(1)</sup> was left uncommemorated in their endless hymns. Sundarar, indeed, mentions a Tanjore, as the birthplace of a particular saint, but it is not our Tanjore at all, but a village now called Poṭṭai Tanjâvûr, a hamlet near Nega-patam. By the time of Karuvûr Dêvar, one of the nine authors of Tiru Isaippa, Tanjore makes its appearance with its temple of Râjarâjêswaram,<sup>(2)</sup> and in that supplement to the Dêvaram, a hymn is found for the first time for Tanjore. Nambi Ândar Nambi thus finds it necessary to qualify the original Tanjore of Sundara with a distinguishing epithet 'Maruga Nâṭṭu Tanjai'.<sup>(3)</sup> Though negative in itself, this is as clear an evidence as it is possible to obtain, about the origin of a town, from literary records.

For these reasons, I do not hesitate to pronounce Mr. Nelson's inscription as of no value, so far as it relates to Kûn Pandya. It can only show that in the opinion of the unnamed third confirmer, the original grant of the lands in Sundar Pandya Pura, to the temple of Sundarêswaram Udaiyar might be ascribed to one Sundara Pandya,—which, because of the identity of the names, might, indeed, appear natural to any one who has no other means of

(1) Over five hundred and twenty-five such villages are mentioned in the Dêvara Hymns, nearly half of which are in the Tanjore District.

(2) Probably built by Rajaraja Chola who reigned in 1004 [now proved to be such. *Vide* Vol. II., South Indian Inscription.]

(3) *Vide* Stanza 66, Tiruvantî. Sêkkilar does the same. See Stanza 1, *Cherutunainayanâr Purâna*.

information but what might be evolved from his own consciousness!

Now for Mankairkkarasi being the daughter of Karikâla, which is Mr. Nelson's second assumption, it rests entirely upon a statement of Dr. Wilson, that she is called so in an account of the Gôpura of the Buddha temple 'Pudcqvaily,'—a place I am not able to identify with any known Tamil town. We cannot estimate the historical value of this account unless more particulars are given. But so far as the question in hand is concerned, the account, whatever it may turn out to be, cannot prove of much consequence. There is but one Karikâla known to Tamil literature,—the hero of so many immortal poems of classical antiquity. There may have been several others of a later generation who passed under that honoured name: but there was apparently none about the time of Sambandha, who would have surely commemorated the father of his royal patroness, if he had had any independent importance. In one of the Dêvara hymns,<sup>(1)</sup> the word Karikâla actually occurs, but it means there the god of death and not a Chôla Prince. But even supposing that Karikâla was the name of the father of Mankairkkarasi, we should show that *that* Karikâla was the real persecutor of Râmânuja, before we can draw any inference with reference to the question in hand.

I find in Dr. Caldwell's arguments too, a reference to Râmânuja,<sup>(2)</sup> and I am afraid, it indicates too serious a distortion in the view taken of the religious history of Southern India, to be passed over in silence. We cannot here go into the question in detail, and must be content with pointing out certain well-marked stages in the religious development of the Tamil nation. There was a period, lost altogether in hoary antiquity, when the native Dravidian religion, with its peculiar forms of sacrifices, pro-

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(1) See page 983, Ramaswamy Pillay's edition.

(2) See Comparative Dravidian Grammar, Introduction, page 140.

phacies and ecstatic dances, dimly visible still in Veriyâttu, Vêlan Adal, and other ceremonies of mountain races, was alone in vogue. The first foreign influence brought to bear upon the primitive form of worship was that of the Vêdic religion, which, with its usual spirit of toleration and compromise, adopted and modified the practices it then found current in the country. For a long time the influence was anything but strong: but it accumulated as time elapsed, and some traces of this foreign influence may be observed in such fragments of the Pre-Tolkâpyam works, as now and then turn up in old commentaries. By the time this famous Grammar came to be written, the Dravidians would appear to have adopted a few of the social institutions, myths, and ceremonies of the Aryan settlers. But it was even then only an *adaptation*, and no *copy*. The most ancient of the works of the Madura College were composed during this period. Next came the Buddhist movement; and after a long period of mutual toleration and respect, during which was produced the bulk of the extant Tamil Classics, the creed of Gautama supplanted the older compound of Dravidian and Vêdic worship. After attaining to power, the mild doctrines of Buddha seem to have undergone rapid degeneration and to have otherwise offended the followers of the original cult. Then followed the revival of Hinduism. In the course of its long contact with Buddhism, the old Dravidio-Aryan religion was considerably modified in principles and practice; and the Hinduism that was now revived was altogether therefore a higher and more complex chemical compound. The first who raised their voices against Buddha were those who worshipped Śiva, a name that the Tamils had learnt to use for the Deity, ever since they came under the Aryan influence, if not earlier, as contended by Dr. Oppert. The question was then, not between Śiva and Vishnu, for no such antagonism was then conceivable, but, between the Vêdic ceremonies and the teachings of Buddha. The struggle must have continued for a long while, but the

time was ripe when Sambandha appeared. Already had Appar—a learned and earnest Buddhist monk in the most famous of the southern cloisters<sup>(1)</sup>—renounced publicly his faith in Gautama; and in a generation or two appeared Sundara. They had to fight very hard, but they succeeded nevertheless in turning back the tide of Buddhism; and though the schismatics lingered long in the land, they never regained their lost position. Thus was inaugurated the period of piety and miracles, which, no doubt, impeded for a while the cause of sound learning and culture. It was during this period that the country came to be studded all over with those temples, which to this day form the characteristic feature of the Tamil provinces. As this process was going on, there appeared the Âlvars, to add to the general excitement and to accelerate the decline of Buddhism. Though they represented the community that loved to feature the Deity in the form of Vishnu, I do not think they ever set themselves in direct opposition to the Śaivas as their later adherents do.<sup>(2)</sup> The common enemy, the enemy of the Vêdas, was still in the field. It was while these sects of Hindus were thus re-establishing themselves in practice, that the Âcharyâs or the theological doctors rose to supply the theory. Even to the earliest of them Sankarâchariar, was left only the work of formally and theoretically completing the religious revolution that was already fast becoming, in practice, an accomplished fact, at least in Southern India.<sup>(3)</sup> He is usually said to have established, by his Bhâshayams or philosophic interpretations of Vêdic texts, the six orthodox systems of worship, Śaiva

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(1) I mean Tiruppâtiripuliyûr, named after Pataliputra.

(2) The fable of Tiru Mankai Âlvar's quarrel with Sambandha, whose trident he is said to have snatched, reflects only the modern feelings of the sect. Even as a story it fails; Sambandha had only a pair of cymbals, and never a trident.

(3) Even in Northern India, the practical work of confuting and overthrowing the Buddhists fell to the lot of Bhatta Kumâra,—the redoubtable champion of Vedic Karma—and Prabhâkara, rather than to Sankara, who followed them after several generations.

and Vaishnava forms inclusive. The assertion ought to be carefully interpreted, for there can be no greater mistake than to suppose that he invented, or originated, these six systems. Forms of religion are founded, not by philosophers and theologians, with their interpretations and argumentations, but by heroic men of faith—faith in God and faith in themselves, to such an extent that they can induce not only others but themselves, too, to believe in the miracles they perform. The former come later on, to justify and sanction what already exists, with their elaborate exegetics, written solely for the learned and thoughtful—not to say the sceptical. Sankarachariar himself is personally a Śaiva, but he suppresses his individual inclinations, and takes his stand upon the common ground of the Vêdas, and so supports all sects accepting the authority of those hoary compilations, in order to show a united front against the common foe. It is expressly to meet the heresy of Nirvana that he formulates the Advaita or non-dualistic theory. But the common enemy soon disappears, or at least sinks into unimportance; and later Âcharyâs, not feeling that external pressure, find the Non-Dualism of Sankara a little too high pitched, if not dangerous also, to the current pietist forms of worship. Accordingly Ramanuja slightly modifies the original Non-Dualism, and distinctly puts a Vaishnava interpretation on the Vêdic texts. But he still retains the Non-Dualism of Sankara to some extent. His system is not Dualism but *Viś'hishtâdvaitam*, meaning qualified Non-Dualism. When we come, however, to the days of Mâdhvâchârya, the Buddhistic theory is so far forgotten, that all forms of that original Non-Dualism, with which alone Sankarachariar was able to confront the heretical Nihilism, are completely rejected in favour of pronounced Dualism, which perhaps was always the theory implied in the Śaiva and Vaishnava practices. And what is more, this last of the Âcharyâs adopts some of the very principles for the sake of which Buddha revolted against the Vêdas—as for



instance, substituting animal images made of flour, for the veritable and living ones required for Vêdic sacrifices. But except in the matter of such minor details, the dogmas of none of these Acharyâs affected the forms of public worship. The temples and the processions remained, exactly as they were, in the days of the fiery votaries of old—the S'aiva Nâyanmars and the Vaishnava Âlvar̥s; only, as time rolled on, these latter crept, one by one, into the sanctuaries they themselves worshipped, and secured those divine honours that are now their undisputed rights. With the last of the Âcharyâs<sup>(1)</sup> we reach fairly into the Mahomedan times: and the arrest that all native activities in religion, literature and other walks of intellectual life then experienced is a matter of history, and not of speculation.

From this short account, it should be clear in what period we ought to look for Sambandha. The confused talk about Ramanujâcharyar and Kûn Pandya, which we find in both Mr. Nelson and Dr. Caldwell, betrays such an absence of the sense of historical perspective, as cannot but produce the most amusing and most grotesque results. For instance, it is now pretty well established that the independence of the 'Tamil countries was completely lost by the early years of the fourteenth century. It was about the year 1324 A.D., that the notorious and cruel hearted chieftain, Malleck Naib Cafoor of Ferishta, popularly known in Tamil as the Âdi Sultan Maleck Nêmi, took possession of Madura, razed to the ground the outer walls of the town with their fourteen towers, and demolished the temple and despoiled it of its valuables, leaving behind nothing but the shrines of Sundarêswara and Mînâkshi. The Moslem clouds must have been hanging over the 'Tamil kingdoms a good many years before they at last broke and overwhelmed the southernmost of them.

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(1) There can be no dispute as to the age of Madhavâchariar. He died in Saka 1120 Pingala year, or 1198 A.D. Sattivira Tirtar, who died 1879, was the thirty-fifth in succession.

Whether or no the Mahomedans actually subverted the Pandya kingdom about 1100, as Mr. Nelson<sup>(1)</sup> is inclined to think, the Pandya kingdom could have enjoyed little peace during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Yet it is at the very end of the thirteenth century, that Dr. Caldwell would place Sambandha and therefore the beginning of that grand struggle between the Buddhists and the Saivas that finally led to the disappearance of the former. That Kûn Pandya, the most powerful monarch of his age, was a Buddhist is as certain as that he really existed. That Buddhism was the pre-vailling religion, though on the point of decline, is evident from every hymn of Sambandha and of his elder contemporary, Appar, who incessantly complains of the persecutions he experienced, at the hands of the heretics, in his native district of Cuddalore. Such was the posture of affairs in the reign of Kûn Pandya : and yet Dr. Caldwell would have us believe that Kûn Pandya ruled in 1292, because Marco Polo happens to talk of a 'Sender Bendi of Soli', in that year of grace ! And the consequence is, we have also to believe that by some miracle or other, the whole scene had completely changed by 1324, when Maleck captured Madura : in other words, that within the short space of thirty-two years, the Buddhistic religion with its wide-spreading organisations, half a dozen holy orders and thousands of monks in each, all disappeared as if by magic, and that the ready-made Saiva religion stepped into its place with its richly endowed temples, with golden images and outer walls having fourteen towers ! If such a theory does not violate all the analogies of history, I wonder what can ! To add to the miracle, it was during the subsequent centuries of foreign oppression, of Mahomedan Generals and of Nayak and Telugu viceroys, that the bulk of our existing literature arose !

Unless, therefore, no better hypothesis can be found,—

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(1) Madura country, Part III., Chapter III., page 76.

better founded on facts, more natural and consistent in its consequences, and better confirmed by collateral evidence, —we cannot but decline, with all our deference to the esteemed authors concerned, to accept either of their theories, as answering to truth.

The truth is, such theories are the fruits of pure despair, —are advanced, as the drowning man clutches the straw. Literary Tamil is a difficult dialect to master, and the literature in it, too extensive and complicated to be compassed, without years of patient study and prolonged attention. The conviction too is abroad that these literary records are utterly devoid of historical implications. “We have not,” says Dr. Caldwell, “a single reliable date to guide us, and in the midst of conjecture, a few centuries more or less seem to go for nothing. Tamil writers, like Hindu writers in general, hide their individuality in the shade of their writings. Even the names of most of them are unknown. They seem to have regarded individual celebrity like individual existence, as worthless, and absorption into the universal spirit of the classical literature of their country, as the highest good to which their compositions could aspire. Their readers followed in their course, age after age. If a book was good, people admired it; but whether it was written by a man, or by a divinity, or whether it wrote itself, as the Vedas were commonly supposed to have done, they neither knew nor cared. Still less did they care, of course, if the books were bad. The historical spirit, the antiquarian spirit, to a great degree even the critical spirit, are developments of modern times. If therefore, I attempt to throw some light on the age of the principal Tamil works, I hope, it may be borne in mind that, in my opinion, almost the only thing that is perfectly certain in relation to those works, is that they exist.”<sup>(1)</sup> Under such circumstances, it is no wonder, that for historical purposes, the literary works are treated as if they

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(1) Page 128. *Introduction, Comparative Dravidian Grammar.*

were as good as non-existent. If the authors systematically hide even their own individualities, what light are they likely to throw on the history of their times? That the vast majority of *modern* Tamil writers,—the stereotyped *Purāṇam* makers and the authors of cut and dry *Kalambakams* and *Antātis*—are guilty of this curious kind of literary suicide, can never be gainsaid. But I would beg to submit at the same time, in extenuation of their crime, that writers of this class can never possess any individuality either to be preserved or submerged. They are poets only in name,—with a ready made *Book of Similes*<sup>(1)</sup> and other equipments to suit; they dispense with nature and her promptings, as they wriggle themselves up, from rhyme to rhyme, and alliteration to alliteration. But putting aside these products of stagnation and ascending to the fountains of Tamil literature, we meet with well marked individualities both in the authors and in the characters they create, and can observe no great inclination on their part to obliterate their personalities. On the other hand, their individuality may be found sometimes even obtruded upon us. For instance, every hymn of Saṁbandha uniformly closes with a benedictory verse, where his own name, his native place, and other particulars are given. Only, in keeping with the general Indian failing as to chronology, the old poets, as well as the new, give us no dates. They nevertheless specify the names of their patrons, sovereigns, friends, and so forth, as occasion offers itself, and otherwise furnish us with much historical information, which is waiting only to be gathered up and collated, to yield the most reliable data, for reconstructing extinct societies and social conditions.<sup>(2)</sup> I cannot, therefore, make up my mind to believe that the old and true

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(1) This is a curious book attributed to Puṅgalēnṭhi. There are hosts of other treatises telling us with what letters, words, &c., we should begin a verse and what dreadful consequences will follow otherwise, and so forth.

(2) It is upon this conviction that the *Ten Tamil Idyls* have been taken up elsewhere for analysis.

Tamil literature is as barren of historical import as is generally assumed.

To see what light the works of Sambandha and his colleagues throw upon the historical conditions of their age is too large a topic to be taken up in this connection. But confining ourselves to the prior question of the age of Sambandha, the question we have already propounded for our consideration, we may examine the literary works connected with the subject, to see whether they cannot furnish us more reliable indications than Marco Polo's 'Sender Bendi of 'Soli' ! The sacred S'aiva works may not, perhaps, enable us to discover when Sambandha did actually live ; but they are certain to show *at least* when he *could not have lived* ; and considering the confusion that reigns in connection with the subject, even so much of light cannot but be welcome.

I shall now try to trace the influence of Sambandha, from the middle ages backwards to the earlier times, confining myself to such leading facts as might be inferred from the sacred S'aiva works themselves.

Let us begin with the last of the canonized S'aiva Saints, Umâpati Sivâchârya. Umâpati Sivâchârya is the fourth of the *Santâna* Achâryas, and is the author of eight of the fourteen *Siddhânta Sastras*, besides six minor works devoted to sacred history and geography. Of these latter, one is on the life of *Sêkkilâr*, the author of the *Tiru Tonḍar* or *Periya Purâna*, another on that Purâna itself, while a third gives an account of the eleven sacred S'aiva Books, as compiled by Nâmbi Âṇḍâr Nambi. From all these three, I have borrowed valuable facts in the earlier parts of this inquiry. Evidently the author had a historical and critical spirit, and all his philosophical disquisitions bear ample testimony<sup>(1)</sup> to this. But the fact I would here

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(1) No difficult philosophical doctrine of his need be quoted to illustrate the liberal critical spirit of this writer. It is enough to point to his preface to *Sivaparakâsam*. He there wisely remarks :—

“தொன்மையவா மெனு மெவையு நன்றாகா வின்ரு-தோன்றிய

mention in evidence thereof is one that is directly connected with the question in hand—a fact for which Dravidian Archæology can never be sufficiently grateful. In his preface to *Saṅkalpa Nirākaraṇam*—a subtle and able metaphysical dissertation—he tells us the object for which the lecture was written out, the audience to which it was addressed, and the date on which it was delivered. This date was the 6th day of Āni festival in the Chidambaram temple<sup>(1)</sup>, in the Saka year 1235. Here then is a date which may prove a veritable loadstar to guide us through the conjectural cloudland of current chronology. It is not a date prefixed by some unknown hand, as in Kamban's *Rāmāyāna* or in *Skanta Purāṇa*, and therefore open to question. It occurs on the other hand, just in the middle (lines 26-29<sup>(2)</sup>) of a long sentence, extending over 54 lines of *Aṭṭa* metre, in which the author speaks in the first person, and introduces his treatise, which immediately follows without any further ceremony or word of explanation.

தூலெனு மெவையுந் தீதகா துணிந்து ; நன்மையினுர் நலங்கொண்  
மணி பொதியுமதன் களங்கம், நவையாகா வென வுண்மை நயந்திடு  
வர் நடுவார் ; சன்மையினுர் பழமை யழகாராய்ந்து தரிப்பர்-தவறு  
நலம் பொருளின்கட் சாராராய்ந்தறித லின்மையினுர் பலர் புகழிலேத்  
துவரே திலருந்-றிகழ்ந்தன ரேலிகழ்ந்திடுவர் தமக்கென வொன்றி  
லரே.”

(1) *Umāpati Sivāchārya* was one of the 3,000 Brahmin priests attached to this temple.

(2) The lines run thus:—“.....ஏழஞ்சிரு தூற்றெடுத்த வாயிரம் ; வாழுநற்சகன மருவாநிற்பப் ; பொற்பொதுமலிந்த வற்புதுஞானி ; யாரும்விழவிற் பொற்றேராலயத்து”

Mr. Damodaram Pillay, says in his preface to *Virasōliyam* that our author composed his *Koyil Purāṇa*, about Saka 1200; but he does not state his authority.

The Tamil *Plutarch* begins its account of *Umāpati Sivāchārya* dogmatically thus:—“This celebrated poet and philosopher flourished in the 17th century”; but ends with nescience and doubt. “The time of his existence is not known ; but we find his name mentioned in the Introduction to *Sidambara Purāṇa*, which dates A.D. 1513.” It is hard to conceive how the author can make the two ends meet of this, his small paragraph of twenty-three lines!

If *Saṅkalpa Nirākaranam* was written in Saka 1235 or A.D. 1313, Umâpati Sivâchârya must have composed his account of *Periya Purâna* much about the same time. Can we seriously then seek for Sambandha in 1292? The *Purâna* that narrates his miracles was old enough about 1313, to need an account of its origin to be written.

That *Purâna* itself must have been in 1313 *at least* a century old. For, Umâpati Sivâchârya does not write as if he were a Boswell writing the life of a Johnson. No one can read his account of the way in which the *Periya Purâna* came to be written without being convinced that there was a respectable interval of time between that *Purâna* and his account of it.<sup>(1)</sup> To Umâpati, the author of the *Purâna* was already a canonized saint, worthy of worship along with those commemorated in the *Purâna* itself. The work had become by his time so sacred that the first line of it is ascribed to the direct inspiration of the God at Chidambaram, who is further made to announce the completion of the holy treatise to King Anapâya by *Asarîri* or 'word divine.' No doubt, myths do grow rapidly in the tropical East; but can we seriously think of ascribing those under notice to the imagination of Umâpati himself, the leading characteristic of whose intellect was, as far as we can judge of it from his writings, a spirit of matter-of-fact, almost prosaic, Realism. The myths must have been current, not only in his own age, but for some generations preceding, to have grown to some extent venerable. We are led to the same conclusion by another well known fact, viz. that three *Saṅtâna Acharyas* followed Sêkkiḷar, the author of the *Purâna*, before Umâpati, the fourth in the list, appeared. I say therefore *at the very least*, a century must have elapsed between the composition of the *Periya Purâna* and the account of it, written as we have just seen, in 1313. In all probability, the interval was longer. The work is un-

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(1) Vide particularly stanzas 9 and 10.

questionably the oldest of the existing Tamil Purānas. Frequent references to incidents narrated in it will be found in almost every other Purāna, including the *Skānta* itself<sup>(1)</sup>. It was composed, we are told,<sup>(2)</sup> with the express object of superseding the Buddhistic Epic *Chintāmaṇi*, which was evidently the only narrative poem of any magnitude then in existence. The Chōla Prince, at whose instance Sēkkiḷār wrote his *Periya Purāna*, is well known in Tamil literature under the name of Anapāya Chōla Pallava. He is sometimes called also Tiru Nīru Chōla<sup>(3)</sup> probably to indicate the regard he had for that symbol of the S'aiva faith. His religious fervour seems to have proved largely beneficial to the temple of Chidambaram, which he is said to have covered with gold<sup>(4)</sup>—probably in the way of repair of what was done by his forefather Parantaka I. Though it would appear from the *Tiru Tondar* or *Periya Purāna* that Anapāya was holding his court at Tiruvarūr,<sup>(5)</sup> near Negapatam, when that Purāna was composed, a stanza<sup>(6)</sup> cited in the com-

(1) Vide for instance stanza 52, *Araipugu Paḷalam*.

(2) Vide stanza 10, *Umāpati Sivāchārya's account of Periya Purāna*.

(3) Stanza 12, *Pāyiram Kōyil Purāna*. *Tiru Nīru* means the holy ashes. I am glad to find that in the preface to the Purāna, its editor, the late Mr. Arumuga Nāvalar, the greatest of modern Tamil Pandits, notes the date we have assigned above to Umāpati Sivāchārya.

(4) Vide stanza 12, *Pāyiram Kōil Purāna* and stanza 8, *Pāyiram Periya Purāna*.

(5) Stanza 12, *Tiruvārūr Chirappu, Periya Purāna*.

(6) 'வண்புயலைக் கீழ்ப்படுத்து வானத்தருமலைந்து

மண்குளிரச் சாயல் வளர்க்குமாந்—தண்கவிகைக்

கொங்கா ரலங்க லநபாயன் கொம்பொழில்சூழ்

சங்காபுரமானிகை.

*Chollani sutra* 95, part 14.

According to Mr. Kanakasabai Pillay, *Gangāpuram* was the capital of the Chōla Empire under Abhaya also, (see page 337, Vol. XIX., *The Indian Antiquary*). But the stanza 92, Canto XIII., *Kalingattu Parani*, depended upon for this statement, is, at best, ambiguous. *Gangāpuram* there appears more as a conquered place than as the capital,—so favouring Mr. Fleet's statement, (see the *Indian Antiquary* for August 1891,) that Abhaya succeeded to the Chōla throne, not wholly as the lawful heir to it. Probably after capturing this old Chōla capital and with it the Chōla crown, Abhaya held his imperial court in the more central station *Kānchi*.



mentary on the Tamil *Tandi Alankāra* leaves no room for doubt that his real capital was the same Gaṅgāpuram or Gangai Koṇḍa Chōlapuram, where the successors of Parāntaka bore rule. Probably he was attracted to the former city by religious considerations. In an inscription of his, at Tiruvārūr, dated the seventh year of his reign, offering gifts of "land, gold, brass, silver and other excellent treasures" to the images of Sambandha and the other two authors of the *Dēvara* Hymns, set up in that shrine, he calls himself, *Kō Rājakēsari Varman*, alias, *Tribhuvana° Chakravartin* *Srī Kulōttunga Chōladeva*.<sup>(1)</sup> [Referring to this inscription, Dr. Hultzsch writes, "The characters of the Tiruvarur inscription of this prince are decidedly more modern than those of the Tanjavur inscriptions of Rajaraja and Rajendra Chola. Accordingly the *Periyapurānam* must have been composed after their time. On the other hand, the subjoined inscription proves that the legends which Sekkilar embodied in his work were not of his own invention, but must have grown up in the time of the predecessors of Rajendra Chōla."<sup>(2)</sup> Of course, for this last conclusion, we stand in no need of any proof. In the very opening chapter, *Sēkilar* himself expressly states how the lives of the sixty-three saints he embodies in his work were commemorated in the hymns of *Sundarar*, and how they were subsequently amplified by *Nambi Āndār Nambi*.<sup>(3)</sup>

But the inscription alluded to by Dr. Hultzsch is certainly a remarkable one. It records the setting up of a copper image with the rather telling legend "Tattā Namarē Kāṇ", or 'O Tatta! He is one of us!' inscribed below it. The reference, of course, is to the dying words of *Meipporul Nāyanār* imploring his attendant, *Tattan* by name, to spare the life of his murderer out of veneration for the form of a *Saiva* devotee the assassin had assumed. The date of

(1) I owe this information to the kindness of Dr. Hultzsch.

(2) *South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 40, Part II., Vol. II.

(3) Stanzas 38 and 39, *Tirumalai Chirappu*.

the inscription is the third year of Rajendra Chola's reign ; and there can be no question that this Rajendra was the immediate successor of the now well known Chola Emperor Rajaraja Dêva ; since the person who sets up the image is the old temple-manager, *Poigai Nādu Kīlavan Āḍittan Sūryan* alias *Tennavan Mūvēnta Vēlan*, figuring so frequently in the published inscriptions<sup>(1)</sup> of that great monarch. It is not unlikely that the old and shrewd temple-manager found his new youthful sovereign anxious to exercise a rather inconveniently strict supervision over the management of the temple endowments so profusely made by his predecessor on the throne, and in consequence, wanted to read to him a practical sermon by thus setting up the image of a king, who held it profane even to touch the hair of his own assassin, because he had come covered in *S'aiva* garments ! However that be, the question of absorbing interest to us here is, whence did our clever manager borrow his text to be thus utilized for his purposes ? Is it or is it not from the *Periya Purāna* ? If it is, it must unquestionably establish the priority of that treatise to the third year of Rajendra's reign. The words of the legend appear temptingly similar to those in the *Purāna*. Dr. Hultzsch himself observes, "The words தத்தாநமரேகாண் bear a close resemblance to those of the verse 'நமர்தத்தா.'" The resemblance, however, is really closer. The line in the *Periya Purāna* reads not 'நமர்தத்தா,' but 'தத்தாநமர்' exactly in the order given in the legend engraved under the image. Probably the mistake arose by referring to *Tiruttondar Purāna Sāram*<sup>(2)</sup>, or the abstract of the *Periya Purāna* by *Umāpati*, instead of, to the *Purāna* itself. In the face of the identity, I am not sure that Dr. Hultzsch's inference about the relative age of *Sēkkilār* and *Rājarāja* will be accepted by all as conclusive. For, it is possible to contend, in the first place, whether there lived but one *Anapāya*, as the argument assumes, and in the next place,

(1) See Vol. II., Parts 1 and 2, *South Indian Inscriptions*.

(2) Stanza 7.

whether South Indian Palæography is yet in a position to be dogmatic about dates, independent of corroborative evidence *ali unde*. Nevertheless I am not inclined to contest the point, partly out of deference to the opinion of so careful a writer as Dr. Hultzsch, but more because I think, I have a better hypothesis, as to the source of the Tanjore Temple Manager's text, than ascribing it to the *Periya Purāṇa*.

For I find in the *Antāti* of *Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi*, upon which the *Periya Purāṇa* is avowedly based, the identical expression, letter for letter, with the simple omission of the expletive 'Kāṇ' at the end of it. It is not impossible that the temple manager added this word, 'Kaṇ,' meaning 'Look' or 'Behold,' not as a part of the dying exclamation of the pious king whose image he was now setting up, but as a warning of his own, a word *in terrorem*, to such impudent profanity as would venture to subject to the secular law, the acts of the holy servants of God. But whether we regard it as a pure expletive or a sly hint, the absence of 'Kaṇ' will not stand in the way of our tracing the text to *Nambi's Antāti*. The principal word in it is 'Namarê'; and no Tamil scholar can feel any scruple as to its being a classical term, unknown to colloquial Tamil, even of the age of Râjarâja, if we may judge from the style of the many voluminous inscriptions of his, now placed before the public through the indefatigable labours of Dr. Hultzsch. The only question possible, to my mind at least, is whether *Nambi Āṇḍār* and Râjarâja's temple manager might not have both borrowed the expression from some common prior source in verse. But even in the days of *Sēkkiḷar*, there was no work extant on the subject except this *Antāti* of *Nambi* and the famous *padigam* of *Sundarar*. The expression not being found in the latter, the *Antāti* is the only classical source from which the temple manager could have borrowed his text, unless, of course, we indulge in the assumption that there existed a poem of which *Sēkkiḷar* himself was not aware, and imagine

also at the same time, that so practical a man as the temple manager could have been foolish enough to believe that so rare a text could have carried home, to the reader of his legend, the lesson he was intent on teaching. I, for one, am not prepared to accept such an alternative, as gratuitous as unavailing. It seems to me, therefore, the best course now open to us is to take the expression as borrowed from the *Antāti* itself. I am not aware of any fact that can militate against such a view. On the contrary, all that we are able to glean from the *Antāti*, or the account of its author given by *Umāpati*, goes only to strengthen the easy inference we have drawn. According to this last authority, the patron of Nambi was *Rājarāja Abbaya Kulaśekhara Chōla* and we know from his Tanjore inscriptions that the glorious reign of the great Rajaraja, who in his latter days assumed the title of *Sivapāda Hridaya*<sup>(1)</sup>, was exactly the period when such a grand undertaking as that of *Nambi*, the compilation of the Tamil Vedas, could have been taken up. Seldom does a great deed in letters or religion synchronize with national dejection : nor is it often that such exceptional national prosperity as the Tamilians enjoyed under Rajaraja fails to leave its high-water-mark in some branch of learning or other. It is true that *Nambi* does not mention Rajaraja by name in his *Antāti*, but it is well known that in the host of titles and *Birudus* under which he passed, Rajaraja was but one, and one, by no means the most prominent in his own days, nor the earliest assumed. Allusion however is made to his conquest of Ceylon, one of the early achievements of Rajaraja<sup>(2)</sup>. Nambi refers also more than once to the munificence of the Chōla, who covered with gold plates the roof of the temple at Chidambaram, and we know this prince is now generally taken to be Parantaka I., the forefather of Rajaraja Deva. But from the tone in which

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(1) Part II., Vol II., *South Indian Inscriptions*.

(2) Stanzas 50 and 65.

this reference is made, as well as from the fact that Nambi embodies, in his eleventh or last volume of S'aiva sacred writings, the poems of *Gandarāditya Varma*, a later prince of the same dynasty, the upper limit of Nambi's age may be safely fixed. After the days of *Gandarāditya*, we know of no Rājarāja in the same dynasty, who could have encouraged Nambi in his grand undertaking, except the great Rājarāja Déva, whose accession is now calculated to have taken place in 988 A.D.<sup>(1)</sup> Do not these circumstances then render it extremely probable, if not certain, that Rājarāja's temple manager was quoting but the words of the great S'aiva Sage of the period, patronized by his own old glorious Sovereign Master, when he engraved the legend under the copper image set up as a practical lesson to the new Chôla Prince Rājendra, in the third year of his reign? I scruple not to answer in the affirmative, and to conclude that *Nambi Arūḍr Nambi* was a contemporary of Rājarāja Kō Parakēsari Varma of the Tanjore inscriptions. If then *Nambi* wrote his *Antāti* before the close of the 10th century, when could Sambandha worshipped in that poem have lived? Not surely at the end of the 13th. An inscription<sup>(2)</sup> in the Tanjore Temple now places it beyond all doubt that Sambandha and his colleagues were objects of even popular worship in the age of Rājarāja. It records the setting up of the images of *Nambi Arūḍr* (i.e.) Sundarar, *Nangui Paravaiyar* (i.e.) Sundara's consort, *Tirunāvukkaraiyar* and *Tiru Nana Sambandhigal*, in the 29th year of the reign of this famous Chôla Emperor. Adverting to this record, Dr. Hultsch writes "This inscription is of great importance for the history of Tamil literature, as it forms a *terminus ad quem* for the time of the reputed authors of the *Devaram*. Dr. Caldwell was inclined to assign this poem to the end of the 13th century. But the present inscrip-

(1) I take this as the more appropriate date for my own reasons. I am glad Mr. Venkayya agrees with me—vide his paper in the *Christian College Magazine* for December 1894.

(2) No. 38, Part II., Vol II., *South Indian Inscription*

tion shows, it must, have been written before the time of Rajaraja Deva." It was more with a sense of relief than of gratification that I received the first intimation, from Dr. Hultzs<sup>6</sup>ch himself, of this extraordinary confirmation of the view I ventured to advocate, four or five years ago, against the esteemed and then unquestioned authority of Dr. Caldwell. The inscription under reference puts it now beyond all possible doubt, not only that the Devaram was composed before the days of R<sup>6</sup>ajaraja as concluded by Dr. Hultzs<sup>6</sup>ch, but also that its authors, including Sambandha, were in the days of Rajaraja objects of worship, as much to the public at large, as they were to *Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi*, patronised, in all probability, as we have just seen, by the same Chōla Emperor.]<sup>(1)</sup>

The authors of those hymns must have lived surely long before that century. To estimate the interval that must have separated the compiler, Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, from Sambandha and his colleagues, one has only to reflect upon the account, given by so early an authority as Umāpathi Sīvāchārya, of the difficulties that the former had to overcome in the course of his collection. Of 1,02,000 Padigams; that originally constituted the *Dēvara* Hymns, Nambi Āṇḍār was able to secure not more than 795. All the imperial authority and influence of the greatest conqueror of the age was of no avail; and the gods<sup>(2)</sup> had to interfere for securing even so small a fraction of the sacred songs. If so difficult it was, to reclaim and restore to existence, the works of Sambandha about the tenth century, can there be any question, at least as to the centuries that could not have been graced by the living presence of that saint?

With the evidence offered by *Tiru Isāippā*, the tenth of the sacred books of the Śaivas, we may ascend to still earlier ages; but even then, we find Sambandha's apo-

(1) The parts enclosed in square brackets are additions made in this edition.

(2) See Stanzas 18, 19 and 20, *Tiru Murai Kaṇḍa Purāṇam*.

theosis as complete as it is to-day. Observe, for instance, the tone in which Nambi Kâḍa-Nambi alludes to him in his *Kôil Tiru Isaippa*.<sup>(1)</sup> To Sundara too, who came after him, the same divine honours are paid.<sup>(2)</sup> With regard to the age of this tenth collection, we find a not altogether despicable clue in the name of one of its nine authors. Kaṇḍarâditya is the fifth of these nine poets, and his central position in the list may be taken, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, as significant of the average age of the whole collection. Kaṇḍarâditya describes himself as the Chôla King of Uraiyur and 'the lord of Tanjore',<sup>(3)</sup> and makes particular mention of a predecessor of his, who "conquered Madura and Ceylon and covered with gold the Chidambaram temple."<sup>(4)</sup> The latter, we know, is the famous Parântaka I. that "conquered the King of Lanka and Râjasimha Paṇḍia";<sup>(5)</sup> and we find Kaṇḍarâditya in Dr. Hultzsch's table, as the third in succession from Parântaka. Râjarâja, who ascended the throne in 984,<sup>(6)</sup> being the tenth Chôla in the same list, the age of Kaṇḍarâditya may be assumed provisionally as the close of the ninth century, allowing an average of 25 years' reign, for the intermediate four Chôla Kings. If then, by the close of the 9th century, Sambandha's apotheosis was perfect, how preposterous is it to seek for him in the close of the 13th century! Surely, if literary records have any value, Sambandha must have lived long before Kaṇḍarâditya, and the only possible question is, how long before?

To answer this question precisely, we have no materials in sacred Tamil literature, so far as I can recollect at present. Still, there are several indications to show that the

(1) *Vide* stanza 4.

(2) Stanza 5.

(3) See stanza 10 of his *Tiru Isaippa*.

(4) See stanza 8 of his *Tiru Isaippa*.

(5) Page 112, Vol. I., 'South Indian Inscriptions.'

(6) Page 169, *South Indian Inscriptions*.

interval between Kaṇḍarāditya and Sambandha must have been of considerable length,—nothing short of three or four centuries. Among these, I may mention the following:—

(1). We have already alluded to the fact that Tanjore was not in existence in the days of Sambandha, or even in the days of Sundara who came a few generations after him, say, a century. Kaṇḍarāditya speaks of himself, as we have just seen, as the “Lord of Tanjore.” Karūr Dévar, another of the nine authors of *Tiru Isaippa*, describes Tanjore as a flourishing town of considerable extent and importance. He uniformly speaks of it as ‘the fortified Tanjai.’<sup>(1)</sup> Possibly, the old Tanjai of Sundara came to be called ‘Pottai Tanjai’ or ‘open Tanjore,’ by way of contrast to the ‘fortified Tanjai’ of Karūr Dévar. Thus then it was in the interval between Sundara and Kaṇḍarāditya, that our modern Tanjore rose into existence, and developed itself into that fortified and flourishing city of which the latter so proudly speaks of himself as the Lord.

(2). Nowhere in the *Dévara Hymns*—not even in those dedicated to Chidambaram—is there any mention of the celebrated Chôla, Parāntaka I., who covered that temple with gold and who preceded Kaṇḍarāditya by two or three generations.<sup>(2)</sup> The silence is certainly remarkable, considering the unique celebrity of this victorious and religious-minded Chôla and the zeal with which every opportunity is taken by later writers to allude to him. Nambi Āndār Nambi, for instance, often goes out of his way to compliment Parāntaka. In his account of Pugal Chôla, he refers to Parāntaka’s conquest of Ceylon, in that of Eḍangaḷi Nāyanār, to his victory over Rājasimha Pāndya and to his roofing the Chidambaram temple with gold, and again in his notice of Ko-Chengañ Chôla, he recurs to the same act of extraordinary munificence.<sup>(3)</sup> Sēkkilar, the

(1) See his *Tiru Isaippa on Rajarājeswaram*.

(2) See page 112, *South Indian Inscriptions*.

(3) See Stanzas 50, 65 and 82, *Tiruvantati*.



author of *Periya Purāṇa*, is equally anxious to commemorate the pious gift. Is it not then remarkable that, if Sambandha lived after Parāntaka, he should not have a word for this glorious monarch, even when he was standing before and celebrating the glories of that very temple which Parāntaka covered with gold? The Brahmin priests of the place are referred to, but not the king Parāntaka. Appar is as silent on the point as Sambandha, and so too is Sundara, who followed them after some generations. The fact that Nambi Andâr Nambi claims three royal saints; of equal rank with Sambandha,—viz., Pugal Chola, Edangali, and Ko-Chengannan as remote progenitors of Parāntaka, is suggestive of the distance of time, by which Sambandha must have preceded Parāntaka.

On the other hand, it might be argued that as the expression *Ponnambalam* occurs in the Hymns of Appar,<sup>(1)</sup> both Appar and his younger contemporary, Sambandha, lived after Parāntaka, who on the authority of the *Kongu Chronicle*<sup>(2)</sup> is generally believed to have built that 'Golden Hall' at Chidambaram. But this last supposition appears to me a grave error, though a common one. *Ponnambalam*, first translated by Sanscrit Pandits as *Kaṇaka Sabha* and then rendered by modern scholars as the 'Golden Hall,' was originally but an endearing name for the temple at Chidambaram. It is sometimes known simply as 'Koil' or *the temple*. Parāntaka's covering the roof of it with gold plates was, perhaps, only an illustration of the curious, but well-known, tendency of names to realize themselves. The pious Chetties of to-day too assign no other reason for their costly undertaking to cover the roof and walls of the same temple with gilt plates, but the fact that

(1) Stanzas 4, 5, and 6, page 5, Ramaswamy Pillay's edition.

(2) I am not sure whether the *Kongu Chronicle* itself is responsible for this error, or only its translators. Dr. Hultzsch speaks of Parāntaka as only having 'covered the Siva temple at Vyâghrâgrahâra with gold', though in the passage he quotes the word 'built' occurs.

it is called *Ponnambalam* ! Probably in his age, Parântaka was actuated by no better reason. At any rate, Nambi Andar Nambi of the eleventh century, who surely ought to know better than the *Kongu Chronicle*, gives Parântaka, in the very act of proudly and flatteringly alluding to his munificence, only the credit of having covered the roof of the hall with gold, but not of having constructed the hall itself.<sup>(1)</sup> It must be further remembered that, according to Sêkkilar,<sup>(2)</sup> his own patron, Anapâya, had also the honour of gilding the roof of this same temple. Umâpathi Sivâchârya, who lived in the 14th century, to whose statements we are bound to accord some consideration, ascribes the building of the Golden Hall and the town itself to a certain Hiranya Varma of immemorial antiquity.<sup>(3)</sup> But whoever built the Ponnambalam, in the days of Manikkavâsagar, or well nigh the classical or the *Sangam* period of the Tamil literature, the name had not any more connotation about it than its well known synonym *Puliyûr*, or Tiger-Village. From the mere occurrence, therefore, of the expression *Ponnambalam*, in the hymns of Appar, we cannot jump<sup>(4)</sup> to the conclusion that Appar lived after Parântaka. Such an inference would be not only unwarranted but absurd also, in the face of the facts we have mentioned above. In fact, we have unmistakable evidence to show that in the Dêvara period, Chidambaram, was not even a Chôla possession, but a strong-hold of the

(1) "சிறந்தபல முகம்-செய்துந்கணகமணித்த," Stanza 65, *Tiruvantati*.

(2) Vide stanza 8, *Payiram*, *Periya Purâna*.

(3) Vide *Hiranya Varma Sargam*; *Koîl Purânam*. Hiranya Varma is here said to have constructed the temple with a gold roof: and it is not impossible, that Parântaka was himself anticipated in his 'golden feat' by a remote predecessor of his, exactly as the Chetties of our days are, by himself. Or may it be that the temple was called *Pon Ambalam*, because built by Hiranya Varma?

As to the era that Hiranya Varma is said to have commenced, see stanza 5, *Tiru Vilâ Sargam*.

(4) For an example of such a jump in the dark, see page 63, Chapter II., Part III., *The Madura Country*.

Pallavas.<sup>(1)</sup> After it was re-annexed<sup>(2)</sup> to the Chôla dominions under the dynasty of Parântaka, the town did not go out of the hands of his successors, till long after the days of Anapâya, the patron of Sêkkilar. The period of Pallava supremacy at Chidambaram must have been, therefore, long anterior to the reign of Parântaka;—an inference that strongly supports the conclusion we have otherwise arrived at, with respect to the relative age of Sambandha and that sovereign.

(3). The only Chôla that Sambandha refers to is the red-eyed Ko-chengannan—the hero of an archaic poem of Poikaiyar called *Kalavali Nârpadu*,—one of the eighteen didactic pieces compiled by the *pandits* of the old Madura College. The dynasty of Parântaka I. is a distinctly different line, probably an offshoot of an alliance of the old Chôla family with the Pallavas of Kâuchi. *Kalingattu Paravi*, the historical poem we have already referred to, seems to break off rather abruptly<sup>(3)</sup> with this Red-eyed King, in its poetical account of the old Chôla line, and to begin afresh when it takes up the story of the dynasty of Parântaka. A long period of confusion would seem to have prevailed, between the demise of Ko-Chengannan, and the establishment of the new Chôla-Pallava dynasty to which Parântaka and Kandarâditya belonged. Sambandha, most probably, lived in this period of transition, when the old Chôla Kingdom had gone to pieces, and the new Pallava-Chôla Kingdom was in the course of forma-

(1) See Stanza 9 of *Sundarar's Koil Padigan*, where he speaks of the god of Chidambaram as a terror to those who refuse rightful subsidies to the Pallava rulers.

(2) For according to the *Koil Purana*, the town was founded by a Chôla Prince. Again, in the *Periya Purâna*, the Brahmins of Chidambaram are said to have declined to crown *Kûrruva Nâyanar* on the ground that the Chôlas were alone entitled to that honor.

(3) See stanza 19, chapter 8, but much stress cannot be laid on the arrangements of stanzas in the work. The whole poem requires careful editing by capable Tamil scholars in touch with the modern historical spirit of inquiry.

tion. At any rate, such is the impression left on my mind by the *Dēvara* Hymns, and if it is confirmed by the experiences of others, the estimate here formed of the interval between Sambandha, in whose memory the old Chôla line was still fresh and green, and Kaṇḍarāditya, one of the later princes of the new dynasty, will not be regarded as excessive.

(4). The same conclusion would be forced on us, if we consider the practical extinction that had come over the Buddhistic religion by the time of Kaṇḍarāditya. The creed that was, in the days of Appar and Sambandha, so universally predominant, as to lead to the former's persecution, and to need the curse of the latter in every one of his *padigams*, evidently attracts little attention from the authors of *Tiru Isaippa*.

Do not such considerations as these (and they may be multiplied, if necessary)<sup>(1)</sup> raise a strong presumption in favour of a long interval of time between Sambandha and Kaṇḍarāditya of the ninth century?

Thus then, we need not go beyond the sacred literature of the Śaivas, to establish two important positions, with respect to the question in hand. In the first place, the facts I have mentioned enable us to trace the influence of Sambandha, successively backwards through the 14th, 12th and 11th centuries, to the close of the 9th, the age we have assigned to Kaṇḍarāditya. If there is any force in facts, these prove beyond all doubt, that Sambandha *could not* have lived later than the 9th century. In the second place, certain other typical facts that I have grouped together conjointly point to a probability of his having lived a considerable time, say three or four centuries, before the Chôla king and poet, Kaṇḍarāditya. But there are one or two other considerations to enforce the same conclusion, and I shall now proceed to explain them.

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(1) For instance, the rise of the temple of *Gangai Konda Cholēswaram* at the capital of the revived Chôla dynasty of Purāntaka which finds no place in the *Dēvara* Hymns, but which has a *Tiru Isaippa* for itself.

Let us, for example, inquire whether Sānskrit literature can throw any light on the subject, corroborating our position or otherwise. From the summary inquiry we held in a previous part of this paper, we found reasons for believing that Sambandha preceded, not only Ramanuja and Madhvāchārya, but Sānkara also, the greatest of modern Hindu Philosophers. Now the age of Sānkārāchārya is diversely estimated. The Hon'ble Mr. Telang (1) adduces certain sound reasons for placing Sānkara in the sixth century, while Mr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E., (2) has equally cogent reasons for believing that he lived about 630—655 A.D. The latest date yet assigned to this philosopher is the eighth century. We have then in Sānkara, an Indian celebrity who lived about two or three centuries before *Kandarīditya*, or much about the time to which we have been able to trace Sambandha by means of purely literary records in Tamil. The history of the religious development in Southern India, pointing as it does in the same direction, raises a strong antecedent probability in favour of finding Sambandha somewhere about the time of, or immediately before, Sānkara.

The presumption thus raised is verified beyond all expectations by a stanza of Sānkārāchārya himself. The tone of veneration in which this philosopher refers to Sambandha proves beyond doubt, not only that the latter lived before him, but that there was a considerable interval of time between the two. The stanza referred to is the 76th in a poem called *Saundrya Lahari*, a well-known and evidently genuine work of Sānkara, and particularly sacred with the *Sāktas* and *Tāntrikas*. The first forty stanzas, which by themselves constitute the first part called *Ānanda Lahari*, are especially so with them; and they do not allow their composition to be ascribed even to Sānkārāchāryar himself. That revered philosopher is not sufficiently

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(1) The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII., page 95.

(2) The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVI., page 41.

remote in their view ; and they vouchsafe to him only the honour of having completed this holy fragment, found inscribed on the mountain of Kailasa by a certain *Rishi* called *Pushpatanta*, and handed down to Sankara by his master, *Garḍâpada*.<sup>(1)</sup> The epigraphical tradition, however, does not affect the authenticity of the stanza under reference ; for all parties agree that the last sixty slokas of the work are of the Acharya's own making. It runs thus :—

“ O ! Daughter of the mountain ! I consider thy breast milk an overflow of the sea of wisdom from thy heart. For by tasting it, the ‘ Dravidian Child ’ to whom it was so mercifully granted, became such a charming poet among the great poets.”<sup>(2)</sup>

To those that know the story of Sambandha, the allusion is as clear as daylight. Even to purely Sanskrit scholars, the knowledge of the incident referred to ought not to be difficult of access. They have only to open Chapter 47 of the Sanskrit treatise *Baktavilâsa*, where Sambandha's life is given in full detail. We cite below three stanzas<sup>(3)</sup> which narrate the miraculous nursing of the Dravidian child by the goddess Pârvati. That this very incident was

(1) See stanzas 3 and 4, Introduction to Tamil *Saundrya Lahari* by Ellappa Navalar.

(2) तवस्तन्यम् मन्ये धराणिधरकन्य हृदयतः

पयः पारावारं परिवहति सारस्वतमिति॥

दयावत्या दत्तं द्रविड शिशु रास्वाद्यतवयत्

कवीनां प्रौढानामजनि कमनीयः कवयिता ॥

(3) अथमूर्तिमतीदेवी जगतां जननी शिवा ।

आगत्योस्यान्तिकं बालं अङ्गेरुत्वा शुचिस्मिता ॥

दुग्ध्वास्तन्यामृतापूर्णम् चपकं हेमनिर्मितम् ।

ददौ ग्रहीत्वा तद्वक्त्रे क्षुधतः सत्ततत्पपौ ॥

the most distinguishing feature in the life of Sambandha, will be clear from the opening verse of the Chapter which may be thus rendered :—

“O Saints ! I shall now tell you the story of Nāna Sambandha, to whom the daughter of the Himalaya Mountains vouchsafed the nectar of her breast milk, and acted, therefore, the part of a mother.” (1)

The interpretation of Letchmi Dhara, (2) otherwise known as Lolla, which identifies the ‘Dravidian child’ with the author Sankarāchārya himself, deserves therefore no refutation. It is, no doubt, on account of such blunders as these, that Bhāskara Raya, who flourished in the last century, treats him with such unqualified contempt.

वेदान्त बोधमयमम्बिकया वितीर्णम्

स्तन्यामृतं तदनु पीतवताऽर्भकस्य ।

उद्गारपूरइव सूक्ति सुधाप्रवाहो

वक्त्रादजायत जगत्त्रय तापहारी ॥

(1) अथर्वक्षये कथाज्ञान सम्बन्धस्य मुनीश्वरः ।

स्तन्यामृतप्रदानेन यस्यधात्री हिमाद्रिजा ॥

(2) My attention was first drawn to this interpretation of Letchmi Dhara by Mr. V. Venkayya, the Assistant Epigraphist to the Madras Government. It would appear, Professor Aufrecht adopts the same mistaken interpretation his Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts. But the absurdity of it is nevertheless self-evident. The Achārya was no poet at all ; his fame rests entirely upon his philosophical exegetics called *Bhāshyam*. To identify the *Dravidian Sisu* with Sankara himself would be, therefore, to charge that revered thinker with unbounded arrogance ; but even supposing he had the vanity to speak of himself as *the distinctly lovable among great poets*, where do we find any tradition of his having been suckled by Pārvati, when he was an infant ? The old Metrical Tamil Translation of this stanza (vide page 118) by *Virai Kaviraya Panditar* gives the correct rendering here adopted. The distinguished Tamil Poet, of the last century, *Saiva Yellappa Navalar*, proceeds also upon the same view in his commentary on that Translation. Indeed, the absurdity of *Lolla's* interpretation is so patent, that every Sanskrit Pandit (including that foremost Sanskrit scholar in Southern India, the Valia Coil Tampuran of Travancore, to whom I shewed the stanza) heartily agrees with me in condemning it.

“Such nonsense”, says Bhaskara in another connexion, “can proceed only from madness.”<sup>(1)</sup>

The word ‘*Sisu*’ or ‘*child*’ in the stanza which has given room for such gross misapprehension, is peculiarly appropriate when applied to Sambandha. The proper name in Tamil of the famous saint, at the time when the goddess was supposed to have appeared to him, was, as I have already pointed out in my first article, *Pillai* or *Āḷudaya Pillai*.

In his *Siva Bhujanga* <sup>(2)</sup> and *Sivānanda Lahari*, <sup>(3)</sup> the Āchārya pays similar homage to four other Saints, of whom one was a contemporary of Sambandha, and another a huntsman or *Kirāta* by birth, but none of them half as well known as our Brahmin Saint of the *Koundinya Gōtra*.

The conclusion then is irresistible, that in the days of Sankarāchārya, Sambandha was a well known character—an inspired poet, worthy of being spoken of as the distinctly lovable among the greatest poets of India, and a saintly person, sufficiently remote in time to be then believed that he had been suckled by the goddess Pārvati

(1) इति लोह्लेन यत्प्रलपितं तत्प्रामादिकम् ॥

(2) नशक्नोमिर्कुं परद्रोहलेशम्  
कथम्प्रीयसेत्वम् नजाने गिरीश ।  
तदाहिप्रसन्नोऽसिकस्यापिकान्ता  
सुतद्रोहिणोवा पितृद्रोहिणोवा ॥

॥ इति शिवभुजङ्गः ॥

(3) मार्गाविर्चतपादुकापशुपतेरङ्गस्य कूर्चायते  
गण्डूषाम्बुनिषेचनं पुररिपोर्दिव्याभिषेकायते ।  
किञ्चिद्भक्षित मांसरोपकवलं नव्योपहारायते  
भक्तिः किन्नकरोत्यहो वनचरो भक्तावतंसायते ॥

॥ इति शिवानन्दलहरी ॥



herself. Taking then the age assigned to Śankara by Mr. Flect, we may now safely assert that Sambandha could not have lived later than the seventh century; and that in all probability, there was an appreciable distance of time between Śankara and himself. What this interval actually was, it is impossible to determine with the existing materials. We cannot, however, be far wrong if we take it as a century or two.

That we are not attributing too high an antiquity, will appear from the age usually assigned to Sambandha by enlightened native scholars, of whom I shall here mention but two or three.

Mr. Simon Casie Chitty, the author of the Ceylon Gazetteer and the Tamil Plutarch, says in the latter work of his:—"In our opinion as the date given in the *Cholaṭpūrva Pattayam* for the accession of Cheraman Perumal seems to admit of no doubt, we may place the period of the existence of Sundara and his two fellow champions in the fifth century of the Christian era for a certainty; and thereby clear it from the monstrous chronology of the Puranas."<sup>(1)</sup> Mark the last expression. In the opinion of this Native Christian Tamil Scholar, to assign Sundara to the fifth century—not the 13th advocated by Dr. Caldwell—is *only* to clear the age of that Author, from the monstrous chronology of the Puranas! If Sundara lived in the fifth, Sambandha, who, as we know, preceded him by a few generations, must have lived some where about the fourth century. But until we know more of the history of the *Cholaṭpūrva Pāttayam* here depended upon, we cannot afford to be as positive as Mr. Chitty. We know also, on the other hand, the slippery indefiniteness that is inherent in so vague and general a designation, as *Cheraman Perumal*—perhaps as misleading as its notorious counterpart, '*Sundara Pandya*.' Anyhow, the opinion of so well-

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(1) See page 21.

informed a person as Mr. Casie Chitty, and the *Uhoḷapūṛva Pattayam* he cites, cannot but show, that it is not a violent assumption, to allow an interval of a century or two, between Sambandha and Śankara of the seventh century.

The second Native Scholar I have in view, is Mr. Damodaram Pillay, the erudite editor of so many valuable Tamil Classics. He is decidedly of opinion that Kūn Pāndya (and therefore Sambandha) lived more than 2,000 years ago. To support this conclusion, primarily based upon the usual Purāṇic lists of Pāndyas, he makes a statement<sup>(1)</sup> which, if historically correct, ought to enable us to arrive at a more or less accurate approximation. The present head of the *Tiru Nana Sambandha Matam* of Madura, it would appear, claims himself to be the 114th in lineal succession from the Śaiva devotee, in whose name the monastery is established. If the assertion is well-founded, it will indicate, no doubt, a lapse of fifteen to twenty centuries, according to the average we assume for each of the 113 deceased heads of the monastery. To urge an antiquity of 2,000 years, appears to me to be rather unsafe. It would scarcely leave time for Jainism to develop itself in Southern India, and to assume those formidable proportions, which brought about the reaction in the age of Sambandha. But, however that may be, Mr. Damodaram Pillay himself announces, in another foot-note, <sup>(2)</sup> a fact that cannot but affect the value of the testimony for scientific purposes. The present *Matam* in Madura, it would appear, was established only as a branch or subordinate monastery to another of the same name in Tinnevely, of which, however, no trace is now left. Nor was the Tinnevely *Matam* itself the original institution. Until, therefore, more of the history of this interesting

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(1) Preface to *Vira Sōliyam*, page 17. According to Mr. Nelson, the present Head is the 277th hereditary manager. Mr. Damodaram Pillay explains the discrepancy as due to Mr. Nelson's including in his account even those anointed as heirs apparent.

(2) Preface to *Vira Sōliyam*, p. 20.

institution is known, particularly of the way in which the tradition as to lineal succession has been preserved, it is possible to exaggerate the probative force of the statement in question. But we are citing the fact and Mr. Damodaram Pillay's conviction, only as showing that in the opinion of competent native scholars, to assign Sambandha to the fifth or the sixth century is not to advocate an extravagant theory.

[The Hon'ble P. Kumaraswamy<sup>(1)</sup> of Colombo argues that since the miracle of the *Vanni* tree, with which Sambandha is associated in the *Tiru Viḷaiyādal Purana*, is alluded to by the heroine of *Ṣilappadhikaram*, said to have been born in the reign of *Kari Kala*, the grandfather of *Senkuttuvan*, who was visited by Gaja Bahu of Ceylon between the years 113—135 A.D., the age of Sambandha ought to be accepted as at least prior to the birth of Christ. Supposing the age of the exceedingly interesting poem, *Ṣilappadhikaram*, is determined beyond all question with the help of the old chronicles of Ceylon, where more than one Gaja Bahu is mentioned, I am not sure whether the first link in the chain of argument, which alone connects Sambandha with that ancient classic, will be accepted by all parties as sound and irrefragable. For, however admirable as a work of art, the *Tiru Viḷaiyādal Purana* is not distinguished for historical accuracy, and it stands alone in associating the *Vanni* tree story with Sambandha. Nor does it agree in its account with the earlier and the more authoritative treatise, the *Periya Purana*, even as far as the latter goes. As the matter is of some real importance, I would first solicit attention to the difference in the two versions of the tradition itself.

The *Periya Purana* version of the story is briefly this :— A trader of the *Vaṇiga* caste in the town of Vaippūr, by name *Tāman*, promises to give in marriage to his nephew<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) His last letter to me on this subject is dated 1st March 1895.

(2) It is usual in this caste to marry a maternal uncle's daughter.

the eldest of his seven daughters, but tempted by lucre, he repeatedly forgets his promise and gives away to different other parties his first six daughters in succession. The seventh, moved by love and pity for the disappointed suitor, escapes with him, proposing to solemnise their marriage in the village of the poor nephew. On their way, they halt at a place called Maruganûr, <sup>(1)</sup> near Negapatam, where Sambandha was then sojourning. Here the intended bridegroom is bitten by a snake, and in a few hours he expires, leaving his lonely love in indescribable sorrow. Her cries of anguish, however, reach the ears of Sambandha who, repairing to the spot and becoming aware of the melancholy situation, improvises a hymn invoking the mercy of the local Deity; and the man revives as if from sleep. Sambandha then observing the decorous behaviour of the *Vaṇiga* woman who, because a virgin, would, neither in the worst moments of her sad tribulation nor in the rebound of joy, go within touching distance of her lover, although he was but her cousin, causes their wedding to be solemnised at once, so that they might be a help to one another even on their way; and the married couple resume their journey, while he himself returns to *Cheṇkāttankudi* at the request of that famous devotee who, when required, scrupled not to slaughter and cook up his only child as food for Siva. Such is the *Periya Purana* version <sup>(2)</sup> of the story from which the *Tiru Vilaiyādal* <sup>(3)</sup> chooses to differ in some essential particulars. Shocked probably by the amount of freedom which the earlier version would allow the fairer sex, this comparatively recent production gives an account of its own of the way in which the lonely couple came to be travelling together. Instead

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(1) The name of this village is significant. It means the town of the nephew. Could it be that it was so named because of this very incident? If it bore this name in the days of Sambandha, would not the tradition be still older?

(2) Vide Stanzas 473—484, *Tiru Nāna Sambandha Mārti Puran*

(3) Vide Chapter 64, *Tiru Vilaiyadal Purana*.

of the seven daughters and the six successive disappointments to the poor nephew, this Purana would allow but one daughter to the *Vaniga* merchant, whose name and native place, however, it does not care to specify. This Vaniga again is here not a sordid but a superior person, who, instead of selling his daughters as in the old tradition, piously promises away all his wealth, and his only child, too, to a nephew of his in Madura, who, to boot, is already married and well settled in life. Some time after making known to his townsmen this his wish and will, the trader dies, and his widow dies with him on his funeral pyre—a poor substitute for the more natural acts of feminine heroism which this later version feels bound to suppress. The fortunate nephew in Madura is then for the first time informed of the gifts made to him by his deceased uncle including his only daughter, and he forthwith hurries to the spot to remove them all to his own city. But for reasons not so easy to understand, he sends in advance, not only all the treasures he so inherits but also all his relatives excepting the virgin girl—an arrangement extremely unnatural from a Hindu point of view. It is, thus, the couple come to travel together according to this Purana. The cobra bite and death, the subsequent revival through the virtue of Sambandha's verse, and the improvised marriage ceremony at the instance of that saint, all follow in due course, though there would seem to be no necessity for the unseemly haste in that last act, since according to this Purana there were all along plenty of servants, m<sup>an</sup> and maid, near at hand to render all needful service on the way. Such are the two versions of the story, and it does not require much insight to see what liberties are taken with the old tradition in the later of the two. I mention the fact, as I believe it would prove helpful to us in appreciating the historical value of the episode, which this later version adds to the story, and on which the argument of my Hon'ble friend entirely turns.

The scene of this episode is laid in Madura. To that city the married couple return, and in due course is born a son. A childish quarrel between this boy and the children of the first wife, gives occasion for an altercation between the mothers, during the course of which the first wife ventures to question the legal status of the second, and tauntingly inquires as to what sort of proof the latter could offer for her alleged marriage on the way. Unable to adduce better evidence, the innocent woman cites the *Vanni* tree, the temple well and the Siva Linga before which the marriage was solemnised at the melancholy spot of cobra fame, which, according to this Purana, is not Maruganûr as in the earlier version, but *Purambiyam* which I am unable to identify. "Good witnesses and meet indeed!" jocosely replies her rival; and it may indeed well surprise any one why she had such confidence on these inanimate objects, and none at all on any of the many servants of her husband who according to the Purana accompanied her from her father's house to Madura, and some of whom at least must have witnessed the rite, even supposing Sambandha and his large retinue had retired to their lodgings before the actual ceremony was performed. Anyhow, one and all the three witnesses cited did present themselves next morning, within the precincts of the Madura Temple, to the joy of innocent faith and the discomfiture of ill-natured jealousy. Such is the episode of the *Vanni* tree miracle (1) found tacked on to the story in the *Tiru Viṭaiyādal Purana*; and the question for us is, whether, on the strength of this Purana, the incident may be taken to have occurred in the life of that very *Vaniga* lady whose marriage was arranged at Maruganûr by Sambandha.

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(1) The miraculous nature of the incidents here dealt with is no objection to their being used, under certain conditions, for sifting historical testimony. If tradition invariably ascribes a particular incident, however miraculous, to a given historical individual, it serves in innumerable ways, direct and indirect, in estimating the age of that individual. Subjective belief in such cases is tantamount to objective existence.

As already pointed out, the earlier and the more reliable treatise, the *Periya Purana*, is silent on this point. But this negative evidence in itself cannot carry much weight since it may be met by the consideration that it is no part of the business of that Purana to relate all the incidents in the lives of every one with whom its own heroes come in contact. There being, then, as far as I know, no extraneous evidence, for or against, the accuracy of the episode has to be accepted or rejected, according to the estimate we may form of the general historical veracity of the Purana in which it is found. It is not possible in this connection to open an explicit discussion on the historical value of the *Tiru Vīraiyādal Purana*, but from what has been already said with regard to the version contained in it of the earlier part of the very story in question, I trust it may be inferred that it is not altogether a safe ground to build historical theories on.<sup>(1)</sup> My own impression is that in adding on this episode, the Purana is but trying to patch together two independent old traditions. Who knows whether this penultimate chapter in the Purana is itself not written to flatter the pride of the Naick rulers of the times? <sup>(2)</sup> That this and the two chapters immediately preceding it should have Sambandha for their hero would seem also not devoid of meaning, when we remember that the author belonged to a monastery which still claims Sambandha for its founder. It is quite possible, too, that the life of *Mīnikkavāsagar* is given in an earlier chapter just to enable the author to conclude his work with the life of Sambandha, the patron saint of his convent. But such speculations apart, I would earnestly beg to repeat that for my part, I would prefer to wait till better evidence

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(1) I mean no disparagement to the Purana as a literary work. So charming is its diction and so great its powers of clear description that for years together I have been in the habit of reading a few stanzas of it every day.

(2) The word Naick appears several times in this chapter itself—*vide* for instance stanza 11.

is found to take the tradition of the *Vanni* tree miracle as originating with or in the time of Tiru Gnana Sāmbandha.

This position would appear to be further confirmed by the way in which the miracle is alluded to in *Silappadhikaram*. There the heroine couples with the tree that appeared in the temple to attest the marriage, not a well and the Siva Linga as in the Purana, but a kitchen. (1) The Vaniga lady for whose sake the tree appeared is claimed again as a native of *Pām Pugar* in the Chola kingdom, and not a nameless seaport town in the Madura country as in the Purana. The version of the episode in the *Tiru Viḷaiyādal Purana* then would seem to differ in essential particulars from the one referred to in *Silappadhikaram* nearly as much as the earlier part of the same story in the work does from what is found in the more trustworthy treatise of *Sēkkilar*. Taking then into consideration these suspicious variations in details, as well as the conspicuous absence of the historical sense in the *Tiru Viḷaiyādal*, I humbly submit, I am not prepared to take the allusion in *Silappadhikaram* to the *Vanni* tree miracle as proving that Sāmbandha lived before the composition of that indisputably old and genuine classic. On the other hand, critics may not be wanting who may look upon this very allusion in the more ancient work as discrediting the date assigned to the miracle in the *Tiru Viḷaiyādal*. Nevertheless the opinion of so able and enlightened a gentleman cannot but be of immense value for the purpose for which it is here cited, viz., to attest the modesty of the theory I am advocating.

To the opinions of these native scholars, I am glad, I am now in a position to add the view of so esteemed an authority in South Indian Epigraphy as Dr. Hultzsch. He writes: "As poems in the Tamil Language are thus proved to have been composed in the time of the early cholas" (*i.e.*) Kari Kala and Ko Senkappan "there is

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(1) *Vide* lines 5 to 35, Chapter XXI., *Silappadhikaram*.



no objection to assigning the authors of the *Devaram* to the same period." The moderation of the hypothesis here advocated which assigns them to a later period cannot, I hope, be then be questioned.]

For after all, we allow, it is only a hypothesis. All that we are *sure* of is that the age of Śaṅkarācārya is the lower limit of the age of Sambandha;—whatever century we assign to Śaṅkara, the sixth, seventh or the eighth as may be hereafter finally determined—that century will form the *latest* period that can be assigned to Sambandha. We reach this conclusion in a diversity of ways. The religious history of Southern India points to the priority of Sambandha to Śaṅkara. The absence of all traces of Non-Dualistic Philosophy in the *Devaram* songs is a well-known fact enforcing the same conclusion. The independent historical facts gathered from the sacred Saiva works, not only enable us to trace the influence of Sambandha, step by step, from the thirteenth backwards to the close of the ninth century, but raise also a strong presumption of his having lived three or four centuries earlier. And finally, the stanza we have quoted from Śaṅkarācārya's *Saundaryalahari* serves to demonstrate that Sambandha did actually precede that revered philosopher. We scruple not, therefore, to maintain that the age of Śaṅkara constitutes the *lower limit* to the age of Sambandha. If with Mr. Fleet we believe that Śaṅkara lived between 630 and 655 A.D., the opening of the seventh century is the *latest* possible period that can be assigned to Sambandha.

We should be glad, if with equal certainty, the upper limit could also be ascertained. It is impossible to undertake this part of our problem without transgressing the bounds we have set to this paper. We can here only indicate one of the main lines of inquiry we should like to pursue. We have already pointed out that Sambandha frequently refers to the famous Chōla Prince Koṣṅkannan, the hero of the classical war-song called *Kaḷa vaḷi*. On one occasion, he speaks of a temple at

Vaikal, a village near Kumbakonam, as having been constructed by Ko-Senkamman in "former days."<sup>(1)</sup> Clearly then, Sambandha must have lived a considerable time after this temple-building Red-eyed Chola. But when did this Red-eyed Chola live? The question opens a field of inquiry as wide as the whole range of ancient classics in Tamil—a sphere obviously more beset with historical difficulties than that of the sacred Saiva literature with which we have been hitherto concerned.

The farther we proceed into antiquity, the darker naturally becomes the view around; and it is well, for more than one reason, to leave this part of our subject to be taken up on a future occasion, for an independent and separate handling which the range and importance of those ancient classics would otherwise also demand.

All that we would, therefore, now say with regard to the upper limit of the age of Sambandha is, that it would be found in the age of Ko-Senkamman. Sambandha, in fact, forms the line of partition between ancient and modern Tamil. With regard to the lower limit, no such indefiniteness need any longer be allowed. The facts we have mentioned demonstrate as conclusively as the nature of the subject will admit, that Sambandha could not have lived later than the opening years of the seventh century.

In conclusion, we may indicate the main purposes subserved by this paper.

(1) It gives a bird's-eye view of the sacred Tamil literature of the Saivas.

(2) It shows the position of Sambandha as a Saiva Saint and a lyrical Tamil poet, and also as the first great adversary of Jainism in Southern India.

(3) It controverts the gratuitous opinions of Dr. Burnell with regard to the antiquity and value of Tamil literature.

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(1) வையகமகிழ்தர வைகன் மேற்றிசை  
செய்யகண் வளவன் முன் செய்த கோயிலே.  
Page 449, Rumasawmy Pillay's Edition.

4) It proves the utterly unfounded nature of the hypotheses advocated by Dr. Caldwell and Mr. Nelson with regard to the age of Sambandha.

(5) An attempt is made to trace an outline of the religious history of Southern India with a view to fix the relative ages of Sambandha, Sankara, and Ramanuja.

(6) Facts are deduced to prove with the help of the latest archaeological researches that Sambandha could not have lived in any period later than the early years of the seventh century, leaving the upper limit to be fixed by inquiry into the age of Ko-Senkanpan.

Standing as Sambandha does at the close of the ancient and the opening of the modern period of Tamil literature, the attempt we have made here to fix his age will, it is hoped, prove of some service to further inquiries into the history of the Tamil language and of Dravidian civilization in general. At any rate, I earnestly trust, the few milestones in that history discovered in the course of this investigation will serve to ward off future speculation from altogether losing its way.

# SOME EARLY SOVEREIGNS

OF

## TRAVANCORE,

*For the first time brought to notice with their  
dates determined by Inscriptions.*

BY

P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M.A.,

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*Member of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.*



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1894.

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Dedicated

TO

HIS HIGHNESS

SRI PATMAṆABHA DASA VANCHI BALA

SIR RAMA VARMA TIRUVADI

KULASEKHARA KIRITAPATI MANNEY SULTAN

MAHARAJA RAJA RAMARAJA BĀHADUR

SHAMSHER JANG,

KNIGHT GRAND COMMANDER OF THE MOST EXALTED ORDER OF THE  
STAR OF INDIA,

FELLOW OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY,

MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE,

GRACIOUSLY RULING OVER VÊṆĀḌ IN THE KOLLAM YEAR 1069,

BY HIS HIGHNESS' DEVOTED SUBJECT AND SERVANT,  
THE AUTHOR.

## PREFACE.

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IN submitting to the public the first fruits of my study of Travancore Inscriptions, my first and most agreeable duty is to acknowledge my grateful obligations to my gracious Sovereign. His Highness the Maharaja was pleased to sanction for a year in December 1891 a monthly grant of 50 Sirkar Rupees for the maintenance of an establishment I had started some time previously to find out and take fac-similes of old stone inscriptions in Travancore. I am indebted, therefore, to His Highness' Government to the extent of Rs. 582.14.9, which I have utilized in the undertaking, and for which accounts have been from time to time submitted. But the above figures can scarcely give any adequate idea of the full support the cause received in consequence of the measure. So inveterate and widespread in Travancore is the common Indian mania for Government employment that the simple consciousness that a rupee comes, not from private funds, but from the Government treasury, is sufficient to lead to its bulging out twice or thrice in value in the distorted vision of those for whose services it might be paid. I do not think the amount I have had to invest in the concern from my own pocket, both before the date of the Government grant and since its discontinuance, though not much less when expressed in dry mathematical figures, has ever proved half as attractive in the eyes of my employees, or half as efficient in exacting steady work from them. Not only poor mortals, but the gods and goddesses themselves would appear to be guilty of the same partiality! For

instance, the doors of temples that cannot be opened except at stated hours, to private parties, for fear of offending the divine denizens thereof, fly open whenever convenient, without any visible dangers following the profane act, when the same parties call for the identical purpose, but on the receipt of a small pittance from the Government treasury ; and stranger still, the deities inside are reported to change their temper and resume their original sullen mood, when once it is known that that pittance comes no more from the public exchequer ! I owe, therefore, as much to His Highness' Government for the indirect moral influence the timely grant secured for my self-imposed task, as for its actual and veritable value. But all this is nothing compared to the encouragement I have personally received at the hands of my Sovereign, whose frequent and appreciative inquiries uniformly lightened the burden of my dreary labours. I can never be sufficiently grateful to His Highness the Maharaja for the interest His Highness has always evinced in the work, and also for the proud privilege His Highness has accorded me of associating His Highness' name with this humble brochure.

I am equally thankful to H. B. Grigg, Esq., C.I.E., the British Resident, to whose kind and encouraging words I owe my first incentive to the work. My thanks are also due to the Travancore Government Lecture Committee for having permitted these lectures to be delivered under their auspices on three successive Saturday evenings, March 24th and 31st, and April 7th, 1894. I should also thank my friend Mr. K. G. Sessa Aiyar for the intelligent sympathy he has always evinced in my work and for his kindness in reading the proofs.

It behoves me to add a word of explanation why I have chosen to put my results in the form of popular lectures. It was not without much doubt and discussion within myself that I decided on adopting this course. Epigraphy is

one of those auxiliary practical sciences, in which any one with the least culture might make himself useful, if but sufficient interest be roused in him. In a country so devoid of history and so deficient even in *reliable data* for historical purposes, it cannot but be well to enlist the sympathy, if not also the services, of the general public in epigraphical work, at least in the way of discovering and bringing to notice the existence of inscriptions. So little do inscriptions now attract attention that men, often very intelligent and sometimes fairly educated as well, are perfectly unaware of their existence, even though their daily avocation leads them almost every hour to the spot, perhaps not infrequently to spend the best part of the day in wasting the very stone bearing the record, by squatting on it. Even to produce the bare consciousness that inscriptions are not the idle handiwork of antedeluvian *Bhūtams* or demons, worthy only of as much notice as the moss that grows upon them, seems desirable, since it may have at least the negative benefit of preventing wanton mischief being done with them. At any rate, I should be personally glad if at least one result would follow from a better knowledge of the value of these ancient documents, (*i.e.*) if I am not treated as a fantastic faddist when I next go in search of inscriptions, and am spared many an amusing philosophical reflection, scarcely behind my back, on the incalculable diversities of human tastes. But for the difficulty of reaching the scientific public, I would have, for considerations like these, even gone a step further and published these results in Tamil and Malayalam, a thought which I have not yet abandoned. I believe, therefore, the popular garb of these lectures will be readily overlooked, as well as such digressions and details in them as might be judged out of place in a paper prepared for a purely scientific Society or Journal. It is nevertheless hoped that nothing has been admitted which would detract from the accuracy essential to historical investigations. Being, however, provisional throughout,



my conclusions are open to correction<sup>t</sup>; and amendments and suggestions will be most thankfully received and acted on from whatever quarter they may come. To facilitate such help, I add in the Appendix my readings of the documents here made use of, and propose to lodge the fac-similes themselves in the Trivāṇḍrum Public Museum.

My thanks are due to Messrs. Addison & Co. for the characteristic neatness and accuracy with which they have got up this pamphlet.

HARVEYPURAM,  
TRIVANDRUM,  
June 1894.

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P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M.A.

## TRANSLITERATION.

Diacritical marks have been used as sparingly as possible. The following are the few adopted :—

அ = a, ஆ = â, இ = i, ஈ = î, உ = u, ஊ = û, எ = e, ஏ = ê, ஐ = ai,  
ஒ = o, ஔ = ô, ஓ = au; ன் = ñ, ச் = ch, ஞ் = ñ, ட் = t, ண் = ṇ,  
த் = t, ல் = l, ள் = ḷ, ர் = r, ழ் = ḷ, ஶ் = ḍ, ஷ் = ḍ; h is added to  
mark the aspirates.

# SOME EARLY SOVEREIGNS OF TRAVANCORE

## FOR THE FIRST TIME BROUGHT TO NOTICE WITH THEIR DATES DETERMINED BY INSCRIPTIONS.

It was His Highness the late Maha Rajah of Travancore who observed in one of his public lectures that if India could be considered a microcosm of our Globe, Travancore could be with greater justification regarded as the epitome of all India. The observation was made with special reference to the variegated natural features of Travancore and to her equally rich and varied flora and fauna. It is, however, no less applicable to her population. It would be difficult, indeed, to find anywhere else in India, in so limited an area, a people so varied and typical of the mixed races of this continent. The two predominant factors of Indian civilization—the Aryan and the Pre-Aryan—will be found here in every degree of fusion. From the aboriginal *Kāṇikār* or Hillmen to the *Vaidika Nambūri* Brahmin, what stages of the meeting and mingling of the two races can we not perceive in the endless distinctions of caste so eminently characteristic of this coast? The subtle forces set in motion by the great Aryan race to subdue and absorb into its own polity the earlier races of India may be still seen at full work here in Travancore. Here again may be observed to take place under our very eyes the gradual evolution of all the forms of marriage known to History,—endogamous, exogamous, polyandrous, polygamous, *punaluan*, and what not.<sup>(1)</sup> Arrested in consequence at different stages of their natural growth, may

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(1) Vide L. H. Morgan's *Ancient Society*. *Punaluan* is the *Pāṇḍava* type.

be seen also all conceivable laws of inheritance. Equally diversified and full of philological import is the language of the country. Exactly as the practised ear perceives all possible stages of corruption between pure Tamil and pure Malayalam, as one passes from one end of the land to the other, say from Cape Comorin to Paravûr, so may also the critical student notice all varieties of mongrel mixtures of Sanscrit and Tamil, as he descends from the proud poems of the erudite few to the popular ditties of the illiterate many, from a *Bhâsha Sâkuntalam*, for instance, to a *Tôrrampâtthu*.<sup>(1)</sup> Every face, too, in the evolution of that all-embracing conglomeration of faiths, ceremonies, and philosophies, called Hindu religion, from the grossest fetichism, worship of trees, of snakes, of evil spirits and what not, to the highest Vedantic school of *Sankarâchâryu*,—himself supposed to be a native of the place—finds here its votary to this day,—not to speak of the large representatives of foreign religions, such as the Syrian Christians, who claim to have received their gospel direct from Saint Thomas himself. With regard to manners, customs, dress, and ornaments, infinite is the variety that obtains. Each caste would appear to have been bent upon originating and appropriating to itself a particular form of these natural adjuncts of social organization. Even more tempting than all this pleasing variety is, to the student of Indian Ethnology, the general air of primitive simplicity that nevertheless pervades the entire society, its language and institutions, its manners and traditions. And the air of primitiveness is by no means deceptive. Most of these social peculiarities are in truth but strange survivals of what at different stages was the rule in all India, at any rate in the Peninsular portion of it. Endless particulars from the daily

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(1) Means "A song on the Apparition," and narrates the story of *Silappadhikâram*, the ancient Tamil epic. It is being fast supplanted in popular favour by more modern songs and seems to have but a short term of life now before it.

routine of individual and social life may be given to illustrate how strangely things survive in this land, though long extinct elsewhere. But suffice it here to say that Travancore seems to have played, in Indian Anthropology, the part of a happy and undisturbed fossiliferous stratum. And it is easy to understand why it should have been so. No internal revolution seems to have ever convulsed her social system so as to efface the past, to which her own remarkably conservative nature inclined her steadfastly to stick; and as for the violent changes outside her domains, they seem to have never reached her till their fury was spent, so that when, floating down in the fulness of time, their influence came to be felt, the nett or skeleton results alone sank into the structure of her society to be preserved unmolested for ages to follow. Thus taking all in all, Travancore, I earnestly believe, deserves more attention from the students of Indian History than at first sight her apparent geographical and historical isolation would seem to entitle her to; her population being so remarkably varied and typical, and their social fabric a veritable mine of precious antiquities in many a department of Anthropology.

2. But to the best of my knowledge the mine remains unworked—nay even unnoticed—up to date. I do not complain that the history of the people is yet to be written; but I confess I am surprised to find that the political history of this Principality, one of the most ancient though it is in all India, is itself a blank all beyond the immediate present. Even of our ruling royal dynasty, whose origin, Mr. Shungoonny Menon observes,<sup>(1)</sup> tradition reckons as coeval with creation itself, what information are we in a position to offer to the critical historian beyond a couple of centuries ago, while several even of the minor Barons of Great Britain are able to trace their blue blood over twice that

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(1) *Vide* the opening sentence of Mr. Shungoonny Menon's *History of Travancore*.

period? The Travancore Government Almanac<sup>(1)</sup> publishes, no doubt, year after year, a list of 35 sovereigns from 1335 A.D., as having immediately preceded His Gracious Highness our present Maha Rajah. But apart from such indefinite and suspicious-looking names as 'Wanaut Moota Rajah'<sup>(2)</sup> which cannot but detract from the scientific value of the document, what little I know from independent and indubitable sources of knowledge is not in favour of its accuracy. Mr. Shangoonny Menon begins, indeed, his history with *Brahma* the Creator, but he fills up his first chapter which brings down the account to His Highness Martanda Varma, who began his rule just 164 years ago, *i.e.*, within the memory in all probability of the historian's own grandfather, with such questionable materials as to render it difficult to rebut Mr. Sewell's condemnation of the whole as devoid of historical value.<sup>(3)</sup> When of the political history of the country, of the history of the unquestionably ancient Royal dynasty itself, we know so little, it is no wonder that we should know less in the more obscure and less attractive branches of Travancore Archæology.

3. But how long are we to remain in this lamentable, if not disgraceful, condition of ignorance? To a native of Travancore—and I am one—it cannot but be galling to have to wait till competent foreign scholars find leisure to investigate and enlighten him on the history of his own fatherland. He would rather, whether fully qualified for it or not, gird up his loins and be doing something, than be simply moaning over the fact till the fortunate advent of a competent *savant*. But even should one be willing to wait, the sources of sure information, the facts and things to be observed, do not seem to be endowed with

(1) *Vide* page 43, Part II., of the Almanac for 1894.

(2) Means but 'the ruling sovereign of Travancore,' 'Wanaut' being *Vāṇād* or Travancore, and Moota Rajah or *Māṭṭa Tampirān* being the popular way of styling the eldest member of the royal family.

(3) *Vide* Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II., part treating of Travancore.

equal placid patience. With the rapid spread of education and the general uprising and commingling of the masses, the very things of archæological import are fast vanishing out of sight. No one with wakeful eyes could live a decade now in Travancore without being constantly reminded of the extraordinary rapidity with which the tide of progress is washing away all old landmarks even in this retired creek of the so-called "changeless East." Traditional beliefs, ways, and manners are dissolving like spectres in the air. Every caste seems bent now upon giving up its own, for the sake of the forms and ceremonies, dress and ornaments, and even the modes of speech, of some other which it supposes to be superior to itself. What traits of the primitive Dravidian *Vēṇād* chiefs would you discover in the anglicized *Nair*, or of the Vedic age of simplicity in the *Nambūri* constable<sup>(1)</sup>? However desirable such changes might be from other points of view, to the antiquarian they cannot be more gratifying than the rapid, dizzying, gyrations of an animalcule can be to the microscopist. To neglect vaccination and to trust to *Ūrūttu*<sup>(2)</sup> is certainly not desirable; to indulge in *Paḍaiyaṇi*<sup>(3)</sup> or mock fights, in these days of peace, might be even more culpable; but when the *Ūrūttu* and *Paḍaiyaṇi* are gone for good, the historian will look in vain for equally good and clear evidences of the past history of the particular localities. The damp atmosphere of Travancore is another source of dread. It is fast demolishing and disintegrating sources of

(1) The last *Travancore Government Gazette* to hand announces the reduction of a Nambūri Sub-Inspector of Police. Let us hope it is only for his simplicity!

(2) *Ūrūttu* is a village feast generally in honour of the heroine of *Silappadhikāram*, celebrated as a disinfectant of small-pox, exactly as it was resorted to in the days of that old Tamil epic,—vide page 31, Swaminatha Iyer's edition.

(3) Means literally 'battle array.' It is a disorderly march past under torchlight, often ending in something worse than sham fights. It is an important item of calculation with *abkari* ruters!

information of the highest scientific value possible. A host of historical temples with valuable inscriptions are fast going to ruins. Left to the dissolving influences of nature, or worse still, to the tender mercies of *Marâmut coolies*,<sup>(1)</sup> the temples of the land, with their many and diverse architectural peculiarities and memorable historical associations and inscriptions, will before long either quietly cease to be, or so utterly change their aspect as to present no meaning to the future inquirer. Our sources of historical information then, both ethnical and epigraphical, seem to be all equally moribund, muttering, as it were with their dying gasp, "Observe now or never!" How important, how helpful, these dying declarations of the past are often found to be, only those who have dealt with them can know, and, if I here venture to catch and interpret some of the still voices of antiquity in our midst, with a view mainly to awaken general interest in our history, I have no other justification to offer, no other apology to make, than that they might ere long cease to be heard at all.

4. I propose to begin our study with the Royal House of Travancore, and I have not the least doubt you will all agree with me in thinking that there can be for us no worthier object of inquiry. I propose again to confine our attention at present to what light we could secure from public stone inscriptions.

5. Of all the materials available to the critical student of Indian History, inscriptions, as far as they go, are, I believe, the very best. It may be possible, indeed, to extract a few scattered grains of historic truth from the old and genuine *Purâṇas*, but only those that have made the trial can be aware of the difficulties and doubts with which the process is beset. Even when the genuineness of a *Purâṇa* is settled beyond doubt, and its age determined,

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(1) Day labourers in the *Sirkar* Public Works department. *Marâmut* is an Arabic word used in Travancore to mark off the native agency as contrasted with the one under the European Engineers.

one ought to have an extraordinary fund of faith, or as it is called, 'piety,' to lack a sense of insecurity, as one threads his way through the endless accounts of *Dēvas* and *Asūras*, and discerns here and there a glimmering, and perhaps distorted, view of matters earthly and human. But whatever might be the historical value of the real and old *Aśitādasa Purāṇas*, to follow the *Stala Mahātmyas* as faithful guides would imply an unconditional surrender of all canons of historic criticism. They all profess to be integral portions of the old 18 *Purāṇas*, but it is an open secret that their manipulation can scarcely be said to have yet ended. To quote a familiar instance, the late Mr. Minākshi Sundaram Pillai of Trichinopoly, the last of the Tamil bards, used to supply *Stala Purāṇas* on order; and I know a respectable and scholarly physician in Cottayam is to this day engaged in writing a *Mahātmyam* in Sanscrit on his own household deity. But whether old or new, it would be a satisfaction to find in these works of skill even remote references to events historical. But true to their function, these religious compositions begin and end with *gods*, and condescend to chronicle only *their* miraculous dealings with friends and foes. Local traditions in some countries may subserve historical purposes, though the logical rule for the rapid deterioration of their testimony has always to be kept in view. But in Southern India, all legendary lore is of the most mischievously misleading character. We cannot travel far, even in Travancore, without constantly coming across hills, valleys, streams, temples, and hamlets, which are fondly believed to be connected with the incidents of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. As observed by Dr. Burnell, most of them are "merely attempts at explanation of the unknown through current ideas, which, in Southern India, amount to the merest elements of Hindu mythology, as gathered from third-rate sources." (1) In

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(1) Vide Dr. Burnell's *Paleography, Introduction*, page 1.



Travancore, even the legitimate names of places, of idols, of castes, of religious dignitaries, and of social ceremonies, which when carefully understood bear clear historical allusions, are strangely twisted and corrupted to suit fanciful derivations under the influence of the same myth-making tendencies. Literature is another of the resources usually open to the student of history, and, in India too, much valuable and reliable information may be gleaned from the ancient literary writings, so long as they had the good sense to be true to nature, and man, and to dispense with the crutches of "Divine machinery" so uniformly found at every turn in their later limping career. But unhappily for us in Southern India, we know how soon the Tamil Literature, the only one among the Dravidians that can boast of any antiquity, degenerated and lost its healthy Realism. Copperplate documents, temple and palace records, and what are called *Grantavari* or connected accounts in respectable households of long standing, are less pretentious but often more fruitful sources of information; but even these are certainly inferior in point of reliability to contemporary stone inscriptions in open and public places. Copperplate grants, being mostly private property of individuals or corporations, have always the chance of turning out forgeries in favour of vested interests. As for the other records, it is always impossible to rebut the charge of corruption or interpolation, since they have frequently to be transcribed—mostly by unqualified hands—in consequence of the ephemeral writing materials to which they are generally committed. Unless, therefore, we have clear internal evidence or other collateral securities, it is seldom safe to lean on crumbling cadjans, however venerable. On the other hand, a contemporary inscription in a place of public resort, if once deciphered, and its age determined, will afford for ever a footing to the historian as sure and firm as the rock on which it is engraved. It would seem then to be the very first duty of those who crave for more light on the past of Travancore to ascertain whether such incontrovertible

epigraphical evidence is available in this ancient principality before proceeding to utilize less trustworthy sources of information. Fortunately for us, inscriptions are not altogether rare in Travancore. I have with me about one hundred and odd of these ancient stone documents, taken from different quarters, mostly from places south of Trivandram, and by confining my attention, for the present, to the light they shed on the history of the Royal House we are now in quest of, I will have also the opportunity of illustrating their general historical value.

6. One word more I feel bound to add in the way of preface. Since most of the documents I have now the pleasure to place before you are in that mysterious archaic alphabet, called *Pāṇḍi-chêra* or *Vatteluttu*, the translation I give of them ought to be considered tentative only. The characters of this curious alphabet, which according to some authorities is the only one original to India, are not yet fully made out. Out of 180 letters which ought to make it up, Dr. Burnell's conjectural plate (No. XVII. in his *Palavography*) is able to supply only 96. Until, therefore, photo-lithographed copies of the facsimiles with me are placed before the scientific public, and my readings and renderings subjected to searching criticism, I have no right to claim your confidence. I may, however, in the meantime, assure you that each of the inscriptions I have here to depend upon has received my best and most anxious attention, and that sufficient time has been allowed to elapse since the collection was completed for patient study and reflexion. I shall further indicate, as we go on, whatever doubts or difficulties still strike me as material to my interpretation. The whole being thus but provisional, I have not made the translations altogether and strictly literal, which would be but rendering them nearly unintelligible in the absence of the originals for reference. They are nevertheless as faithful as I can make them under the circumstances.

## THE SOVEREIGNS OF TRAVANCORE IN THE 4TH AND 5TH CENTURIES M. E.

Proceeding then to my work, I shall select a period for our study, which is an absolute blank in the history of Travancore, as it now stands. The list of 35 sovereigns given in the Travancore Government Almanac begins, as I have already told you, with 1335 A.D., so that from the 14th century downwards, we have some sort of account to give of the Travancore Royal dynasty, whether absolutely correct or not. In Mr. Shangoonny Menon's History, too, we have some sort of account, however interrupted or loose, only from that date downwards. "In the Kollom year 5 (830 A.D.)," writes this author, "Udaya Marthanda Vurmah Kulasekhara Perumal died, but his successor's name and the particulars of his reign are not traceable from the records. The names and other particulars of many of the succeeding kings are also not in the records."<sup>(1)</sup> The writer then returns to his narrative only with 505 M.E., or 1330 A.D., when, according to the author, the accounts of the pagoda at *Vycome*<sup>(2)</sup> show that King *Āditya Varma* "assumed authority over the affairs of that Davaśwam"<sup>(3)</sup> or temple. Thus, then, it is clear we have now no information whatever to give for the first five centuries of the Malabar Era.<sup>(4)</sup> Leaving the earlier periods for further researches, we shall here select for our study the last two centuries of this blank epoch, viz., the fourth and fifth centuries M.E., and shall try to see whether our inscriptions can help us to fill up the gap with authentic facts and dates.

(1) *Vide* page 89, Shangoonny Menon's *History of Travancore*.

(2) *Vycome*, or rather *Vaikam*, is a populous village about 24 miles to the south of Cochin. According to Dr. Gundert, the word means 'alluvial deposit,' pointing to the probable geological origin of the place. The local deity is called 'Kōlappan,' obviously a corruption of 'Kōilappan,' showing that 'Kōil' must have been once used to designate the spot, exactly as Chidambaram was in the days of the early Saira saints.

(3) *Vide* page 93, Shangoonny Menon's *History of Travancore*.

(4) The Report on the Travancore Census of 1891 says, "The 1st Perumal was installed about 344 A.D. For about 12 centuries after this there is no authentic record of any value."—*Vide* page 179, Vol. I.

2. In the very opening year of this period, viz., 301 M.E., or 1125 A.D., we find *Sri Vira Kēraḷa Varma* ruling over Travancore. Here is the document—a public stone inscription—in proof thereof. It comes from a deserted village, called *Chōḷapuram*, about a mile to the east of *Oḷuganachēri*, the transit station between Tinnevely and Trivandram. In this deserted village, stands the neglected temple of *Rājēndra Chōḷiswaram*, to complete the ruins of which not many recurring monsoons are now needed. Of the historical importance of the temple, this is not the place to speak. I shall reserve that sad tale for a more suitable occasion. Meantime, if any one wishes to verify the document I have now to present, let him look up the western wall of this shrine, where he will find it engraved in old Tamil characters in four long lines. Care, however, should be taken that the examination is not long postponed, lest the temple be gone by the time the expedition is undertaken, and equal care should be taken also, in the course of the examination, not to disturb the serpents inside, lest the examiner be gone before his mission is fulfilled! The document I depend upon runs thus:—

No. 1<sup>(1)</sup>  
9.

OLD TAMIL (2)  
SEN TAMIL CURRENT.

Hail Prosperity! In the year opposite<sup>(3)</sup> the year 301, since the appearance of Kollam, with the Sun in the sign of Leo

(1) The numeral above indicates the serial number of the inscriptions as made use of in these lectures, while the one below gives the number as in my register.

(2) The description above the line refers to the characters, and the one below to the language of each inscription. For a specimen of *Old Tamil* characters, see Dr. Hultzsch's facsimile of Rajaraja's inscription, No. 1, in *Vol. II., Part I., of South Indian Inscriptions*. The same inscription will be a specimen also of what I call *Sen Tamil Current* with reference to the language of the document.

(3) Endless are the controversies with regard to the interpretations of this expression as found in the *Tirunelli* copperplate grant. For the opinions of Mr. Whish, Sir Walter Elliot, Dr. Burnell, Dr. Caldwell, and Dr. Hultzsch, see pages 288 and 289 of the *Indian Antiquary for August 1891*. Here, however, the word *opposite* evidently means 'equivalent to.'

(i.e., in the Malabar month Chingam), we, the loyal chieftains<sup>(1)</sup> of Sri Vira Kêraḷa Varma, flourishing in Vēṇāḍu, (viz.) Danāñjaiyan Kaṇḍan of Varukkappalli, Sri Tongappalla (?) Sri Saiyan *alias* Sri Sakkarāyudhan of Maṇṇūr, Kaṇṇan Gôvindan, the brief writer,<sup>(2)</sup> (private secretary ?) and Kêraḷa Simha Pallavaraiyan *alias* Vikramaṇ Kunṇan of Ulliruppu hill, in the discharge of our official agency, do make over the tax in paddy and money, due from Vaḍasêri, to this side of Mummudi Chôḷa Nallūr, as a gift to the god, to be utilized for supplying every day four *nālies* of rice, vegetables, ghee, curds, arecanuts and betel, and also one *nandū* (or perpetual) lamp, to the Mahâ Dêva of the temple of Râjêṇḍra Chôḷiswaram, in Mummudi Chôḷa Nallūr *alias* Kôṭṭâr, and in order that the arrangement might last as long as the sun and the moon endure, we make the gift, solemnly pouring water on the altar, and cause also the grant to be engraved on stone.

3. And there to this day stands the document engraved on stone, whatever has become of the pious dedication it was meant to perpetuate. It perpetuates to us, at any rate, the happy memory of His Highness Sri Vira Kêraḷa Varma, who was reigning in Travancore, in the first month of the first year of the fourth century of the Malabar Era, or roughly speaking about the latter half of August 1125<sup>(3)</sup> ? The document proves also that Travancore, or *Vēṇāḍ* <sup>(4)</sup> as it was then called, was under him a well-organized principality with loyal feudal chieftains to transact public business in her name, and levying taxes, as she does to this day, both in kind and in cash. The Government dues even in these backward days, with heavy

(1) The expression is அமைஞ்ச அநிசை—They were feudal chiefs and not 'paid agents,' as far as I can ascertain.

(2) The original reads "செந்தஞ்செருவரிபன்."

(3) The equation for the conversion of the Malabar or Kollam Era to the Christian is +824½. I use the Malabar year throughout, as it is the one still current in the country.

(4) *Vēṇāḍu* is one of the twelve districts of low or vulgar Tamil according to Tamil Grammarians. *Kêraḷa Utpatti* makes it one of the divisions of Kerala. It is derived from *Vēl*=love or desire, either directly or through *Vēṇ*. *Venad* would mean, therefore, the land of love or the lovely land.

military charges, could not have been anything but moderate and fair, as the whole revenue of the tract of country, set apart for the purposes of the grant here recorded, was considered adequate to furnish daily but 4 *nālīs* of rice and sundries to the Mahâ Dêva of the Rajendra Choliswaram temple. This temple, as the name indicates, was founded in honour of the famous Eastern Chalukya-Chola Emperôr, Râjendra Chola, who, according to the latest researches, ruled from 1063—1112 A.D. over almost the whole of the Madras Presidency, from *Kalingam* in Orissa to *Viliñam* in our own coast.<sup>(1)</sup> The circumstances under which Sri Vira Kerala of Venad was prompted to dedicate so piously a portion of his revenue to a temple founded by a foreign monarch are, of course, now difficult to determine; but if I am at liberty to venture a hypothesis, I suspect the grant was meant, in all probability, as a political peace-offering to the representatives of the Chola Power in the land.<sup>(2)</sup> It being but twenty-three years after the death of Rajendra, Venad must have been, about this time, just recovering from the terrible shock it had received from the victorious arms of that great conqueror, whose forces, after subduing the 5 Pandyas,<sup>(3)</sup> overran all *Nânjinâd*, and advanced as far to the west, as the ancient seaport of *Viliñam*,<sup>(4)</sup> about 10 miles to the south of *Trivandram*. "Rajendra's" was no passing whim of conquest. His vigilance extended over every part of his territories, and he did all he could to consolidate them into one enduring empire. He transformed *Kôttâr*, the chief city of South Travancore, into *Mummuḍi Chôlanullur*—<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) Vide page 276, Vol. XX., of the *Indian Antiquary*.

(2) I say *Chola* Power, as it looks probable that Rajendra's dominions in the South fell to the lot of the Cholas rather than to the Eastern Chalukyas.

(3) "விட்டதன்னை மீளவனவரும் வெட்டகேடடிசைக் கேட்டிப்பெயரெனத்." *Kalingattu Parani*.

(4) வேடுவரைவிழிக்கும் திருமகன் ஸ்ரீமதராமன் காலிங்கத்து பாணி. *Kalingattu Parani*.

(5) Rajendra is called "Mummudi Chola" in an inscription dated the 14th year of his reign—vide Dr. Hultzsch's report for 1892. But as some of his predecessors were also known by this name, we cannot be sure of the fact.

“the good town of the thrice-crowned Chola,” and left there, not merely the temple of Mahâ Dêva noticed in the document before us, but, what is more, a powerful “standing army”<sup>(1)</sup> to watch over his interests in this distant corner of his dominions. The *Oḍḍars*<sup>(2)</sup> and *Chaluppars*,<sup>(3)</sup> so common all over the southern districts and in Trivandram, mark to this day the extent of the old *Châlukyan* sway in the land. I am afraid, therefore, Sri Vira Kerala was making but a virtue of necessity, when he thus yielded up the tax on the tract of land between Kôttâr and Vadasêri for the support of the “great god” of Rajendra. It nevertheless proves, for one thing, that the Venad principality was gradually emerging, with the opening years of the fourth century M.E., from the effects of the Chalukyan-Chola eclipse. The receipt of a grant is an acknowledgment of the right of the grantor to make the grant. It argues, therefore, both practical shrewdness and statesmanlike sagacity, on the part of Vira Kerala, that he should have thus fully recognized the situation and made the best of it.

4. That this policy of conciliation with an enemy, too powerful at once to overcome, was only a preliminary for the recovery of lost territories, as opportunities occurred, is proved by the document I have next to present, dated just eighteen years afterwards. This inscription comes from *Tiruvallam*,<sup>(4)</sup> a petty village near the old mouth<sup>(5)</sup> of the *Karamanai* river, about 4 miles to the south of the Trivan-

(1) Called ചെറുവടം in an inscription with me dated in the 39th year of his reign.

(2) *Oḍḍar* means the men of Oḍya or Orissa. Rajendra was himself first anointed king at *Vengi* in 1063.

(3) The word is evidently a corruption of Chalukkar or Chalukyas.

(4) *Vallam* means, according to Dr. Gundert, a place for watering fields. Would not Vallam mean the same in ഇല്ലവും ചെല്ലവും വല്ലവും വലിക്കും in Siva Purana?

(5) This river seems to have frequently altered its place of discharge even in recent times. The shifting boundary of the two adjoining *talugs* is a guide as to what the course was, when the administrative divisions were last arranged.

dram fort. Within a rectangular enclosure, on the eastern bank of the river, stand three chief shrines, of which the easternmost, dedicated to Mahâ Dêva, is certainly the oldest. The middle one—the smallest of the three—is now said to be sacred to Brahma, and it is on its western wall that the following grant is inscribed, in rather small and superficial *Vatteluttu* characters, running over ten closely packed lines. Being close to a holy bathing *ghat* still in use, and being in some measure related to the central temple in the capital, all the three shrines are in pretty good condition, though, because of the exposed situation, the inscription itself is fully open to the effacing influences of the sun and rain. The translation of this rather lengthy record would run thus:—

No.  $\frac{2}{47}$ .

VATTELUTTU  
OLD MALAYALAM. (1)

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 319, with Jupiter in the sign of Scorpio, and the sun in Capricornus (*i.e.* the Malabar month of Makaram), was done the following deed.<sup>(2)</sup> Tenganâdu, belonging to the loyal chieftains of Sri Vîra Kêraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi, graciously ruling over Venad, being recovered,<sup>(3)</sup> the said chieftains make over in writing the tax payable in paddy within the area of Nigamattûr, amounting to \*\*, and the duties called *Ūhēvatu* and *Alagerutu*, as well as the tax on hand looms, in order to provide daily, in all, 7 *nālīs* of rice, for the use of Brahmin worshippers, (*Namaskāram*) and for evening offerings to the Mahâ Dêva, Tirukkannappan,<sup>(4)</sup> and Gaṇapati in the temple of Tiruvallam, and also to provide once a month one candelabrum, (*dīpamāla*) for each of the (first) two deities. Accordingly from this time forwards, Mahâ Dêva shall have two *nālīs* of

(1) Old Malayalam differs but little from current Tamil. I should have reckoned it as *Sen Tamil*, but for certain inflexions—for instance *அருவி* instead of *அருவது*; *சமக்காரத்தினால்* instead of *சமக்காரத்தின்பு*.

(2) “*செய்தகாரியமாவது*” is an expletive to introduce a document.

(3) The word is *பெய்தத்தல்*.

(4) There is nothing to show that the Tamil saint of this name had ever a temple at this spot. The word refers only to Krishna, now the presiding deity.



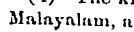
rice, Tirukkannappan two *nālies*, Gaṇapati one *nāli*, and the worshipping Brahmins two *nālies*. Moreover, the eight coins<sup>(1)</sup> given in addition by the men of Kāṭṭusēri, being also handed over as *Nēli*, to Nārāṇa Tādar, he shall make a set-off with that money for the amount he has invested in the purchase of Aruviyūr-compound, and he shall further, after making forth-with a flower garden therein, supply the three deities with two garlands each, and take for himself (in return for his labour) the boiled rice offered to the gods. Nārāṇa Tādar, on his part, while accepting the aforesaid grant of the tax due from Nigamattur, amounting in paddy to \* \* and the duty called *Aḷagerulu*, as well as the tax on hand looms and the 8 coins given as *Nēli*, agrees to collect the said dues in half-yearly payments, to grant receipts therefor, to meet the charges thereon, and to furnish the *Dīpamāla*, as well as the garlands from the flower garden (now directed to be opened). If Nārāṇa Tādari [should ever fail] <sup>(2)</sup>, the village association, the Biḍāra Tiruvaḍi,<sup>(3)</sup> and the temple managers are empowered to carry out this arrangement, as long as the moon and the stars endure, through such agencies as they might be pleased to nominate.

Here then in this document, we have irrebutable evidence of the continuance of Sri Vira Kerala Varma's rule up to Makaram 319 M.E., or roughly speaking up to the end of January 1144. How long his reign lasted, or when it actually commenced, we have as yet no means of determining; but that it did last for 18 years and 5 months *at the least* is established by the two inscriptions before us. The addition in the second document of Tiruvaḍi, or holy feet, to the name of the sovereign, if it means anything at all,<sup>(4)</sup> may be taken to indicate the expansion of his dominions and the consequent growth of his power, since we first met

(1) *ṇṇ* clearly means a coin, though it is impossible now to determine its value.

(2) The expressions within square brackets are conjecturally supplied, while those within the semi-circular brackets are additions to render the meaning clearer.

(3) Biḍara is a corruption of Bhaṭṭāraka, in which full form, too, the word is often found.

(4) The kings of Venad were always known to Literature, Tamil and Malayalam, as —the holy feet of Venad.

him. The re-establishment of his authority, so far to the north as Trivandram, affords of course clearer evidence of the same. Though I have not yet been able to identify the exact locality of Tenganâd, I have no doubt it must have embraced the seacoast from Têngâpatnam on the mouth of the Kulitturai river to Tiruvallum, including the famous seaport of Viliñam. The enemy, from whose hands Tenganâd is here recorded to have been recovered, may have been, therefore, the representatives of the very same Chola power which Kerala Varma in the earlier part of his career found it wise to conciliate.

6. As for other inferences from the inscription before us, particularly about the village associations, temple authorities, and the curious personage, Bhaṭṭâraka Tiruvaḍi, I would fain wait till our data accumulate. It is quite the fashion nowadays to suppose that ancient Native Indian Government was despotism, pure and simple. I would wait, therefore, till more facts are brought to our notice about the constitution and powers of the early village associations of Travancore, before I venture to discuss the soundness of this general assumption. When once we remember the diverse secular functions the Hindu temples<sup>(1)</sup> were designed to discharge, besides being places of divine worship, we would feel we cannot be really too curious about their constitution and management. I would allow again the Budhistic monk, Bhaṭṭâraka, to go through his slow evolution of Bhaṭṭâraka Tiruvaḍi, Badâra Tiruvaḍi, Balâra Tiruvaḍi and Pashâra Tiruvaḍi, before I identify him with our modern *Pishâradi*, whose puzzling position among the Mâlabar castes, half monk and half layman, is far from being accounted for by the silly and fanciful modern derivation of *Pishâraka* + Ōḍi, *Pishâraka* being more mysterious than *Pishâradi* itself.<sup>(2)</sup> On these and similar questions, therefore, I would beg to reserve my

(1) They were fortresses, treasuries, court-houses, parks, fairs, exhibition sheds, halls of learning and of pleasure, all in one.

(2) I am sorry the Travancore Census Report, 1891, adopts this absurd derivation. See pages 743 and 755, Vol. I.

remarks till sufficient data accumulate before us. A word or two about the taxes and duties mentioned in our document would prove more pertinent to our present inquiry ; but I am sorry I have failed, even after repeated inspection of the original itself, to make out, not only the shorthand symbols<sup>(1)</sup> given to signify the quantity of paddy, but also what is intended to be read by the combination of letters which, as far as I can discern, look like <sup>c</sup>‘*chêratu*’ and ‘*alagerutu*’—terms which convey no intelligible meaning to me. From the context I take them to stand for certain duties then levied. The tax on looms is clear enough though there is no means of discovering its amount. It must have been but a trifle, considering the total expenditure charged on all the revenues set apart by this deed. The word *Nêli* is another obsolete term, which I take to mean ‘capital.’ Considering the difficulties of the *Vatteluttu* alphabet in general, and the faintness of this inscription in particular, I have reason only to be gratified that it has served to attest at least Sri Vîra Kêrala Varma’s rule in 1144 A.D. and the re-establishment of his authority in *Tenganûd*.

7. We have to wait now for seventeen years more before we get a glimpse of another sovereign of Vênâd. On Saturday, the 7th Idavam 336 M.E., the throne of Venad was graced by His Highness *Sri Vîra Ravi Varma Tiruvadi*, and here is my authority for the statement. It is a document in old Tamil, inscribed in four long lines on the southern wall of an old temple, in another deserted village near Olugunachêri, now called *Puravachêri*, a name as much fallen from its original proud designation of *Puravari Chatur Vêdi Manyalam*, as the village itself from its former pristine glory. For the sake of such of you as may wish to verify my document, I must add that the priest in charge

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(1) This applies to all subsequent inscriptions. The symbols are arbitrary contractions of words and numerals, and difficult, therefore, of conjecture.

of this temple is a heavily-worked inveterate pluralist, and his movements are more incalculable than most mundane phenomena, so that one ought to go prepared to stay at Olugunacheri for a week to catch a glimpse of this one servant of many gods and to be admitted into the courtyard of the pagoda. Yet if you believe the priest, (and it would be profane not to do so) the *pūjās* are most regularly performed only, if you go there in the day time, they would be performed in the night, and if you go there in the night, they would be over by day ! Car document would run thus in English :—

No.  $\frac{3}{29}$ .

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OLD TAMIL  
SEN TAMIL CURRENT.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite the year 336, after the appearance of Kollam, with the sun six days old in the sign of Taurus (*i.e.* the 7th Idavam), Saturday, Makayiram star,<sup>(1)</sup> was the following deed in *cadjan* passed :—The loyal chieftains of Sri Vira Iravi Varma Tiruvaḍi, graciously ruling over Vênâd, declare that with the object of providing for the daily offerings to the Âlvâr in (the temple of) Paravaravu, in Puravari Chatur Vêdi Mangalam, and for a *Nandā* lamp to the same deity, are granted under *Tiruvīdaiyāttam* tenure, to last as long as the moon and the stars endure, the following paddy lands, irrigated by the Chârâr channel of Tâḷakkuḍi, and by the waters of Chēyyânêri tank in Châravayal, viz., Unnantittai, measuring  $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{2}{20} + \frac{1}{3\frac{1}{2}0}$  and Pudevâr Mûlai measuring  $\frac{3}{20}$ , making a total of  $\frac{1}{2}0 + \frac{1}{3\frac{1}{2}0}$  lands, the dues on which at the rate of assessment obtaining in the village amounting to *Mâttâl* 7 \* \*, the servants of this Âlvâr, shall lease out, levy, and cause to be measured at the door of the *Panḷâra*<sup>(2)</sup> (granary), as per temple measure called *Puravariyân*, and conduct the above said expenses without failure. The four boundaries of the lands thus set apart are ordered to be marked off by demarcation stones bearing the emblem of the holy Discus, and in order that the allowances might continue without let or hindrance, this deed

(1) *Makayiram* is Malayalam for *Mrugasirsham*, a star about the head of Orion. It means here the lunar mansion on the day.

(2) *Panḍâram* or *Bhaṇḍâram* means usually the king's treasury.

itself is commanded to be inscribed in stone and copper, in witness whereof are our signatures Pullâlan Aiyar (signature): Chingan Rangan (signature) Nârâyāṇan Sankaran (signature): Kôdai Dêvan (signature), and Sign Manual.

8. Here then we have a document attested by the sign manual of His Highness Sri Viṭṭala Ravi Varma himself to prove that he was on the throne of Travancore on the 7th Idavam 336 M.E., or about the end of May 1161 A.D. It being but 17 years since we saw Sri Vira Kêrâla Varma recovering possession of Tenganâd, we may rightly presume that Sri Vira Ravi Varma was his immediate successor. Pullâlan Aiyar<sup>(1)</sup> and others who signed this document were probably the feudal chieftains who conducted the administration of the day. Tâlakkudi being in the very confines of the present eastern boundary of Travancore, we may take this grant as evidencing the extension of Venad sovereignty all over the south. It is noteworthy that the measurement of the lands given is in the style<sup>(2)</sup> still followed in the Tanjore District. There was, further, about this time, no standard measures and weights anywhere in Southern India, each temple using its own under the name of the local deity. There are two revenue terms in this record, the significance of which I have not succeeded in finding out. These are *Tiruvīḍaiyāttam*<sup>(3)</sup> tenure and *Māttâl*.

9. On the western wall of the same temple at *Puravari* occurs another inscription in eight long lines relating to this identical grant; but a stone in the middle of the inscribed portion of the wall has been removed and replaced by another in the course of subsequent repairs, rendering our document thereby incomplete and enigmatic. It will

(1) *Aiyar* is here no title but the name of the person himself.

(2) *Vide* Inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5 in Vol. II., *Part I. of South Indian Inscriptions*, for samples of this system of land measurement.

(3) The word might be analysed into  $\text{Bull} + \text{rule} + \text{of} + \text{the} + \text{Bull}$ , and might then mean "the holy rule of the Bull," i.e., the Siva's emblem, and hence perhaps tax free or temple tenure.

be seen, therefore, that it is not altogether to be deplored that temples with historical associations do not receive frequent repairs! In the case before us, it is easy to supply the lost parts with the help of the related document I have just placed before you. With the omissions so made good, the inscription would read thus in English :—

No.  $\frac{4}{44}$ .

OLD TAMIL  
SEN TAMIL CURRENT.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year [opposite the year 336, since the appearance of Kollam] (1) with the sun \* day.. old in Taurus, Saturday, Makayirani star, the officers in charge of Nânjinâdu and the villagers of Tâlakkudi, assembling together, did as follows: in accordance with the Royal proclamation issued by the loyal chieftains of [Sri Vira] Iravi Varma Tiruvaḍi [ruling graciously over Venad], to provide *Tiruchênḍai* and *Tiru-Nandâ* lamp [for the Âlvâr in Puravari], in Puravari Chatur Vêdi Mangalam, we the people of Tâlakkudi [have caused demarcation stones bearing the emblem of the holy discus] to be put up at the boundaries of the paddy lands, [named Unnantittai measuring  $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{2}{20} + \frac{1}{3\frac{1}{2}0}$  and Puduvûr Mûlai] measuring  $\frac{3}{20}$ , making in all  $\frac{1\frac{1}{2}0}{20} + \frac{1}{3\frac{1}{2}0}$ , and irrigated by the Chârâr channel of Tâlakkudi-Kiḍachêri and by the waters of Cheyyânêri tank in Châravayal, and we [have made them over] to the servants of the Âlvâr, so as to enable them [to levy from this day forwards the rent due from them according to the rate current in the village], subject to minor charges and deductions, for the purpose of providing, without failure, and as long as the moon and stars endure, for the daily expenses, as well as for a holy *Nanda* lamp, as graciously commanded; in witness whereof, we the people of Tâlakkudi (hereunto affix) our signatures. Arayan Pasitângi, signature, Kêraḷan Araiyan, signature, \* \* \* Vikraman Arangan, signature, Vêlân Kêraḷan alias Nânjinâttu Mûvēnta Vêlân, signature. I \* \* \* of Panayûr wrote this deed, and wrote it at the bidding of the servants of the Âlvâr, and the people of Tâlai; [countersigned] \* \* \* Kêraḷa Sautôsha Pallavaraiyan, signature, Gôvindan Vikraman, signature, Anantan Sakrapâni, signature.

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(1) The parts within the square brackets are those supplied.

10. The grant declared in the previous inscription would thus appear to have been actually executed on that very day,—a fact reflecting no small credit on the administration of those ancient times. This document confirms the inference we have already drawn with respect to the extent of the Venad Principality on that day, since the executive officers who complete the transaction are styled ‘officers in charge of the affairs of Nānjinād,’—Nānjinād<sup>(1)</sup> being the collective designation for the two southernmost *taluks* of Travancore. The Chôla power then must have been by this time altogether extinct there; and it is quite possible that the Vaishnava temple at Puravari was thus patronized to spite the foreign Siva temple of Raiendra, not far from it. But it is always bad to attribute motives; and we shall, therefore, content ourselves with recording the fact that on the 7th of Idavam 336 M.E., Vira Ravi Varma ruled peacefully over all South Travancore, his affairs in Nānjinād being administered by a triumvirate, Kêraḷa Santôsha Pallavaraiyan,<sup>(2)</sup> probably in command of the local forces, if we may judge from his title, and Gôvindan Vikraman and Anantan Sakrapâṇi, in charge of the civil administration. His ministers of State at the capital were, as we have already seen, the loyal chieftains, Pullâlan Aiyar, Chingan Rangan, Nârâyaṇan Sankaran, and Kôdai Dêvan. I would request you to note also in passing the part played by Araiyan Pasitāṅgi and others, representing the village of Tālakkudi. It is remarkable that the people of Tālakkudi had the right to execute, and in a manner to ratify, the royal grant. The reservation as to minor charges and deductions, appearing in this inscription but absent in the former, would point to certain cesses, levied

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(1) It is indifferently spelt now *Nānjanād* and *Nānjinād*, the correct form being *Nānjinādu* meaning ‘the land of ploughs.’

(2) Pallavaraiyan, meaning the king of the Pallavas, is an old military title. It was sometimes conferred also on men of letters as a special mark of royal favour, e.g., on the author of “*Periyapurāṇa*.”

by village associations, on lands falling within their union. More of this in its proper place. There is a word in this inscription which I do not quite understand, viz., *Tiruchēṇṇidai*, though from the context it may be safely taken to signify some kind of daily offerings in Vaishnava temples.

11. On the southern wall of this temple, and not far from the inscription No. 43, containing the royal grant of Unnan Tittai and other lands, is found a small document, in four short lines, recording another royal grant on the 8th of Chingam 342 M.E. It purports also to be issued under Sign Manual, though it does not mention the name of the sovereign, which, however, we would be justified in assuming to be the same as in the two preceding records, until contradicted by other evidence. It may be thus rendered into English :—

No.  $\frac{5}{43}$ .

OLD TAMIL  
SEN TAMIL CURRENT.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year 342, after the appearance of Kollam, with the sun 7 days old in Leo, (i.e. the 8th of Chingam), was passed the following deed in *cadjan* :—The land granted under command to feed two *waṇṇ* Brahmin passengers, measure  $\frac{1}{20}$  in \* \* \* Nilakaṇḍan Paṇṇu, and is irrigated by the river Kōttāṇṇu and the Kaicheṇṇai channel: Nārāyaṇan Kunraṇ Pēraṇ, signature, Kāḷi Kūṇṇa Pēraṇ, (1) signature, and Sign Manual.

12. The brevity of this document would lead us to suppose that it was a sort of note, issued under royal signature, and transmitted by two of the private secretaries in the palace, to the ministers of Stāte, with a view to have the usual more formal proclamation prepared and submitted. Anyhow, it may be taken to prove that Sri Vira Ravi Varma continued to rule Venad till at least the 8th day of Chingam 342 M.E., or about the end of August 1166.

13. Vira Ravi Varma, however, could not have enjoyed the throne of Venad much longer after that date, for we

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(1) This word is rather indistinct. From the way which it is repeated it would appear to have been a kind of title.



have evidence to show that on the 10th Minam 348 M.E., it was occupied by another sovereign, *Sri Viru Udaiya Mārtāṇḍa Varma*. This evidence is obtained from an inscription in *Vatṭeḷuttu* at *Tiruvattar*, as it is now called, about 5 miles to the east of *Kulitturai*, which is itself half way between Trivandram and Olugunachêri. In the inscription before us the place is named *Tiru Vāṭṭaru*, and 'the old Vaishṇava Tamil hymns, *Tiruvāy mōḷi*, agree with our record in that spelling.<sup>(1)</sup> But the Sanscrit *Stala Purāṇa*, in manuscript, with which this place is honoured, prefers obviously to follow its modern corrupt designation, and calls it *Chakra Tīrta*, by way of translation. There could of course be not the least objection to the holy *Stala Purāṇa* using the modern name, but then it must surrender its insolent pretensions to antiquity. The work claims to be an integral portion of *Padma Purāṇa* and purports to report *verbatim*, in a series of ungrammatical *ślōkas*, a discourse of Siva, at Mount Kailas, extolling to his spouse, the unequalled sanctity of *Tiruvattār*, based mainly on the ground of certain dubious tactics, practised by the local deity on two supra-mundane monsters.<sup>(2)</sup> On things earthly, and still more on local matters of any historical import, the legend preserves absolute silence. Its writer, however, must have been evidently struck by the similarity of the temples and idols at Tiruvattar and Trivandram, as well as the identity of the dates of their principal feasts, since now and again he makes Siva compliment the former by calling it *Ādhyānandapura* or original Trivandram. It is on the southern wall of the main sanctuary at Tiruvattar that the document I am now to translate is found.

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(1) “கட்டித்தொண்டுவணங்க” கருணாநிதிப்பகுப்புகள்” Similarly in all the 11 stanzas of the 9th *Pattu* in the *Pattūmpattu of Sadha Gōpālvar*.

(2) These monsters are called Kēsan and Kēsi. Kēsan is killed and Kēsi, his sister, comes in the form of a stream to avenge the slaughter. The whole looks like an old Dravidian river myth, modified and adapted to suit the character of the local deity.

No. 6.  
10.VATTELUTTU  
OLD MALAYALAM.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 348, with Jupiter in Cancer, and the sun \* \* days old in Pisces (*i.e.* in the Malabar month Minam), Thursday, Anusham star, Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtâtta<sup>(1)</sup> Varma Tiruvaḍi graciously reigning at Kôḷidaik-kûṟu in Venad, brought to Kīlachchêri Palace, in Kôḍai Nallûr, in the form of *Nêli*, 3 *slâkas* and 30 *aḷagachchu*, due on [or to be advanced on the security of] the lands belonging to Âdichchan Udaiyañnan and brothers, viz., Cheriyaakarai Kûṭṭya Parai measuring \* \* \* Mâtṭarai measuring \* \*, making in both \* \* \*, in order that the fixed and regular allowances of *Pallikonda*<sup>(2)</sup> *Perumâl* at Tiruvâtṭaru, amounting to rice \* \* \* [might be continued without failure]; the income per harvest being \* \* \*.

14. This is one of the Vatteluttu inscriptions with me of which I cannot satisfy myself that I have found the full import. The only finite verb I can find in it is—“*Konduvannu*,” meaning “brought,” occurring nearly at the very end of the document; but with the omissions and difficulties in the previous parts of the sentence, I cannot be sure that its nominative is Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma. The obsolete word “*Nêli*,” which we have already met in Inscription No. 2, may be taken here also to mean capital, or a sum of money. Both from the context and from the numerals following the terms, *Slâkai* and *Aḷagachchu* must refer to the currency then in use. *Slâka* usually means a metallic rod of silver or gold. According to Tamil *Nikaṇḍu*, it might mean also a superior kind of gem. All the three ideas, however, are closely related to one another and to money. It is quite possible that bars of silver or gold passed in those days, as currency, with or without Government stamp. “*Achchu*” of course, as in number 2, cannot

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(1) Mârtâtta is an obvious error for Mârtâṇḍa.

(2) The Perumal in a reclining posture as in Trivandram Srirangam and Seringapatam.

but mean coin, the addition of *Aḷagu* (fair) being but expletive as in '*Aḷagia Attippérólai*' meaning the *fair* title-deed. But I see no means of determining the value of *Slāka* and *Achchu* either in themselves or in relation to one another. All that we can safely conjecture is that a considerable sum of money was taken to Kīlachchêri Palace. Why it was taken to that place, when it was evidently meant to be utilized for the temple at Tiruvattar, is an embarrassing question, to which I can find no answer. It is equally difficult to understand how so large an amount came to be due from the lands owned by *Âdichchan Udaiyannan* and brothers. Since the last indistinct words of the document seem to indicate the quantity of paddy due every harvest, it is quite possible that the amount, instead of being taken from them, was only advanced to Udaiyannan and brothers on the security of their lands, and on the understanding that a stated quantity of paddy would be delivered every harvest in return therefor. Hence the alternative construction given in the translation above. On the whole, therefore, the document before us must be put down as one yet demanding attention and study.

15. Nevertheless, for our main purpose in this connexion, it is as good a record as any we have yet had, for it affords indubitable evidence of the reign of Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma in Minam 348 M.E., or approximately speaking in March 1173. It being but six years since we met Ravi Varma instituting the second grant at Puravari, there can be no legitimate doubt of Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma being his immediate successor. The document gives us further the valuable information that Kôḷidaikkûru was the capital of Venad—at any rate, on the date of this record. As far as I can make out, this capital of Vira Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa is identical with the now insignificant village of Kuḷikôḍ, near Padmanâbhapuram, Kôḍai Nallûr being a well-known place thereabouts. If my identification is correct, the way in which the old name has been corrupted by usage might throw light upon the

original name of our modern Calicut or *Kôlikôd*. It would appear more reasonable to derive *Kôlikôd* from *Kôlidai Kûru*,—"the suitable middle part" of Malabar,—than to trace it to the clever fiction that the territory was handed over to the *Zamorin*, to be measured out by the distance to which the *crowing of the cock could be heard*.<sup>(1)</sup> However that be, if *Kôlidai Kûru* was ever "the suitable centre" of Venad, as the name indicates, we have some means of determining the original extent of that ancient Principality. Taking this village or Padmanâbhapuram as the centre and Cape Comorin as a point in the circumference, Venad, as it originally stood, could not have embraced any territory further north of Trivandram. But the etymology of geographical names is not always a reliable guide to history.

16. But, whatever might have been the original extent of Venad, in the 4th Malabar century, it did include Trivandram, its present capital. For in 365 M.E. we find *Âditya Râma Varma* making a present of a drum to the temple of Krishna in this town. The gift is recorded in a Sanskrit slôka inscribed in old Malayalam characters on the northern wall of the inner shrine of the *Gôsâla Krishna* temple. With the exception of those at Mitrânandapuram this shrine appears to me to be the oldest in the Trivandram Fort. In itself, it is a comparatively small building, standing in the middle of a rectangular outer temple called *Gôsâla* or cowshed, and the whole is situated in rather inconvenient contact with the north-western corner of the square formed by the corridors of the grand Sri Bali Maṇḍapam of Sri Pudmanâbha, the presiding deity of the place. Tradition, for the nonce realistic, points to a worn out granite tub, still remaining close to the wall bearing our inscription, as a memento of the good old days

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(1) This fanciful derivation illustrates how traditions are invented in Southern India. It is but typical of what uniformly takes place with respect to most names of castes, villages, and customs.

when the poor folks of the village resorted to it to whet their knives and hatchets before proceeding to the jungles around to fell and fetch fuel. The explanation suits very well, indeed, the appearance of the time-honoured tub, and also what may be otherwise inferred as to the past of the locality. It would be but easy and pleasant exercise for historical imagination to picture, with the abundant evidences yet available, the real and original 'cowshed' and the patches of paddy lands and plantain *tôpes* by which it was then on all sides surrounded. But long before the date of our document, the primeval peace and solitude of the place must have been to a large extent broken. The Brahmin landlords of the north must have, centuries prior, planted a colony at Mitranandapuram as an outpost in their advance to the south. The Gôsâla itself was now a shrine worthy of a royal visit, and I feel inclined to think that the visit itself was induced by that Brahmin colony for some political purpose or other yet further north. At any rate, I fancy, it is to some learned member of that body we owe the *ślôka* which to us commemorates the reign of Âditya Râma Varma in 365 M.E. The verse may be thus translated :—

No. 7  
86.

ARCHAIC MALAYALAM(1)  
SANSKRIT VERSE.(2)

Hail! Prosperity! In Dhanus (Sagittarius) and when Life was at its height, Âditya Râma, who is the bearer of the State Umbrella of Kôda Mâtânda, the lord of Gôlamba, and who is further the soul of the earth, both prosperous and honoured, dedicated, after making due oblations, to the Lotus-eyed of the Temple of the Cowshed, in (the town of) Syânandûra, a good drum made of silver, as huge as Mantara mountain, and as lustrous as all the foam of the oceans gathered together.

17. Such is the literal rendering of the rather cleverly

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(1) Many letters of Archaic Malayalam differ from the characters now in use, though the affinity between the two sets is easy to discover.

(2) The metre of this verse is *Sriidhdhara Vrittam*.

composed Sanscrit distich before us. But as we know cleverness in Indian versification means to a large extent skill in the use of tantalizing phraseology, with a view to suggest and yet to hide the thoughts to be expressed, it behoves us to look into the lines a little closer.

18. Though the word Dhanus (Bow) is evidently intended to suggest that Âditya Râma was, not only the inheritor of the State Umbrella of Kôda Mârtânda, but also the carrier of his bow, or perhaps his standard bearing that device of the Chêra sovereigns,<sup>(1)</sup> yet being in its locative case, it cannot but mean 'the month of Dhanus,' i.e., the month in which the sun is in the sign of Sagittarius. Similarly, the expression when *Life* was at its height has its obvious astronomical interpretation. '*Jîva*' means Jupiter, and astrology assumes that that favourite planet reaches its 'height,' when it is in the sign of Cancer.<sup>(2)</sup> The use of the word '*Gôlamba*' again, or as it is now more usually spelt '*Kôlamba*,' indicates that somewhere close by lies buried the year of the inscription in the *Kôlamba* or Kollam Era, the discovery of which, however, in old verses like the one before us, is often as hard as a feat of astrological divination itself. A reference to Dr. Burnell's *Palaeography*, pages 77 to 80, would show the extent of the resources at the disposal of the Sanscrit

(1) In old classical times, the Bow was the emblem of the Cheras as the Fish was of the Pandyas and the Tiger of the Cholas.

(2) This is certainly the interpretation according to current astrology, but it scarcely seems to me to be correct. Jupiter was in the sign of Cancer in 348 according to our inscription No. 6, and his period of revolution being roughly taken as 12 years, it is impossible that he should be again in the same sign in 365. It is possible that astrology has changed, or that the expression 'at its height' has no special astrological meaning in this connection. On the other hand, since Inscription No. 8A assigns Jupiter to Virgo in 368, he must have been somewhere about Cancer in 365. But inscriptions Nos. 9 and 10 again locate Jupiter in Cancer in 371 and 384, and all the subsequent notices agree with them. All the references to astronomical facts in these early records require verification. I give them in these pages as I find them.

versifier to find convenient sepulchres for the dates he might occasionally condescend to embalm in his measured lines. But in the case before us, there can be no doubt that the symbolism followed is what is called the '*Kaḍubayādi*' system of giving conventional numerical values to the letters of the alphabet; and the word whose component letters are here to be so valued can be none else than '*Mārtāṇḍa*,'—the word immediately preceding the term '*Kôḷamba*.' No other term in the neighbourhood is capable of expressing a possible past date in that Era. I scruple not, therefore, to conclude that the date of this document is Dhanus 365 M.E., or about the end of December 1189, when, astrologically speaking, Jupiter was in the zenith of his power in that part of the Heavens which is graced by the figure of the crab.

19. But for our present inquiry, it is more to the point to know who was then in power here below in Travancore. "The prosperous and honoured soul of the earth" at that period, we are told, was one Âditya Râma. But with all my appreciation for the poet's feelings of loyalty, and commiseration for the common weakness to exaggerate the glory of the powers that are, I cannot but still complain that he did not somehow manage to put in '*Venad*' instead of the whole earth. For as the lines now stand, it is not impossible for a sceptic to question whether Âditya Râma did really belong to that Venad Dynasty, whose history we are here engaged in tracing. I do not, however, for my part, feel that there can be much scope for any legitimate doubt on the point, particularly with the information placed at our disposal by the inscriptions Nos. 9 and 10 in the sequel. But the poet seems to make amends for this defect by the mention of an important ancestor of Âditya Râma. Âditya Râma is said to have been "the bearer of the umbrella of Kôda Mārtāṇḍa, the lord of Kôḷamba," which cannot but mean that he inherited from the latter his umbrella, or crown as we would now say, since

one described as the 'honoured soul of the earth' could not have been the personal servant of another individual. Who then was this Kôda Mârtâṇḍa, "the *Īsa* or the God of Kôḷamba"? Kôḷamba is usually taken as the Sanscrit name for the Malabar Era otherwise called the Kollam year. It is sometimes assumed<sup>(1)</sup> to have been the ancient name of the seemingly modern seaport of Quilon, about 40 miles to the north of Trivandram. Whether the identification of Kôḷamba with Quilon in Travancore be correct or incorrect, it means, in the couplet before us, only the Era, and not any particular place, unless, of course, a play upon the word is intended. I am inclined, therefore, to interpret 'God of Kôḷamba' to mean but one who instituted or took part in the institution of the Era of Kôḷamba, or the Kollam year, in which case there would be also an obvious justification for the mention of this ancestor in particular, famous as he must have been in those early days. The traditional account of the origin of the Kollam Era, as given in Mr. Shangoonny Menon's History, lends all support to this interpretation, which, in simple fairness, I must say, struck me as the one most natural *altogether independent of that account*. "In the Kāli year 3926 (825 A.D.) when Udaiya Martanda Varma was residing in Kollam<sup>(2)</sup> (Quilon), he convened a council of all the learned men of Kerala with the object of introducing a new era, and after making some astronomical researches and calculating the solar movements throughout the 12 signs of the Zodiac and counting scientifically the number of days

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(1) For instance, *vide* page 163, Part III., Travancore Government Almanac for 1894.

(2) According to this tradition then, the Era has nothing to do with the foundation or 'refoundation' of the town of Quilon, as stated in the Travancore Government Almanac, page 162, Part III. Our inscriptions, however, allude to the '*appearance*' of Kollam, which I take to mean the 'institution' of the era, and not the foundation of any town. No town of any magnitude is known to have been founded in Malabar to give rise to an Era.



occupied in this revolution in every month, it was resolved to adopt the new era from the first of Chingam of that year, the 15th August 825, as Kollam year one, and to call it the solar year.”<sup>(1)</sup> Whatever might be thought of this explanation of the origin of the era, there can be no doubt that tradition reckons one *Udaiya Mārtāṇḍa Varma* as having taken part in its institution. The change from *Kōḍai Mārtāṇḍa* of our inscription to *Udaiya Mārtāṇḍa* of the tradition is easy and natural, the latter being a more frequent, as well as a more significant, adjunct of Mārtāṇḍa, in the more favoured Sanscrit language than the Malayalam word ‘Kōḍa.’ In justice to Mr. Shangoonny Menon, I must note also that I find in his pages a mention of Āḍitya Varma as the Sovereign of Travancore about the date of our record. “In like manner,” writes this author, “the present Poonjar Rajah, who was a close relation of the Pandyan dynasty, emigrated to Travancore, and the hill territories of Poonjar were assigned as the residence of his family during the reign of king Aditya Varma of Travancore in 364 M.E. (1189 A.D.).”<sup>(2)</sup> We have only to expand *Āḍitya Varma* into *Āḍitya Rāma Varma* to make the name accord with our inscriptions. It would be extremely interesting indeed to prove, with the help of Mr. Shangoonny Menon’s records, *could we but get hold of them*, that Āḍitya Rāma Varma, just a year previous to the date of his dedication of the drum to the temple of Gōsāla at Trivandram, was in a position to assign away to a fugitive foreign Royal family a territory so far in the north as Poonjar.<sup>(3)</sup> However that be, we have, I believe, sufficient evidence to maintain, in the meantime, that Āḍitya Rāma Varma ruled over Venad in the Malabar

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(1) Vide page 88, Shangoonny Menon’s *History of Travancore*.

(2) Page 92, Shangoonny Menon’s *History of Travancore*.

(3) Poonjar, or Pūññāru, is on the borders of the Madura District further to the north of Peermade. There is every likelihood of the old chieftain of this place having had some relation or other with Madura. His family deity to this day is ‘*Minākshi of Madura*.’

mouth of Dhanus 365 M.E., and that his ancestor, Kôda Mârtanḍa Varma, was the ruler of the same Kingdom, in the Kollam year one, *i.e.*, about August 824.

20. Permit me now to submit to you two small fragments, unworthy of your attention, but for the important quarter from which they come. Next to Trivandram itself, the place now most closely associated with the ruling Royal family is Ârringal, about 22 miles to the north of Trivandram, and situated on the northern bank of the Vâmanapuram river, about four miles from its mouth in the Anjengo backwaters. The female members of the Royal House are now known as the *Râṇis of Ârringal*, and the village and the country thereabouts are still regarded as their private property. Each Travancore Sovereign has now to visit the place soon after his coronation to complete the ceremonies in connection therewith, and he is expected further to renew that visit every year of his reign. It is difficult to believe that such attentions and honours are allowed to the spot, simply because of an accident of a palace having been constructed there, to accommodate two adopted *Râṇis*, as stated by Mr. Shangoonny Menon. "During the 5th century M.E., and in the reign of King Aditya Varma, the Travancore Royal family was under the necessity of adopting two females from the Kolathnad Royal family, and a royal residence was constructed at Attingal, for the residence of the two Ranis, and they were installed as Attingal Mootha Thampuran and Elia Thumpuran, *i.e.*, Senior and Junior Ranis of Attingal. The country around Attingal was assigned to them, and the revenue derived therefrom was placed at their disposal."<sup>(1)</sup> Until we know for certain the nature of the authority on which this statement is based, we may scruple to accept the account, as a sufficient explanation of the anomalous relation of Ârringal to the Royal Household. Even

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(1) Page 93, Shangoonny Menon's *History of Travancore*.

assuming that a particular King of Venad, in the 5th century went so far out of his way as to look to Kôlatnâd for heirs to his own dominions, it is still, I am afraid, not very likely that the fair members, so introduced into his own family, would be located, in those troublesome days, altogether away from South Travancore, the acknowledged seat of his own power. Antecedent probability is in favour of Ârringal having been at one time an independent principality, the first of those merged later on into Venad. The early aggressive vigour of the kingdom of Venad, meeting with insuperable difficulties in the more exposed and troublesome eastern border, over which it had once extended itself, as proved by the inscriptions said to exist in Chêra Mahâ Dêvi and other villages of South Tinnevely,<sup>(1)</sup> must have next turned itself to the north, where evidently it found freer scope for exercise. The first State then to be absorbed would naturally be Ârringal, supposing it was then independent. And to account for the facts, we have next only to assume that for conciliating the newly added province, an alliance through marriage or adoption was effected with the House of Ârringal, the name *Râjâs of Ârringal* being continued, with the same object and in the same manner, as in the familiar case of the "*Prince of Wales*." A strong presumption is raised in favour of such a hypothesis by the fact of *Kilppêrûr* being found annexed as the house name of the Venad Princes in later inscriptions. *Kilppêrûr* is an old and ruined village, unapproachable by cart or boat, about 8 miles to the north-east of Ârringal. The country about Ârringal seems to have been known in early times as *Kûpadêsam*,<sup>(2)</sup>—a province altogether dis-

(1) Plenty of valuable inscriptions are found in several old villages of this district, which, as far as I know, have not yet seen the light of day, both literally and metaphorically! *Chêra Mahâ Dêvi* is now spelt *Sherma-devi*.

(2) Dr. Gundert thinks that *Kûpa Râjyam* was probably identical with *Kumbalam*, but notes at the same time that 'other manuscripts exchange it for *Mûshikam*, the most southern quarter.' *Kumbalam*, as far as I am aware, is between Cochin and Alleppy. Ârringal would be the most southern quarter excepting Venad.

inct from Venad. An inscription of Râjarâja Chôla dated in the 30th year of his reign claims for him a decisive victory over the *King of the Kûpakâs*. The Tamil Poem, *Kalingattu Parani*, of the days of Kulôttunga Chola, enumerates the *Kûpakâs* among the subject races that paid tribute to that Emperor.<sup>(1)</sup> The identification of Ârringal with *Kûpadêsam* is rendered almost certain by an inscription in the *Âpanêswara* temple, about 2 miles from Ârringal, dated as late as 751 of the Malâbar Era, which speaks of the princess who repaired that shrine as the *Queen of the Kûpakâs*. If *Kûpa Râjyam* and Venad were thus at one time two co-ordinate provinces of Malabar, and if, in later times, we find the Princes of the latter appropriating to themselves, as their *House name*, the name of a locality situated in the former, it cannot be a violent assumption to suppose that the two were originally independent principalities, and that their amalgamation took place under such circumstances as led to a compromise, the weaker party submitting to the stronger on the condition of the stronger appropriating, not only the kingdom, but also the family name of the weaker. In short, it looks not in the least unlikely that when the power of Venad prevailed over Ârringal, some matrimonial or other alliance was concluded which naturally led the blood of Ârringal to prevail, in its turn, in the veins of the Venad Princes.

21. But of course all this is more or less pure speculation, and must remain as such only, until it can find support in inscriptions or other indubitable facts. Unfortunately, though Ârringal has within a small area more than four pretty decent temples, testifying to its once affluent circumstances, there is in none of them any inscription referring to early historical facts. The temple that would appear to be now most closely associated with the palace is the one called '*Puttankâvu*' or 'new grove,' dedicated to *Bhagavati*.

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(1) *Vide* Verse 8, Chapter XI. *Kalingattu Parani*.

It is Bhagavati again that is worshipped in the old local palace, under the name of '*Palliarai Bhagavati*,' or 'The bed chamber Bhagavati.' It is rather difficult to determine whether 'the Bhagavati of the bed chamber' is really a goddess, or only a deified ancestor, say the last of the independent queens of Ârringal. To the west of the palace, and in close contiguity with the principal *Vishnu* temple of the station, stands a small neat shrine, dedicated to *Peru Uḍaiyâr*,<sup>(1)</sup> apparently the same deity as is worshipped in Râjarâja Chôla's temple at Tanjore, but sadly unlike that model in having no inscriptions whatever. About two miles to the east of Ârringal, and not far to the west of the populous Brahmin village, called Âvanamchêri,<sup>(2)</sup> lies a petty hamlet with the historical name of *Vira Kêraḷam*, now corrupted into *Viraṇam*. An old neglected temple in this village owns the earliest inscriptions I can find in this locality. There are two of them in this temple, but both of them are extremely disappointing fragments. The first is inscribed on the north-eastern corner of the shrine itself, while the second is engraved on the altar outside the square enclosure now in ruins. How sadly incomplete they are will be seen from the renderings below :—

No. 8A  
83.

VATTELUTTU  
TAMIL.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 368, with Jupiter in Virgo, and the sun two days' old in Taurus, Kilp \* \*

(1) *Peru Uḍaiyâr* does not mean, as both people and *pandits* now generally suppose, the 'God of copious clothing,' but the "great Lord or Master." *Uḍaiyâr* was further the family name of Rajaraja and other Chôlas of his dynasty.

(2) It is curious how false learning interferes with etymology. Fastidious scholars now pronounce this name *Avanavanchêri*, and suppose it to signify 'every one's own village,' and not 'the village with a market' as it may be so naturally and so easily taken to mean.

No. 8B  
83.VATTELUTTU  
TAMIL.

Sri Dēvadāram<sup>(1)</sup> Kêraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi graciously consecrated [this shrine].

22. It is of course impossible now to say whether the two broken inscriptions form parts of the same record, or even whether they relate to the same subject. But should we venture to connect them together, which of course is by no means safe, though not an unprecedented procedure in Epigraphy, we could have evidence of some sort for the date of another sovereign, presumably of Venad. I say *presumably* only, because it is quite possible that Kêraḷa Varma who founded this temple belonged to an independent principality, say of Ârringal itself. The word *Kiḷppêrûr*, with the first syllable of which the first fragment breaks off, is intended to refer no doubt to *Kiḷpperûr Nḷam* or *House*, by which the ruling family is designated in later inscriptions; but since earlier documents in my possession do not mention any such house name, it is by itself no guarantee that the reference is to the Venad dynasty, at least before its fusion with the Ârringal or some other more northern royal House as observed above. Only after these possible sources of error are duly provided for, can we conclude, even supposing the two fragments to relate to the same subject matter, that there reigned over Venad one Kêraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi about the beginning of Iḍavam 368 M.E., or about the latter half of May 1193. Still, as the balance of evidence is in favour of such a presumption, we will provisionally call him Vîra Kêraḷa Varma II.,—the prefix Vîra, which occurs invariably in all the known old names of the dynasty, being preserved to us in the name of the village where the record is found. We shall, of course, await the result of further researches to convert the presumption into a fact.

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(1) The word is not *Dēvadām*, but clearly *Dēvadāram*, though I cannot make out what it means.

23. But no such scruple need be entertained to pronounce that on the 25th of Mēdam 371, the ancient throne of Venad was occupied by His Highness *Sri Vira Râma Varma Tiruvāḍi*. My authority for the statement is a long *Vatteluttu* record in 9 lines, inscribed on the southern wall of a small temple, in a village now called Kuṇamgarai, to the south-east of the Vellāṇṇ fresh water lake, about 8 miles to the south of Trivandram. It would read thus if translated :—

No.  $\frac{9}{60}$ .

VATTELUTTU  
OLD MALAYALAM.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 371, with Jupiter in Cancer, and the sun 24 days old in Aries, is made the following grant :—The loyal chieftains of Sri Vira Râma Varma Tiruvāḍi, graciously ruling over Venad, make over in writing, as a solemn gift ratified with water, the (locality of) *Sērikkal*, in Chemkōṭṭāru, belonging to the said chieftains, to Vāna Mādhava Nārāyaṇa Viṇṇagar Alyān of Tirukkunagarai, to provide for all his daily expenses, and one holy *Nanda* lamp. From this time forwards, the manager of the temple of Tirukkunagarai shall, under the supervision of the *Six Hundred* of Venad and of the district officers and agents, take sole possession of all things whatsoever in this *Sērikkal*, with the exception of the paddy land, granted already under command by the said chieftains to meet the expenses of the *Bhattāraka* of Nēliyūr, and the manager shall duly supply according to the regulated measurement, four *nālies* of rice of proper quality for holy offerings, and also one holy *Nanda* lamp. The paddy per year required to provide the daily offerings of four *nālies* of rice, exclusive of pounding charges, amounting to 10 *Kāl* (?) and 24 *Kalams*, and the ghee and thread, required every day for the holy *Nanda* lamp, should be supplied without failure. The expenses shall be met out of the proceeds of the '*ūrāl*' lands on both the sides, the lower and the higher, of Chenkōṭṭāru, and also the higher fields and Koḍumkarai compound, both falling under the *Kārāṇmai* tenure, as well as from the (labour of the) predial slaves thereunto attached, all of which shall be now forthwith taken possession of (by the said

manager). If the supply fails once, double the default shall be paid. If twice, twice the default and fine. If thrice, *the Six Hundred*, the officers, and the *Valamjars* of the 18 districts shall institute inquiries, and see to carry out this arrangement without failure, as long as the moon and the stars endure. Pillars<sup>(1)</sup> having been raised so as to mark and include the four limits thereof, this *sēri* (or portion of a village) is granted, under the *Tiruvēdaiyāttam* tenure, according to Royal command; all of which facts (the following) do know (and can attest), viz., Kaṇḍan Kaṇḍan of Tākka Kokka Compound, Kēraḷan Īswaran of Tānamankōttam, Ādi Tiruvikraṭṭan Parnan, and Gōvīndan Kumāran of Paṭṭāḷi. This is in my hand, Kaṇḍan Udaiyanan of Kaitavāy (signature.) <sup>(2)</sup>

24. Thus then, beyond all doubt, there reigned over Venad on the 25th Mēḍam 371 M.E. or about the beginning of May 1196, His Highness Sri Vīra Rāma Varma Tiruvaḍi. It is but one month and 23 years since we came across Sri Vira Udaiya Mārtāṇḍa Varma at Tiruvaṭṭar, in our inscription No. 6—the last firm ground we had. The interval cannot surely be considered too large for one reign, supposing we are constrained by further researches to reject, as foreign to the Dynasty, both Āditya Rāma Varma of the Gōsāla inscription, and Kēraḷa Varma II. of the Āringal fragments. But the latter contingency, at any rate, as far as Āditya Rāma is concerned, is so far improbable, that it may be well set aside, except in the way of satisfying the conscience of the ultra-sceptical. If we admit then either of these two names, we abridge the intervāl respectively to six or three years:—periods too short to disturb in the least our belief in the uninterrupted succession of the sovereigns our records have served us to bring to light.

25. Before quitting the inscription in hand, I would

(1) *Ḡṣṣṣṣṣṣ* is the word used, which means according to Dr. Gundert, 'Post with an inscription or device.'

(2) The rest of the persons here named do not sign the deed, each says only 'he knows.'



just call your attention to two or three striking features in the social economy of the times. Besides the village associations we have already noticed, Venad, it would appear, had for the whole State an important public body under the name of "The Six Hundred," to supervise, for one thing, the working of temples and charities connected therewith. What other powers and privileges this remarkable corporation of "The Six Hundred" was in possession of, future investigation can alone determine. But a number so large, nearly as large as the British House of Commons, could not have been meant, in so small a state as Venad was in the 12th century, for the single function of temple supervision. There is an allusion again in this record to the *Valanjiars* of the 18 districts. The 18 districts were, no doubt, the 18 administrative divisions of Venad. Some of the names of these districts we might come across in the sequel. But who the *Valanjiars* of the districts were is a more puzzling question. As far as I can make out, the word reads only as *Valanjiar*, but neither in Tamil nor in Malayalam am I aware of any current term of that description. It is an obvious derivative from the Tamil word '*Valam*,' and the leading meaning of that term is 'greatness, dignity or honour.' If I am right in my reading, we may reasonably presume that the eighteen *Valanjiars* were the 18 local magnates, or feudal Barons of the Realm. They were, as far as I can see, not men in the Royal service, who are always described as those who carry out *Paṇi* meaning 'work,' or *Kāryam* meaning 'business.' Both these latter descriptions occur in the document before us. But whatever was the difference in rank, emolument, and position, between those who carried out the 'work' of the State, and those who attended to its 'business,' the *Valanjiars* of the land would appear to have been above them both. It looks probable that the "loyal chieftains," whom we have now met so frequently transacting business in the name of the king and forming as it were his Government or cabinet ministry, came from

this class of *Valanjiars* or feudal Barons. That there were slaves attached to the land, and that there were two important kinds of land tenure, *Ūrū* or *ūrāṇmai*, subject to the village associations, and *Kāraṇmai* or freeholds, directly under the State, are other interesting items of information we may glean from this record, though they may not be equally novel.

26. Allow now thirteen years to elapse, and we meet with another king of Venad, *Sri Vira Rāman Kēraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi*. I base this statement on a *Vatṭeḷuttu* inscription in Sri<sup>o</sup> Pudmanābhaswamy's temple, in the capital itself. Unfortunately, however, it is a mutilated one, nearly one half of it being missing. All the greater is the pity of it, since the fine bold *Vatṭeḷuttu* characters, in which it is inscribed, would have otherwise made the copy of it, both palæographically and historically, one of the very best samples in my collection. The locality in which the mutilated document is now found can scarcely have been its original abode. The unhappy slab, so sadly in need of its engraved partner, cannot be said to be itself fairly above ground! Any one wishing to pay a visit of condolence to this mournful survivor must be prepared to assume a befitting humble attitude! Passing by the flag-staff and going in at the main eastern gate of the temple, let him walk straight on till he crosses the gateway of the second enclosure. There if he stands in as lowly an attitude of worship as he could possibly assume, he will descry, in the nethermost row of stones forming the low passage wall to his left, the gloomy object he is in quest of, neat and remarkably well dressed for the situation! But should he be curious to note the rather deep and clear furrows on its fallen face, his devotion ought to go deeper; he ought to lie flat on the ground leaning somewhat on the right side, not much minding the unctuous floor beneath, or the untoward heels of the *Achchies*.<sup>(1)</sup> He might only

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(1) These are the sweeper women of the temple.

then discover and fully realize the lamentable bereavement he has come to condole on. He would, doubtless, then find out for himself that the unlucky stone before him is but one of a well meaning and well wedded couple that did once stand shoulder to shoulder, through weal and woe, until the wayward Fates, envious of such firm and changeless attachment, sent them the curse of the *Mārāmut cōḍly*, who, dismembering their home and tearing them asunder, whirled away this particular individual to its present aimless posture, alone and away from its dear companion, and unable in consequence to make its two ends meet! But Science which can reconstruct a Plesiosaurus from a single tooth or a single rib, ought to be superior to the Fates! With the help of other inscriptions in my collection, I have in a measure succeeded in conjecturing what the two stones together would have told us; and with the omissions so supplied, the translation of the document would read thus:—

No.  $\frac{10}{61}$ .

VATTELUTTU  
OLD MALAYALAM.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 384, with Jupiter in Cancer, [and the sun \* days old in Gemini](1) in the presence of the Tiruvānandapuram Association and its Sabhañjita, assembled in the southern [Hall] of Mitrānandapuram, [under the solemn] presidency of [the Bhaṭṭāraka], \* \* tiṅga(2) Pallavarayan, [the loyal chieftain of] Sri Vira Irāmaṇ [Kēraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi] of holy Venad, [made a free grant of certain lands] belonging to the said \* tiṅga Pallavarayan, in Cheyyamaṇ and Kaḷattūr, [to be taken charge of by such and such, under such and such arrangements,] with the object of providing daily four *nālīs* of rice and condiments [partly] to be used as offering to the *Perumāḷ* of Tiruvānandapuram, and [partly] to feed one Brahmin, besides providing every year on the *Uttiram* star in (the month of) *Panguṇi*,(3) [a special feast or lustration.]

(1) The parts within square brackets are those supplied.

(2) Looks like a corruption of Chingū or Simha.

(3) The principal festival of the temple still takes place about this time. Uttiram or Utram is a star about the tail of Leo Major.

[The daily offering to the *Perumāl* shall be made] when a man's shadow in the sun measures 12 ft.<sup>(1)</sup> [and the rice so offered shall be made over to such and such, who in return therefor] shall supply [each day] one garland to adorn the *Perumāl*. If the supply (of this stated quantity) of paddy fails once, [double the default shall be paid. If twice, twice the default and fine. If thrice] in succession, the property shall be confiscated, and the amount of paddy recovered and measured out. [If any dispute arises thereon,] the case shall be taken to *Sri Pāṭṭam* and the question then finally decided. To which effect [witness below our hands,\* \*] of Kaitaviḷḡam. The first half-yearly [payments will be due] in the month of *Vrichigam* in Kollam 385.

27. Such in substance would be the document, if the portions lost are supplied, as far as it is now practicable to do, with the help of the context and of similar records with me. Happily for us, so far as important historical facts are concerned, there is little or no room for any legitimate doubt. For instance, comparing the inscription before us with the one to be given next, how can one reasonably doubt that the full name of the king who ruled Venad on the date of this document was *Sri Vīra Irāman Kēraḷa Varma*? The last letter in the part of the name actually found is (𑌕) *ni*, which can combine with no other letter in the alphabet than a *K.*; and our next inscription, which is but five years later, completes the name exactly as we should expect. Fortunately for us, again, the last word with which the opening line breaks off is Kollam 384,—the year of our document; and the date is confirmed, if need be, by the closing line, fixing the time for the payment of the first half-yearly dues in *Vrichigam* 385. This mention of the month with which the first half-year ends enables us further to fix the month of the grant itself as *Mithunam* preceding. Supposing a full half-year was to expire in *Vrichigam* for the payment to be due, we have only to shift

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(1) Technically called *Pantiraḷi* or 'the 12th feet offering.'

the date of the grant a month earlier, *i.e.* Idavam 384. Thus, then, we may be perfectly sure that about May or June 1209, Venad was ruled over by Sri Vîra Râman Kêraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi.

28. Certain other inferences, equally unquestionable, may be also made from the record in hand. For instance, it is impossible to doubt that in 384, Trivandram, like so many other villages, had a *sabha* or association, with a *Saḍhanjita*, chairman or secretary of its own, and that it used to meet on occasions of importance in the old temple at Mitrânandapuram, about a couple of furlongs to the west of the present shrine of Sri Puḍmanabha. The south-western corner of the courtyard of this temple is still pointed out as the sacred spot where *sabhas* used to meet of old, and the word '*Tek*' or south, in our inscription, gives no dubious guide to that spot. The raised floor of this hall still remains, but the roof, which must have resounded with the voice of many a wise council, is now no more. Fragments of apparently very old inscriptions in the Mitrânandapuram temple speak also of memorable meetings of the *sabha* in the same "southern hall." These meetings are recorded to have taken place in the solemn presence of the *Baḍâra* or *Bhattâraka Tiruvaḍi* of the locality, enabling us thus to infer that the solemn presence, with which the meeting here recorded is said to have been honoured, must have been also of the same mysterious personality. It would appear further from an inscription at Suchîndram, dated 406, that there was at that time a senior '*Baḍâra Tiruvaḍi*' at Trivandram, in superior charge of the temple management. From this latter document, I am led also to suspect that by "*Sri Pâdam*," to which according to the record in hand the final appeal was to lie, in case of dispute in the administration of the land in question, is meant also the same religious functionary. The expression is now somehow or other used to designate the palace, where the Queen-mother resides with the junior members of her

family. But the context in the Suchindram record, above referred to, militates against that modern application of the term.

29. Permit me now to call your attention to the curious way in which the town Trivandram is here spelt. Twice the word occurs in the portion of the inscription preserved to us, and on both occasions it is clearly spelt *Tiruvāṇḍapuram* with a long ā, meaning the holy city of *Blessedness*, and not as it is now universally understood, the city of *Ananta*, the serpent.\* The deity, too, of the place is named *Perumāḷ*, the Great One, and not *Pudmanābha*, the Lotus-Navelled. Is it possible that the city of *Blessedness* passed into one of *Ananta*, the serpent, with the transformation of the infinite and indefinite 'Great one,' into the definite *Pudmanābha*, whose mattress Ananta is? The analogy of Mitrāṇḍapuram, the oldest temple of this town, lends support to the orthography of our inscription. But on the other hand, the Suchindram inscription already referred to, spells the town in the usual modern fashion. So also does the hymn in *Tiruvāymoli*,<sup>(1)</sup> dedicated to the local deity, though, in this case, it is not as decisive as with Tiruvāṭṭar, since neither rhyme nor metre will be wholly spoiled by the substitution of one of the names for the other : and as far as I can remember, the town is mentioned nowhere else in Tamil literature. The Sanscrit name 'Syānandūra' only adds to our doubts and difficulties. Undersivable proper names are by no means common in any Indian language, and in Sanscrit, there are but very few names of any class whose etymology cannot be traced to well-known roots. But 'Syānandūra,' though used familiarly by Sanscrit scholars both in inscriptions and in standard Malayalam works,<sup>(2)</sup> is analysable according to no known rules of grammar. It looks in the highest degree incredible that the Aryans of Upper India could ever have been under the necessity of inventing such an arbitrary

(1) Vide 2nd Pattu in Pattāmpattu.

(2) Vide, for example, *Vairāḡia Chandrodaiy*

and unanalysable name for so petty a village in the Dravidian country. In all probability then, it must be a Sanscritized corruption of a Dravidian name now altogether lost to us. The last syllable in *Syânandûra* sounds like *ûr*, the Tamil term for village or town, but what the preceding two syllables stand for, it is difficult to conjecture. If the word were *Sryânandûra*; we could have taken the body of it as made up of *Sri* or *Tiru* in Tamil, and *Ânanda*, as preserved to us in the inscription before us as well as in the name *Mîrânandapuram*. But in that case there would have been no necessity for any corruption at all. My impression, therefore, is that the original native denomination of the town must have been a Dravidian word ending in *ûr*. The form '*Syânandûrapura*' occasionally met with tends to show that *ûra* was a part of the original name and no corruption of *Pura*, since '*pura*' is itself added to it. At any rate, the name could not have been either *Ânandapuram*, as in our inscription, or *Anantapuram*, as in current use, since both of them are good Sanscrit words needing no corruption to suit the genius of that language.

30. Returning now to our history, we have seen already that in Idavam or Mithunam 384, i.e., 1203 A.D., the Government of the country was in the hands of Sri Vîra Irâman Kêraja Varma. This same sovereign was in power on Thursday, the 18th Mînam 389 M.E. If any one wishes to assure himself of the fact, it would cost him nothing more than a pleasant trip to *Kaḍinamkulam*, just 12 miles north of Trivandram, on the backwater route to Quilon. On the north-western wall of the temple of *Mahâdêva* in this village, he would find a *Vatṭeluttu* inscription in four lines to the following effect:—

No. 11  
20.

VATṬELUTTU  
TAMIL.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite the Kollam year 389, with Jupiter in Aquarius, and the sun 18 days old in Pisces, Thursday, Pushya star,(1) the 10th lunar day, Aries (being

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(1) Pûyam or Pushyam is a star about the head of Hydra.

the rising sig<sup>l</sup>), and Sri Vîra Irâman Kêrala Varma Tiruvaḍi of Kîlppêrâr being the gracious ruler of Venad, Sri Vîra Iraman Umaiḡammai Viḷḷavar(?) Tiruvaḍi graciously caused the consecration (of the idol inside).

31. This neat inscription, giving full details of date up to the hour, would have been altogether unexceptionable, but for a difficult word which I am not quite sure of between *Umaiḡammai* and *Tiruraḍi*. We need not be particularly sorry for it, if we could be but sure that it was a part of the proper name of the founder of the temple. But as it stands, the proper name would appear to be completed with *Umaiḡammai*, and the intrac-  
table word after it would seem to describe her status or position, in which case, indeed, it must be of supreme historical importance for us to know exactly what it was. The title *Tiruvaḍi* is found throughout our records reserved to Royalty. It occurs even here just a line above in connection with Sri Vîra Irâman Kêrala Varma. Who then could this additional *Tiruraḍi* be? The name given, Sri Vîra Irâman Umaiḡammai, is a curious compound, Sri Vîra Irâman being a masculine name, the first part in fact of the name of the then ruling king, and Umaiḡammai, an appellation as distinctly feminine. In a compound name like this, usage as well as grammar would determine the sex of the person so named by the ultimate particle of the name, and we have, therefore, practically no doubt that the founder of the temple was a female, entitled, however, to Royal rank. The interesting question then is, did she belong to the same Royal House as the then ruling sovereign, and if so, what was the particular relation in which she stood to that ruler. The full importance of the question will be perceived, only when the following facts are borne in mind. In the first place, this is the earliest record I have yet found of any female member of a Royal family, in a country where succession is believed to have been always in the female line. In the second place, it is also the first occasion, barring the Arṅṅal fragments,



where we have the family designation of *Kilppérur*. And lastly, it must also be noticed that the temple at *Kaḍinamkuḷam*, the institution of which this inscription records, is exactly equidistant between Trivandram and Ârringal,—and, therefore, a convenient stage in a journey from the one to the other. Both tradition and local inquiry would prove that the village of Kaḍinamkuḷam itself came into prominence, if not also into existence, only in consequence of its having been a suitable halting place, and that it continued to retain its importance, so long as it was used as such, *i.e.*, before the *Shânûnkarai* canal connected the present capital with the backwater system of the north. Is it fanciful or farfetched then to suppose that the temple, of which our inscription records the foundation, was the direct fruit of extended political relations in the North, say, such as would arise from the annexation of Ârringal with Venad and the amalgamation of their respective Royal Houses, assuming, as we have already done, the original independence of Ârringal or *Kûpadésam*? If the hypothesis then is allowable, we might take both the *Princess Umai-yammai* and the present family name of *Kilppérur* as coming from Ârringal, and accruing to the Venad sovereign by right of adoption, marriage, or other alliance. It is a pity, therefore, that the word after *Umai-yammai*, which might have helped to solve some of these difficulties, happens to be so unyielding. As far as I can make out, it looks only like '*Villavar*,' which carries no meaning to my mind.<sup>(1)</sup> Until, therefore, further researches throw more light on the question, we should be content to accept the indistinct word to be a special title of Princess *Umai-yammai* in the Venad Royal House itself.

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(1) It is possible that *Villavar* is a mistake for *Yilaiyavar*, meaning the younger. There are one or two other dated *Vatteluttu* inscriptions in the place but unfortunately as the stones bearing them have been repeatedly white-washed, plastered over and painted upon, only portions of the lines are now open to view. I went to the spot again on the 16th June 1894 to try whether the broken lines could not help us over the difficulty, but returned not wiser than I went.

32. But whoever Princess Umaiyaṁmai was, our document proves beyond all doubt that on the morning of Thursday, about 8 p.m., the 18th Mîṁam 389 M.E., i.e., 1214 A.D., the throne of Venad was occupied by Sri Vira Irâṁan Kerala Varma Tiruvaḍi. We know he was on the throne in 384. How long ago he ascended it, and when exactly it passed away to his successor, are points yet to be determined. We meet with another sovereign of Venad only in 410 M.E., and we may, therefore, provisionally take his reign to have extended to the close of the 4th Malabar century.

33. With the opening of the fifth century of the Kollam Era we meet with another king of Venad, by name *Sri Vira Ravi Kêraḷa Varma*. That the 28th Mêḍam 410 M.E. fell within his reign is proved by a *Vatteluttu* inscription at *Maṇalikkarai*, a petty village near Puḍṁanâbhapuram in South Travancore. The document is found inscribed on all the four sides of a tablet specially put up in front of the Âḷvâr temple in this village. The face of the tablet contains 23 lines, its obverse 32, and the two sides 37 and 17, respectively. Why the document was entered on a special tablet, and not on the walls of the temple as was the custom, it is impossible now to ascertain. Possibly its singular importance demanded this singular treatment. For if my reading of it is correct, it is nothing short of one of the great charters of Travancore. Its substance, as far as I can make out, would run thus in English :—

No. <sup>12</sup>/<sub>91</sub>.

VATTELUTTU  
—  
OLD MALAYALAM.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite the Kollam year 410, with Jupiter in Scorpio, and the Sun 27 days old in Aries (i.e., the 28th Mêḍam), is issued the following Proclamation, after a consultation having been duly held, among the loyal chieftains of Sri Vira Iravi Kêraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi, graciously ruling Venad, the members of the *Sabha* (or Association) of Kôḍai-nallûr, and the people of that village, as well as Kaṇḍan Tiru-vikraman of Marugatachchêri, entrusted with the right of

realizing the Government dues. Agreeably to the understanding arrived at in this consultation, we command and direct that the tax due from Government lands be taken as amounting in paddy to \* \* \* \* and 24, in *Arakkal*(1) crop, and 725 \* and 24, in *Châral* crop, and making up per year a total of \* \* \* \* ; and the same, due from tax-paying village(2) lands, be taken as amounting in paddy to \* \* \* \* and 2½, in *Arakkal* crop ; and 728 \* and 24, in *Châral* crop, and making up per year, a total of \* \* 709  $\frac{2}{10}$  ; and that when the due quantity is measured out, a receipt be granted, discharging the liability, the fact being duly marked also i. the rent roll : and we command moreover that the order of permanent lease (now in force) be surrendered into the hands of the clerks who write or issue such deeds \* \* \* \* (3). From the *Tuvâmi* (or Swâmi), too, no more shall any lease be taken. When part of the tax is paid, and part is still due, a list shall be prepared showing the arrears for the whole year ; and an *Anchâlî*(4) (or authorization) taken in writing to realize the same from the *Sabha* and the inhabitants ; and the arrears then recovered accordingly. In seasons of drought and consequent failure of crops, the members of the *Sabha* and the people of the village shall inspect the lands, and ascertain which have failed and which have not. The lands that have failed shall be assessed at one-fifth of the normal dues, but this one-fifth shall be levied as an additional charge on the remaining lands bearing a crop. If all the taxable lands appear to have equally failed, the *Saïhu* and the villagers shall report the matter to *Tuvâmi*, and after the *Tuvâmi* has inspected the lands and ascertained the fact, one-fifth (of the entire dues) shall be levied. This one-fifth shall be taken to include *Patṭa Vritti* and *Ôṇa Chelaru*, amounting in paddy to \* \*. If the members of the *Sabha* and the inhabitants agree among themselves, and pray in common for a postponement of the payment, as the only course open to a majority among them, this demand (one-fifth drought rate)

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(1) *Arakkal* and *Châral* seem to have been the crops of those days ; now they are called *Kanni* and *Kumbham*.

(2) Obviously then there were lands that paid no tax to Government.

(3) There are about 5 or 6 words here which carry no meaning to my mind. So also after the word ' fine ' about the end of the deed.

(4) I take this word conjecturally to mean some kind of authorization.

shall be app<sup>o</sup>tioned over all the lands paying tax to Government, (to be levied in the subsequent harvest) but without interest and *Pattûri*, the rent roll of the current year being stored out. Should anything whatever be done contrary to these rules, the deviation shall be visited with fine, \* \* \* and the strict procedure again adopted. This our regulation shall continue in force as long as the moon and the stars endure. This is a true stone inscribed copy of the holy Royal writ.

34. Such is the substance of the remarkable document before us, as far as I can make it out. Containing as it does several obsolete revenue terms, I cannot vouch for the literal accuracy of every word in my rendering. One or two expressions still remain obstinate and obscure. Nevertheless, I feel sure I cannot be far wrong with the bulk of my interpretation. Nor can there be any doubt as to the unique importance of the record. Unlike the inscriptions hitherto noticed, the one before us grants, not a perpetual lamp or 'a mountain-like' drum to the gods above, but peace and protection to toiling humanity here below. One of the most momentous questions in all human communities has been, and will always be, the price each individual in it has to pay for the advantages of organized social life. In proportion to the fixity and definiteness characterizing this price, in all its aspects, is the Government of the community said to be civilized, stable, and constitutional. An important item in the price to be thus paid is the pecuniary contribution given by each individual for the maintenance of the State. In all agricultural countries, the bulk of the contribution must assume the form of land tax. In Travancore, then, which is little else than agricultural, where in fact there is no individual but has his *Tarawâl*, his plot of land, the plot in which he is born, in which he lives and works, and in which he dies and is cremated too, so that his very ashes stick to it even after his soul departs this world, in a country so entirely agricultural, there can be no question of more vital interest, or of more universal concern, than the nature and amount of

land tax, the manner and time of paying it, and the machinery through which it is realized for the State. It appears to have been the practice with several Governments in bygone days to farm out the land revenue to the highest bidders, with a view to save themselves the trouble and expense of collecting it by drops and dribblets. The iniquity of the system may be better imagined than described. It seems, nevertheless, to have been current in the neighbouring districts of Tinnevely and Madura, until the very days of the Honourable East India Company. But in Travancore, thanks to our village associations and the magnanimity and political sagacity that seem to have uniformly characterized the Venad sovereigns, the system, if it was ever largely introduced, was nipped in the bud, and the disasters of the fable of the goose with the golden eggs were early averted. For, observe how the Royal writ before us deals that system a deathblow. It quietly takes away, in the first place, its sting by fixing the Government dues exactly and unalterably per year and per harvest. The lease again is not to be a '*Tira Taravû*' an enduring one, but to be renewed from time to time, so that the Government farmer would have no chance of abusing his power on the strength of the hold he might otherwise have on the people. The writ provides, further, for the reduction of the Government demand to one-fifth in times of drought and failure. Why when some lands alone fail in a village, this one-fifth should be given up on those lands, but levied as an additional charge upon the remaining might demand a word of explanation. In seasons of partial failure, and in tracts of land not fully opened out by easy lines of communication, the price of corn goes easily high: and the Kôdainallûr Council seems to have thought it just, or at all events conducive to fellow feeling, that those that are benefited by such an adventitious rise of prices should forego a portion of their profits for the sake of their suffering fellow-villagers. At any rate, the measure must have acted as a check upon false complaints

of failure, since the duty of determining what lands had failed, and what not, was left to the villagers themselves under the supervision of the *Sabha*. It would be interesting to know who the *Tuvâmi* or *Swâmi* was, to whom the edict assigns the duty of ascertaining and certifying the fact, in case the whole village fails. He was, no doubt, some high ecclesiastical functionary, with a considerable portion of the land revenue of the village probably assigned to him for his own support and the support of the temples he was in charge of. The prohibition to take out leases from the *Tuvâmi* would then mean a prohibition to farm out to the highest bidder the land revenue so assigned to him. Anyhow, when the *Swâmi* certifies a complete failure of crops in the whole village, the Government reduces its total demand to one-fifth, and foregoes, in addition, its right to levy two minor charges, under the names of *Patṭa Vritti*, probably a present on the anniversary of the Sovereign's accession to the throne, and *Ôṇa*<sup>(1)</sup> *Chelavu*, a special contribution to keep up the annual national festival of that name. Deviation from the rules is forbidden under some severe penalties, the extent and nature of which, however, I am not able to discover; and the rates of assessment as well as the rules are declared unalterable as long as the moon and the stars endure. Can a *permanent* Revenue Settlement go further? or can a more deadly blow be imagined on the farming system, which seems to have been allowed to do so much mischief, and for so long a time, in the neighbouring Tamil districts? The preamble to this remarkable Proclamation adds but a charm and a dignity of its own to the whole. It is said that the edict is issued in terms of the understanding

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(1) *Ôṇam* or *Srâvanam* is a star in Aquila. The national festival is called by this name, because it falls on the day the moon reaches this mansion in September. It is probably connected with the harvest, Parasurâma's yearly visit being a later fiction. Tenants do present to this day to their landlords certain agricultural products under the name of *Ôṇa Kâlcha*.

come to in a Council composed of the loyal chieftains or ministers of the king, the association of Kôdainallûr, the people of the village, and Kaṇḍan Tiruvikraman, the local revenue farmer or collector. I call him the *collector*, for, however oppressive a lessee or farmer he might have been before the date of this document, he and his successors in office could have been nothing more than simple collectors of revenue, *after* the exact definition of the Government dues given in the edict itself. No doubt, he must have been a terrible man in his day, with an appointed function in the evolution of history, not unlike, perhaps, the one played by those who went forth to demand 'ship money' from Hampden. The good people of Kôdainallûr seem to have been also equal to the occasion. Here is proof, if need be, of the independent nature and constitution of our old Village Associations. The *Sabhas* being mentioned side by side with the people, it is impossible to take them as mere occasional assemblies of the inhabitants, summoned together, for the time being, by those in charge of the administration. Here they appear as permanent and well-constituted Public bodies that acted as a buffer between the people and the Government. The village or common lands, so clearly distinguished from those directly under Government, in this our present record, was in all probability everywhere under *their* management. What exactly was the service the good *Sabha* of Kôdainallûr was able to render on this occasion, or what exactly were the circumstances that brought about this memorable Council itself, we have as yet no means of knowing; but whatever they were, the whole procedure reflects the greatest credit on all the parties concerned, their conjoint action resulting in so precious a charter to the people, and so unmistakable a monument of the sovereign's unbounded love of his subjects. Though the wording of the document makes the enactment applicable primarily only to the village of Kôdainallûr, I have no doubt it was sooner or later extended to the whole of Venad. A just principle needs but once to be recognized

to be applied on all hands. I hesitate not, therefore, to call this Manalikkarai Proclamation, one of the *great charters of Travancore*. Entered as it is on a detached stone, and containing as it does several expressions yet dark and obscure, it would be well to remove the original document itself and to preserve it in the Public Museum at the capital, where, I have no doubt, it will now receive better treatment than was accorded to a similar tablet from Varkkalai, which, having discharged well and long the duty of a grindstone, is now so far defaced as to reveal nothing more than its ancient age and its iniquitous sufferings! (1)

35. But the immediate purpose for which the Manalikkarai charter is here introduced is to prove the rule of Sri Vira Ravi Kerala Varma on the 28th Mēḍam 410 M.E., or about April 1235. Having met Sri Vira Rāman Kerala Varma only 21 years prior, we may take the two reigns as having been conterminous with one another. Seventeen years later still, we meet with another monarch of Venad. That the 22nd of Idavam 427 was a day in the reign of *Sri Vira Pulmanābha Māṅṭarāḍa Varma Tiruvadi* is proved by a Vatteḷuttu inscription at *Varkkalai*, a place of pilgrimage about 24 miles to the north of Trivandram. Perhaps to the pilgrim world in India, no place in Travancore is so well known as *Varkkalai* or *Janārdanam*. The geologically interesting cliffs that form

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(1) This is a remarkable old specimen of Vatteḷuttu inscription. It seems to be dated 79 M.E. I believe it comes from Varkkalai. It opens with a string of Sanscrit words written in old Malayalam characters in praise of the then ruling king. The body of the document is in Vatteḷuttu. But in spite of all my repeated endeavours, oil *abhishēkams* and *pūjas* without number, I have not succeeded as yet in coaxing it to reveal even a line in full, the middle of it being so completely defaced by the use to which it was put by the *Marāmut coolies*. A hundred times the cost of the mortar ground on it would not have been ill spent, if it had been spent in the preservation of this unique ancient monument. It appears to me to record an important treaty between certain parties of whom *Uyyakkōṇḍan* was surely one.



the characteristic features of this promontory are obviously of much earlier formation than the alluvial soil surrounding it on all sides, and possibly the early Indian geographers used it, along with *Cape Comorin* and *Rameswaram* on the eastern coast,<sup>(1)</sup> for marking off the southern contour of their favourite *Bhârata Varsha*. The mineral springs of this sacred place may be taken, perhaps, as furnishing another and more practical justification for the estimation in which it is held by foreign pilgrims. To the *Stala Purâṇa*,<sup>(2)</sup> of the place, however, the hills and the springs are as if they never existed. It delights only to relate how on one occasion the *Dēvas* performed a *yâga* sacrifice on the spot, how the Brahmins had then a feast, rich and indescribable, and how the local deity, with the object of perpetuating that feast, practised a clever and successful practical joke upon the authors thereof! On the southern wall of the chief shrine in this spot, will be found in four lines the document I now proceed to translate:—

No. 13  
48.

VATTELUTTU  
OLD MALAYALAM.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 427, with Jupiter entering into Aries, and the sun 21 days old in Taurus, Wednesday, the 5th lunar day after new moon, and with the sign of Cancer rising in the orient, the loyal chieftains, of Sri Vira Pudmanâbha Mârtâṇḍa Varma Tiruvaḍi, graciously ruling over Venad, consecrated the holy temple of Vadasêrikkarai, at Udaiya Mârtâṇḍaparam in Varkkalai, after constructing with granite stones the inner shrine from the foundations to the wall

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(1) It is possible that the sanctity of *Varkkalai* is partly due to its having been taken by early Indian geographers to be in the same latitude as *Ramēswaram* in the east. Later, perhaps, a closer approximation was attempted by the foundation of a temple near Quilon, under the very name of *Ramēswaram*. That something of the kind must have been meant is proved by such places as the following almost in the same latitude:—Alwaye and Madura, whose ancient name was *Âlavây*, and Trichur and Trichinopoly, obviously derived from the same root, despite modern fanciful corruptions.

(2) It is available only in manuscript. Its style is clearly modern.

plates, and paving the courtyard with stones, besides repairing the Sri Mukha Maṇḍapam° (or the hall in front facing the shrine).

36. This is one of the most satisfactory Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions with me, every word in it being clear and unmistakeable. It proves that on the morning of the 22nd of Idavam 427 M.E., about 9 A.M., Wednesday, the throne of Venad was enjoyed by Sri Vira Padmanābha Mārtāṇḍa Varma Tiruvaḍi, who in all probability immediately succeeded His Highness Sri Vira Ravi Eṣāṛa Varma of Maṇalikkarai fame. It is interesting to note that the sacred spot where the temple now stands was then called Udayamārtāṇḍapuram, no doubt, in commemoration of an earlier builder or patron of the fane; but it cannot be the Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varma of our Tiruvaṭṭar inscription, as it is not likely that the temple could have demanded repair and reconstruction in so short a time. That the chiefs of Sri Padmanābha Mārtāṇḍa Varma were not the originators of the temple is clear enough from their having had only to repair the hall facing the shrine.

37. Hitherto we have had a series of sovereigns, from 301 to 427, with intervals too short to lead us to suspect their unbroken succession. But now for the first time appears an apparent blank. The next king of Venad revealed by the documents in my collection is Sri Vira Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varma II., who ruled on the 22nd of Kumbham 491 M.E. There is thus an interval of 64 years—a period presumably too long to be allotted to one reign. What princes, if any, enjoyed the throne of Venad during the interval, and whether they have left any traces at all behind them, future researches alone can determine. I have about 15 documents in my present collection, dated from 400 to 491, but none of them gives me any help. On the other hand, judging by the light of these records, one would be led to conclude that this unaccounted interval of half a century was a time of trouble in the south-eastern frontiers of Venad. It is about this time that the foreign

temple of Rajendra Cholisvaram at Kôttar receives several grants and dedications from private parties, *primâ facie* foreign to Travancore. In the midst of these grants and presumably of the same age, so far as palæography and situation can tell us, occur four inscriptions dated in the 11th year of *Sri Sundara Chôla Pâṇḍya Dêva*, *alias Kôchchadaiya Varma*. In an inscription at Suchîndram, dated the 9th year of the same Pandya Deva, this ancient village is itself called 'Sundara Chôla Chatur Vêdi Mangalam.' Finally in *Saka* 1293 or 546 of our Malabar Era, this same foreign temple of Rajendra Chola receives substantial repairs in the hands of Parâkrama Pâṇḍya Dêva. What could all this mean but that South Travancore was once more, about this period, under foreign sway? It looks highly probable that Sri Sundara Chola Pâṇḍya Dêva of the inscriptions we have just noticed, was the same as Sundara Pandya Jathâ Varma, whose accession<sup>(1)</sup> is calculated by Shankar Dikshit of Dhulia, from materials furnished by Dr. Hultzsch, to have taken place in *Saka* year 1172, and whose ninth year of reign in consequence would be *Saka* 1181, or 531 M.E., *i.e.*, exactly seven years after the chieftains of our Vira Padmanâbha Mârtâṇḍa Varma completed their reconstruction of the temple at Varkkalai. Probably, then, soon after the completion of that architectural undertaking in the north, Sri Vira Padmanâbha Mârtâṇḍa Varma must have been called upon to do more anxious duties in the south. The cloud must have been gathering in that horizon even much earlier. I find the foreign temple of Rajendra Cholisvaram rising into favour from 392 M.E. The contest might have been long kept up, but the result could not have been other than unfavourable. Sundara Chola Pâṇḍya Dêva succeeded at least in wresting the whole of the district of which Kôttar was the centre. He seems to have established also his authority so widely and well as to lead private parties

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(1) *Vide* page 221 of *The Indian Antiquary* for August 1893.

to reckon their grants in the year of his reign, and to call an ancient hamlet like Suchindram, by a new fangled name, coined specially to flatter his pride. Sundara Chola Pandya Kôchchaidya Varma was by no means the last of the revived dynasty of Pandyas to trouble Travancore. I have with me an inscription dated the 3rd year of Udaiyar Sri Chola Pandya Deva Kôchchadaiya Varma, another dated the 2nd year of a simple Kôchchadaiya Varma, probably the same as the last; two again dated in the reign of Vikrama Chôla Pandya Dêva Mâra Varma, and two more in the reign of Sri Vallabha Dêva Mâra Varma. These and other important records of foreign sovereigns in Travancore, I shall, with your permission, place before you in the course of another lecture. I refer to them here only in the way of showing that, pending further researches, we may, for the present, reasonably assume that the *hiatus* of 60 years, of which we have now no account to give, was a period too full of trials and tribulations to allow occasions for such acts of charities and temple buildings as form the subject matter of our inscriptions in general.

38. But before the century we are now in did end, the Pândyan wave of conquest must have receded for a while; for we get once more a glimpse of our beloved Venad throne in 491 M.E. On the 22nd of Kumbham of that year, that throne was occupied by Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtânda Varma II., *alias* Vira Pândya Dêva. My authority for the statement is an inscription in five lines on the southern wall of a temple at Kêralapuram about three miles from Padmanâbhapuram. It would read thus, if translated:—

No. <sup>14</sup>/<sub>69</sub>.

VATTELUTTU.  
OLD MALAYALAM.

In the Kollam year 491, and in the 4th year, the sun being 21 days old in Aquarius, is made the following grant. The loyal chieftains of Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtânda Varma Tiruvadiyâr, Vira Pândya Dêvar, graciously ruling over Venad, do hereby provide in writing for a holy *Nanda* lamp and for the

daily expenses of the Mahādēva of Sri Vira Kēraḷēsvaram, at Muttalaikkuruchchi, in Pālkōḍu Dēsam, in Division No. 1 of the district of Chenkalunirnāḍu, in Tennāḍu, belonging to (or under the administration of) the said chieftains. Accordingly, the said chieftains make over (for the said purpose) all the dues taken as *Kaḷiyakkam*, from this *Dēsam* (or circle), including *Oṭṭira* tax, *Uvvi*, bamboo grain, *Aḷagerutu*, duty on looms and palmyras, *Karaipparru*, fines and *Kō-muraippāḍu*. In this manner then, the said chieftains grant in writing, all the dues taken as *Kaḷiyakkam* from this *Dēsam* (or circle), including *Oṭṭira* tax, *Uvvi*, bamboo grain, *Aḷagerutu*, duty on looms and palmyras, *Karaipparru*, fines, and *Kō-muraippāḍu*, excepting such of them as have been already granted to meet the charges of the Mahādēva of Tiruvitāṅkōḍu<sup>(1)</sup> and the Dēva and Bhagavati of Pākkōḍu, to be made use of as long as the moon and the stars endure, for the purpose of supplying the daily needs of the Mahādēva of Kēraḷēsvaram, and a holy *Nanda* lamp to the same deity, which fact we the following do know and can attest:—Chāttan Maṇiyan of Tāḷkkil Pulavaramaṇ, Nārāyaṇa Kuḍisan of Penankāḍu, Kaṇḍan Iravi Varman (signature) \* \* Tiruvikraman of Punalūri (signature). This deed in *caḍjan* is written with the knowledge of the above persons by Irāman Kēraḷan of Kaitavāy (signature).

39. Thus then on the 22nd Kumbham 491 M.E., or roughly speaking about the end of February 1316, the sovereign of Venad was Sri Vīra Udaiya Mārtanḍa Varma, who, it will be observed, styled himself further Vīra Pāṇḍya Dēva. Nothing can be of greater historical interest than to know the circumstances that led to the assumption of of this new and foreign title, but I have succeeded as yet in finding no clue whatever towards its solution. May it be that when the Pāṇḍya power shrunk back to its original condition, after having been blown out into dangerous and meddlesome greatness by the breath of a Kōchchadaiyan or a Kōmāran, the Venad kings not only regained their

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(1) The word Travancore is a corruption of Tiruvitāṅkōḍu. But I am not at all sure *Tiruvitāṅkōḍu* is analysable into *Sri Vāḷam Kōḍu*, as is now so generally assumed. The derivation owes its plausibility to the corrupt form of *Tiruvāṅkōḍu*.

lost ground, but also retaliated by invading and conquering a portion of the dominions of their recent conquerors, and assumed, too, their style and manners to legitimize their hold upon the territories so added to their own? Agreably to this foreign title, we find also the no less foreign method of dating the inscription in the year of the sovereign's reign. But thanks to the wisdom of the Venad chiefs, this new method was not allowed to supersede, but was only combined with, the old and sensible way of reckoning in the fixed Kollam Era. In the case before us, therefore, the mention of the year of the king's reign, instead of giving rise to endless collations and calculations, as is so usual in Indian Epigraphy, only gives us the additional welcome information that Uđaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma ascended the throne three years previously, *i.e.*, in 488 M.E. It is quite possible that the reference is made not to the year of the accession, but to the date of his assuming the foreign title of Vira Pāṇḍya Dêva. In either case, we are sure that the reigning sovereign of Venad on the 22nd of Kumbham 491 (March 1316) was Sri Vira Uđaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma Tiruvaḍi. Having already met a king of this name, we shall call him Sri Vira Uđaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma II., or as styled in the document before us, Vira Pāṇḍya Dêva.

40. As for the particulars of the grant, I am at a loss to understand the nature of all the taxes set apart by this document for the use of the Mahâdêva. Most of the terms used are unknown to literature and lexicons, and as far as I am aware, they are obsolete also in the current revenue system of the land. Neither *Kaḷiyakkam* nor *Oṭṭira* carries any meaning to my mind. *Uvvi*, according to Winslow, may mean 'Head;' but what sort of tax was called by this rare word for head is now impossible to conjecture. '*Bamboo grain*' is still of some use to Hill-men, and probably it stood, in those days of little or no forest conservancy, as the type of hill products, which in Travancore now includes besides timber, ivory, bees wax, &c. *Aḷagerutu* is a term we have already met with and despaired of. Literally it

may mean a 'fair bull.' To the known tax on hand-loom, we find here attached a tax on the palmyra, and it looks probable that what is meant is a tax for tapping, and not otherwise using that palm. Besides fines, the Government of those days, it would appear, appropriated certain payments under the name of *Kô-murai Pâdu*, literally 'Royal-justice-income,' which we might take to represent the court fees and 'Judicial revenue' of modern times. *Karaipparru* means adhering to or reaching land, and it might be taken to include treasure troves, mines, jetsams and floatsams and all such royalties known to law. It would be interesting indeed to know how, at what rates, and through what agencies, these several taxes were levied, and what exactly was the bearing of the charge with respect to both people and Government, when the revenue was assigned away, as in the present instance, for the maintenance of a particular temple. One would think from the minute political divisions and subdivisions noticed in this document that the administration of the revenue was far from crude or primitive. We know already that Venad was primarily divided into 18 Provinces or *Nâdus*, and probably *Tennâdu*, or Southern Province, was one of these primary divisions. That the part of the country about Padmanâbhapuram should be called the southern province, while the one still further to the south is named *Nânchil Nâdu*, may be significant of the extent of the Venad Principality at one stage of its history. The loose and redundant style of the document speaks badly of the literary capacities of the hereditary clerk of the crown, Kaitavây Irâman Kêraḷan,—whose family name Kaitavây occurs so frequently in the royal grants in our collection,—unless, indeed, it is taken to indicate the hurried occasion of the grant itself, such as the flush of a signal triumph, or sudden recovery from a serious malady. The absence of the usual expression 'Hail! Prosperity!' at the commencement, and that of the 'Sign Manual' at the end are omissions equally worthy of attention. What they signify, if anything at all, we

have no data to determine. That only two of the four ministers or chieftains that arrange for the grant sign their names may to some extent be taken as an indication of the state of education at the time.

41'. The next record with me will take us beyond the fifth Malabar century, and therefore beyond the scope of the permission I have taken from you this time to address you. Of the many themes of historical interest calling for investigation all around us here in Travancore, we selected its ancient Royal House, that beloved Royal House to which we are all so devoted, as the one most naturally and rightfully claiming our first and foremost attention. Limiting ourselves then to a particular period in the history of that house, viz., the 4th and 5th Malabar centuries, of which no account of *whatever description* was forthcoming, and availing ourselves of *but one* of the means of historical researches, the safest and the best in fact, viz., public stone inscriptions, we endeavoured to find whether there were no rays of light to dispel the desperate darkness in which the epoch was allowed hitherto to stand enveloped. Even putting aside all side lights and inferences as to the general condition of the country, its society, its economy, its internal government, we have now the following solid facts to offer :—

- I. Sri Vîra Kêraḷa Varma ruled Venad in 301 and 319 M.E.
- II. Sri Vira Ravi Varma ruled Venad in 336 and 342 M.E.
- III. Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma, in 348 M.E.
- IV. Sri Âditya Râma Varma ruled Venad in 365 M.E.
- V. Sri Vira Râma Varma ruled Venad in 371 M.E.
- VI. Sri Vira Râman Kêraḷa Varma, in 384 and 389 M.E.
- VII. Sri Vira Ravi Kêraḷa Varma ruled Venad in 410 M.E.
- VIII. Sri Vira Padmanâbha Mârtâṇḍa Varma, in 427 M.E.
- IX. Sri Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma II. *alias* Vira Pândya Dêva ruled Venad in 491 M.E.

It will be observed, in this list of the early sovereigns of Travancore, whose names and dates the inscriptions



I have now laid before you have served to bring to light, I have not included the doubtful case of Sri Vîra Kêraḷa Varṇa II. of the Âṙringal fragments, or of Kôda Mâtâṇḍa, who seems to have taken part in the institution of the Kollam Era in 824 A.D. Reject these two names, and reject also, if you please, every word of my inferences and surmises, and yet you will have, *for the first time revealed to you*, the names and dates of *nine* of the old and revered sovereigns of Venad. That these names and dates by themselves will not constitute the history of the two centuries we took up for our study, needs no saying. But that they will stand in good stead when the history of the epoch comes to be written is my humble hope and trust.

## APPENDIX.

The following are copies of the inscriptions made use of in the above lectures, transliterated into ordinary modern Tamil and Malayalam characters. I use Tamil letters for every variety of *Vatteluttu* and *old Tamil*, and Malayalam for *old Malayalam*. The interspersed *Tamil Granta* characters are shown as such. For purposes of palæography nothing short of Photo-lithographs can be of much real service. The English numerals indicate the lines as separated in the original engravings.

No. 1  
9.

OLD TAMIL.

ஓழுகணசேரிக்கடுத்த இராஜேந்திர சோழீசுவரிகோயில்  
மேந்திச்சுவரிலுள்ள சிலாஸ்தீபம்.

ஐஹிஸ்ரீ கொல்லம் தோன்றி நடாக மாண்டினெதிரா  
மாண்டு சிங்கநாயிற்று வேண்டு வாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற ஸ்ரீ வீர  
கேரளபன்மர்க்கு அமைஞ்ச அதிகாரிகள் வருக்கைப்ப  
ள்ளித்தனஞ் செயங்கண்டனும் மண்ணூர்வாழ்கின்ற ஸ்ரீசுக்கி  
ராயுதனுகின்ற ஸ்ரீ தொங்கப்பல்ல ஸ்ரீசையனும் எழுத்துச்  
சிறுவரிபண் (2) கண்ணங்கோவிந்தனும் உள்ளிருப்பு குன்  
றின்மேல் விக்கிரமன் குன்றனான கேரள சிங்கப்பல்லவரை  
யனும் காளியமாக கோட்டாரான மும்முடி சோழநல்லூர்  
இராஜேந்திர சோழநாரமுடய ஹாதேவர்க்கு மந்திரபோ<sup>(a)</sup>  
னகம் அமுதுசெய்தருள நித்தம் அரிசி நானாழியு (3) ம்  
கறியமுது நெய்யமுதுந் தயிரமுது அடைக்காயமுது இலைய  
முதுக்கும் திருநிநாந்தாவின்க்கு ஒன்றுக்கும் மும்முடி  
சோழநல்லூர்ப்பால் வடசேரியில் இத்தேவர் தேவதானம்  
ஹாதி கொள்ளுங்கடமை நெல்லுங்காகம் (4) துங்கொண்டு  
இத்தேவற்கு இந்நிமந்தம் சந்திராதித்தவற் செல்வதாகப்  
பெலிக்கல்லினில் நீர்வார்த்து கல்வெட்டுவித்துக் குடுந்  
தோம்.

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(a) பே is written மெ which is not a usual compound even in  
old Tamil.

திருபல்லத்தில் பிரமதேவர் கோவில் மேந்த வஸ்த்வாரச்  
சுவரிலுள்ள சிலாலகீதம்.

ஸஸிஸ்ரி விரிச்சிகத்தில் வ்ஷியாழநின்ற யாண்டு  
கொல்ல நாயக தாமாண்டை மகரஞாயிற்றுச் செயித  
காரியமாவிது வேணுடு வாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற ஸ்ரி வீரகேரள  
வர்ம்மர் திரு (2) வடிக்கமஞ்ச அதிகாரருடய நித்தங்கநாடு  
சியித்ததில்<sup>(1)</sup> நிகமத்தாரகத்து ஆண்டுவரயுங் கடமையால்  
கொள்ளுந் நெல் \* \* ஞ் சேவதாமழகெருதுந் நெய்யுந்தனோ  
(3)க் காணமுந்திருவல்லத்து மாதேவர்க்குந் திருக்கண்ணப்  
பன்னுங் கணபதிக்குந் நமக்காரத்தின்னுந் நித்தமும் அத்தா  
ழத்திருவமுந்து செய்யுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச (4) அரிமடை  
எ நாழியும் இரண்டிடத்துந் திருவறை வாதிஸ்க்கல் ஓரோ  
திங்கள் ஓரோததிவிசெல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச திபமாலைக்  
குங்குட எழு (5) திக்கொடுத்தாரதிகாரர் இக்கா [ல] முத  
லா மாதேவர்க் கரி இருநாழி திருக்கண்ணப்பன்னரி இருநாழி  
கணபதிக்கரிநாழி நமஸ்காரத்தின்னரி இரு (6) நாழி இதின்னு  
மேல்க் காட்டுசேரியார் கூட்டிக்கொடுத்த அச்ச பன்னும்  
நேஷியாலொள் றா முதலுங்குட நாராணத்தாதர்கைக்கொண்டு  
செலுத்தித் தாம் விலைகொண் (7) ட அருவியூர்ப்புரை யிட  
த்தில்த் திருநந்தாவனமுஞ் சமைச்ச முன்றிடத்தும் ஈரண்டு  
திருமாலயுஞ்சார்த்திச்ச சோறுமெடுத்து கொண்டுவருவிது  
நாராண (8) தாதர் இப்பரிசேநிகமத்து கடமை நெல் \* \*  
முமழகெருது நெயிதனோக்காணமுமச்ச பந் நேஷியுந் நாரா  
ணாதாதர் ஆண்டுவரை ஆறுதி (9) ங்கள் வாரமுங்கொண்டு  
குறியுங்கொடுத்து செலவுஞ் செலுத்தித்திரு நந்தாவனமுந்  
திருமாலயுநிவமாலயுஞ் செலுத்திவருவிது நாராண (10)  
தாதரி\* \* \* \* ஸலையும் பிடாரதிருவடியும் சோகிகள்க்  
குந் திருவுள்ளமாயவரைக்கொண்டு இவ்வண்ணமே ஆயுரு  
தாரவல் செல்லு. (a)

(a) Observe the admixture of Malayalam Granta characters in the above Vatteluttu record. The style and Santi indicate the natural variations that led to the evolution of the Malayalam dialect.

No. 3  
29.

OLD TAMIL.

புரவர்வில் ஆழ்வார் கோயில் தேன்புறச்சுவரில்,

ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ கொல்லந்தோன்றி நடாடலுக் காண்டைக் கெ  
திராமாண்டு இடபநாயிறு கூ சென்ற சனிமகயிரத்து நாள்  
செய்ததான ஒலைக்கரணமாவது வேணுவாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற  
ஸ்ரீ வீர இரவிவர்ம்ம திருவடிக்கமைந்த அதிகாரர் புரவரிச்  
சதூர் வெடி மங்கலத்துப் புரவரவில் (2) ஈழ்வார்க்கு நித்தல்  
நிமந்தத்தினும் ஒரு திருநந்தாவிளக்கினும் திருவடையாட்ட  
மாக ஆசந்திரதாரஞ் செல்வதாகவிட்ட (நிலம்) தாழைக்குடிச்  
சாரார்காலாலும் சாரவயற்குளம் செய்யாரேனியாலும் நீர்  
பாஞ்ச நெல்லிளவது உன்னந்திட்டை (நிலம் காலே யிரண்  
மொழுந்திரிகை) யும் புதுவூரார் மூலையில் (நிலம் மூன்றுமா)ம்  
(3) [ஆக] பத்துமாழ்ந்திரிகையும் இக்காலம் முதல் ஊரோ  
டொத்தகடமைமாத்தால் \* \* \* \* இவ்வாழ்வார்கன்மிகள்  
தாவெழுதிக்குடுத்து புரவரியானாலே ஸ்ரீ பண்டார அறை  
வாசலிலே அளப்பித்துக்கொண்டு இச்சிலவு முட்டாமல்  
செல்வதாகவும் இ(ந்தில)த்துக்கு நான் கெல்லையிலுந் திருவா  
ழிக்கல்லு (4) இம்மார்க்கம் கற்பிச்சமைக்கு கல்லிலுஞ் செம்  
பிலும் எழுத்து வெட்டிவித்து இச்சிலவுமுட்டாமல் செல்வ  
தாக கற்பிச்சமைக்கு இவை புல்லாலணையயன் எழுத்து சிங்  
கன் ரங்கன் எழுத்து நாராயணன் சங்கரன் எழுத்துகோதை  
தேவன் எழுத்து திருவெழுத்து உ (a)

No. 4  
44.

Do.

மேற்படி கோயில் மேற்புறச்சுவரில்.

ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ \* \* \* \* \* ண்டு இடபநாயிறு [கூ] (2)  
சென்ற சனிமகயிரத்தினுள் நீஞ்சி நாட்டுக்காரியஞ்செயின்  
றவர்களுந் தாழைக்குடியிருங்கூட இருந்து சேதுகுடுத்த  
பரிசாவது புரவரிச்சதூர் வெடிமங்கலத்து புர \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \* ரவிவர்ம்ம திருவடி (3) க்கமைந்த அதிகாரர்  
திருச்சேரிடைக்கும் திருநந்தாவிளக்குக்குந் திருவுள்ளஞ்  
சேதருளியவந்த திருமுகப்படி தாழைக்குடி கிடசேரி சாரார்  
காலாலும் சாரவயற்குளஞ் செய்யாரேனியாலும் நீர்பா \*

(a) The parts in semicircular brackets express in words what is in symbols in the original.

\* \* \* \* \* மூலையில் (நிலம்) (4) (மூன்றுமாவும் ஆக  
(நிலம்) பத்துமாமுந்திரிகையும் இந்நாள்முதல் கைகொண்டு  
ஊரோடொத்தகடமைகொண்டு இவ்வாழ்வார்க்கு நித்த நிம  
ந்தமும் திருந்தாவிளக்கு மாபுரூதாரஞ்செல்வ \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \* தாகவும் சில்வரிசேதா (5) ரம் இந்நிலத்துக்கு  
இறுப்பதாகவும் இப்படி இந்நிலங்கொண்டு முட்டாச்செல்வ  
செல்விதாகத் திருவுள்ளஞ் சேருளினபடியே கல்லிலும்  
வெட்டிக்குமித்து இந்நிலத்துக்கு நான்கெல்லை \* \* \*  
\* \* \* க்குமுத்தோம் இக்கா (6) ரியஞ்செய்யியின்றவானைக்  
கூட இருத்தி இத்தாழைக்குடி ஊரோம் இவ்வாழ்வார் கன்  
மிகளுக்கு இப்படிக்கு அரையன் பசிதாங்கி எழுத்து இவை  
கேரளன் அரங்கன் எழுத்து இ \* \* \* \* \* இவை  
விக்கிரமன் அரங்க (7) ன் எழுத்து இவை வேளான் கேரள  
னான நாஞ்சிநாட்டு மூவேந்த வேளான் எழுத்து இச்செய்கல்  
வோலை எழுதினேன் கோயிற்கன்மிகளுந் தாழை ஊராரும்  
பணிக்க எழுதினேன் பனை ஊருடையான் வேளா \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \* (8) ரன் எழுத்து கேரள ஸந்தோஷப் பல்  
வலவாயன் எழுத்து கோவிந்தன் விக்கிரமன் எழுத்து அனந்  
தன் சச்சிரபாணி எழுத்து (a)

No. <sup>5</sup>/<sub>43</sub>.

OLD TAMIL.

மேற்படி கோயில் தென்புறச்சுவரில்.

ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ கொல்லந் [தோன்] (2) நி ஈராசுல மாண்டு  
சிங்கநாயிறு எ சென்றநாள் செய்ததான ஓலைச்சுரணமாவிது  
(3) ஆற்றுவழிபோக்கர் இரண்டு ஸ்ரீ ஹனுமனொஜனத்துக்  
கும் கற்பித்துவிட்ட (நிலம்) கோட்டாற் [றா] (4) லும் கை  
ச்சிறையாலும் நீருண்டு நெல்விளைவிது சேர \* நிலகண்டன்  
பற்று நிலம் பன்னிரண்டுமா [நாரா] யனன் குன்றப்பேர  
முன் எழுத்து காளி குன்றப்பேரமுன் எழுத்து திருவெழு  
த்து.

No. <sup>6</sup>/<sub>10</sub>.

VATTELUTTU.

திருவாட்டாற்று ஆதிசேசவப்பெருமாள் கோயில்  
தென்புறச்சுவரில்.

ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ கொல்லம் ஈராசுல அடாமாண்டை கர்க்கடகத்  
தில் வியாழந்தின்ற மீனஞாயிறு (ய) ச்சென்ற வியாழம் அனு

(a) The omissions due to the removal of one of the inscribed stones are marked thus \* \* \* \* \*

மும் இந்நாளால் வேண்டு கோளிடையுறுவாண்ணருகின்ற  
 மூலி உத்தம மார்த்தாட்டவர்ம திருவடி திருவாட்டா  
 ற்று பள்ளிகொண்டிருளின்ற பெருமாளுக்கு நியதிப்படிமு  
 ட்டாச்சிலவரி \* \* \* \* ஆதிச்சனுநையன்னுந் தம்பிமாற்கும்  
 வுள்ள நிலம் செரியகறைக் கூட்டிய பெறை (நிலம்) \* \* வும்  
 மாத்தறை (நில) ம் \* கூட \* \* னால் (நில) ம் \* \* மேலும்வுள்ள  
 மூன்று சலாகையும் அழகுச்சு நய தின்னும் (2) நேலியால்  
 கோதைநல்லூர் கீழ்ச்சேரித் திருக்கோயில்க்கல் கொண்டு  
 வந்து \* \* \* \* \* பூவழி. (a)

No. 7  
86.

OLD MALAYALAM.

திருவனந்தபுரம் கோசாலை கிருஷ்ணங்கோயில் வடபுறச்சுவரில்.

ஸபஸ்திமூலி: ஸ்ரீராமச்சந்திரமூர்த்தி (2) ய கஜபூமகையா  
 ஜாந்தாமையா (3) நாயகிமகையாணி யநகரிமகையாணி  
 (4) ஜனகமகையாணி மூலிமகையாணி ராமச்சந்திரமூர்த்தி (5) லிஸிம  
 ஜாந்தாமையாணி ராமச்சந்திரமூர்த்தி (6) ஜனகமகையாணி ராமச்சந்திரமூர்த்தி  
 ஜாந்தாமையாணி. (b)

No. 8A  
83.

VATTELUTTU.

வீரளம் அஸ்திவார வடகீழ்த்துச் சுவரில்.

ஸபஸ்திமூலி கொல்லம் நாகையா மாண்டிகன்னியில் வியா  
 முந்நின்ற இடபஞாயிது உ சென்ற நாள் கீழ்ப்.

No. 8B  
83.

Do.

மேற்படி நாலம்பலத்துக்கு முன்னுள்ள பல்லீடத்தின்  
 மேந்தப்பறம்.

மூலிதேவதாஸ் கோளவரம்ம திருவடிபிரதிட்டபண்ணி  
 யது.

(a) ெம் is now unknown to Malayalam. It is curious to note how in the above Vatteluttu record it is seeking to slip out of the language. அருண்மே is first spelt அருண்மே and then அருண்மே.

(b) There are not many letters in old Malayalam which have not since altered their form. ெ for instance is written ெ as in Tamil Granta.

No. 9.  
60.

VATTEUETTU.

ஷெள்ளாணிக்குணங்கரை ஆழ்வாரிடேயில் அஸ்திவாரத்  
தேன்புறச்சுவரில்.

ஸபஸி ஸ்ரி கர்க்கடத்தில் வியாழந்தின்றயாண்டு கொல்லம்  
நாளையக மாண்டை மேடநூயிது உய்சு சென்ற நான்ச் செ  
ய்த காரியமாவிது வேணுவாழந்தருளுகின்ற ஸ்ரி வீரராம  
வர்ம்ம திருவடிக்கமைஞ்சு அதிகாரருடைய செங்கோட்  
டாறு (2) சேரிக்கல் திருக்குண கரைவானமாதலி நாராயண  
விண்ணகர் ஆழ்வான்னு செலவுந்திருந்தா விளக்கின்றும்  
எழுதி நீரோடுமட்டிக்கொடுத்தார் அதிகாரர் இக்காலம் முத  
லாய் இச்சேரிக்கல் வேணுட்டறுதூற்றுவரும் பணி (3)  
செய்யின்றவாளுங் காரியஞ் செய்யின்றவாளும் மனுழச்சு  
மாய்த்திருக்குணகரைச் செலவுஞ் லுத்துமவன் னேழியூர்ப்  
பட்டாரகர்க்கு செலவின்னு முன்னம் அதிகாரர் கல்ப்பிச்சு  
விட்டு கொடுத்த நிலநீக்கிவுள்ளதெப்பேர்ப் (4) பட்டதும்  
கூட அதிகரிச்சு கொண்டு நியதம்மடையால் நானாழிச்சேவ  
தரிதிருவமிர்துஞ் செய்யிச்சு ஒரோதிருந்தா விளக்குஞ் செ  
லுத்திவருவிது நியதம் அமிர்துசெய்யும் அரிமடை நானாழி  
க்கும் புறைக்கூலி நீக்கி ஆ (5) ண்டிவரவேண்டுந்நெல் (பதது)  
க்காலால் இருபத்துநால்க்கலமுந் திருந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்றி  
னவேண்டுந் நெய்யெண்ணையுந்திரிநூலும் முட்டாதேசெலு  
த்திவருவிது செங்கோட்டாற்று மேலுங்கிழுமெள்ள நிலத்  
தில் ஊறுப் பூமியும் காராமை நில (6) த்திக்கொள்ளும்  
மேலதுங்கொடுங்கரைப்புரயிடமும் ஆளும்மிக்கு எப்பேர்ப்  
பட்டதுங்கூட அதிகரிச்சு கொண்டுசெலவும் முட்டாதே  
செலுத்துவிது. இது ஒருதுடைமுட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி  
இரண்டுதுடைமுட்டுகில் முரட்டிரட்டியுந் தெண்ட (7) மும்  
மூன்று துடைமுட்டுகில் அறுதூற்றுவரும் பணிசெய்யின்  
றவாளும் பதினெட்டுராஜுத்தில் வளஞ்செயரும் ஆராழ்ச்சு  
பண்ணி ஆசுரதாரவல் முட்டாதே செலுத்துவிது இச்சேரி  
க்கல் நாலெல்ல அகப்படத் தோரணமுந்நாட்டித் திருவிடை  
யாட்டமாக செல்லு மாறு (8) கல்ப்பிச்செடத்தறியுந் நாக்கு  
கொக்காப்பறம்பில்க் கண்டங்கண்டனும் அறியும் தானமண்  
கோட்டத்துகேரள மீசவானும் அறியும் ஆகி திருவிக்கிர  
மன்பர்நநனும் அறியும் பட்டாழிக் கோவிந்நங் குமபனும்  
அறியும் இப்படிக்குமே கைதவாயக்கண்டன் (9) உதயன்னன்  
எழுத்து.

திருவனந்தபுரம் ஸ்ரீபத்மநாபசுவாமிகோயில் இரண்டாம்பீரகார  
'இடைநாழி' (a)யின் தென்புறச் சிறுகவரில்.

ஸ்பஸித்ரி கற்கடகத்தில் வியாழந்கின்றயாண்டு கொல்  
லம் நாஅயிசு \* \* \* \* (2) ளால் திருவானந்தபுர  
த்து ஸ்வாஸ்தியைச் சமஞ்சிதனும் மித்திரானந்தபுரத்து தெக் \* \*  
\* \* \* \* (3) ன்னதயில்கூடியிருந்தருளி யெடத்து  
திருவேணாட்டடிகள் ஸ்ரீவீர இராமங் \* \* \* \* (4)  
ங்கப்பல்லவரையன் திருவானந்தபுரத்து பெருமாளுக்குச்  
திருவமிர்தின்னுந்த \* \* \* \* (5) நானாழியிலும் ஒரு  
பூஷணார் அமிர்த செய்த (6) தினு வேண்டும் வெஞ்சனம்  
\* \* \* \* (6) தறைமேல் நிச்சல் நடைபாட்டமா  
ளமவர்கைவழிபெருமாள் பறயால் அளவுகொ \* \* \* \*  
(7) தங்கப்பல்லவரையன்குள்ள செய்யுண்ணுங் களத்தாரும்  
சிறைமறமும் செழஞ் \* \* \* \* (8) கரையும் கரை  
ப்புரையிடத்தில் மேலும் ஆண்டுவரையும் பங்குனி உத்திர  
த்தி \* \* \* \* (9) நிச்சல் நடையோடுகூழமிட்டு அக  
த்து பந்திரடிக்கு ஒருநேர் அமிர்த \* \* \* \* (10)  
வர ஒரோதிருமால் கெட்டிச்சார்த்தி வருவது இந்நெல் ஒரு  
துடைமுட்டு \* \* \* \* (11) ட அடுத்த முட்டு  
கில் கூ ஸ்பம்மு தடுத்துவச்ச நெல்லும் அளவு கொள்விது  
தந்த \* \* \* \* (12) ம் வருகில் ஸ்ரீபாதமுலம் சென்  
று தீர்த்து கொடுப்பிது இவை கைதவளாகந்து \* \* \*  
\* \* (13) னற (c) யாண்டு கொல்லம் நாஅயிடு யாமாண்டு  
விரிச்சிக ஞாயிறு.

(a) இடைநாழி is Malayalam for a low passage between two rooms.

(b) செய்ததின் looks like a mistake for செய்ததின்.

(c) னற may be taken as ன்ற also in which case the interpreta-  
tion I have given in the lecture will not hold good. But it is altogether  
improbable that the date with which the document begins is repeated in  
the end for no special reason. I prefer, therefore, to take it as standing  
for அற or அஹ.



No. 11  
20.

VATTHELUTTU.

கடினங்துளத்து மஹாதேவர்கோயில் வடமேற்கு  
அஸ்திவாரச்சுவரில்

ஸஸிஸ்ரீ சூம்பவ்வியாழத்தில்க்கொல்லம் டாஅயிசு தா  
மாண்டைக்கெதிராமாண்டை மீன ஞாயிறு யெ (2) சென்ற  
வியாழமாண்டபூயமுந் தெசமிபு மேடமும் அன்று கிழப்பே  
ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ வீர இராமங்கேரளவர் (3) மதிருவடிவேணுவொழந்த  
ருள் ஸ்ரீ வீர இராமனுமையம்மை விள்ளவாள் திருவடி  
பிரதிட்டைப (4) ண்ணிச்சருளினது.

No. 12  
91.

Do.

பத்மநாபபுரத்துக்கு அடுத்த மணலிங்கரை ஆழ்வார் கோயில்  
முன்பு நட்டிருக்கும் கல்லில் உள்ளச் சிலைகிதம்.

I. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ வுபுதிகத்தில் (2) வியாழசின்றயாண்டு (3)  
கொல்லம் நானூற்று இரு (4) பதாமாண்டைக்கெதிராமா  
(5) ண்டு மேடஞாயிறு யெ சென் (6) தநாள் வேணுவொண்  
ணருளி (7) ன்ற ஸ்ரீ வீர இரவிகேரள (8) வர்ம்மதிருவடிக்  
கமை (9) ந்த அதிகாரிகளும் கோதை ந (10) ல்லூர் ஸலெ  
யாரும் ஊர் (11) ராரும் (மேற்படி) ஊர்க்கடமைத்தடி ன்  
(12) த மருதகச் சேரிக்கண்டந்தி (13) ருவிக்கிரமனும்சூடி  
(14) ப்பறஞ்ஞ ஸலெ நடயி (15) ல் இறைவரிநிலம் \* \*  
(16) த்தின் மேலும் அரக்கல் (17) கலச்செ ஈவு நெல்  
\* \* \* (18) உயிச ம் சாரல்கடமைக்கு ஈ (19) வுகலச்ச  
\* \* \* உயிச மா (20) க ஆண்டுவரை கடமைக்கு க (21)  
லச்செ ஈவு நெல் \* \* \* \* (22) வும் ஊரடவு இறை  
நிலம் (22) \* \* \* \* த்தின்மேலும் அர.

II. (1) க் கல்கடமைக்கு கலச்செ ஈவு (2) நெல் \* \* \*  
உயிச ம் சாரல்கு (3) கலச்செ ஈவு நெல் \* \* \* \* (4)  
\* \* \* உயிச மாக ஆண்டுவரை கடமை (5) க்கு கலச்செ  
ஈவுநெல் \* \* \* (6) \* \* \* \* \* மாக இறுக்கு  
(7) மாறும் கடமை அளந்நா (8) ல்வரிபுள்ளி பாஞ்ஞத (9)  
ருமாறும் கரணமெழுதின்ற (10) வர்ஸ்கையில்த் திரதரவு  
(11) ழியுமாறுங்கல்பிச்சேம்க (12) டமைக்கு நெல்லளந்  
நா (13) ல் வரியிப்ப் புள்ளி பாஞ்ஞ \* \* (14) துவாமிகையில்  
தரவு கொள்க ஒழிவ (15) து கடமைசென்று செல்லாத்

தின்னு (16) ஆண்டுவரையும் ஸலெயாரையும் (17) ஊராரையும் வளைச்சு அஞ்சாவி (18) எழுதிப்பிடிப்பிச்சு கடமை (19) யுங்கொண்டு வருவிது கரிவொள் (20) ளகாஷத்து ஸலெயாரையும் ஊரா (21) ரும் பற்று கண்டு அஞ்சொன்று (22) னால் வுண்டாக்கின்ற முதலுங்குட் (23) டிவிளவொள்ள நிலத்தின்மேல் (24) கடமை கொடுப்பிது கரிஞ்ஞகட (25) மை யற்றி என்று தோன்றுகில் த (26) பையாருமுராரும் துவாமியோடு (27) சொன்னு [ல்] துவாமி பற்று கண்டு அ (28) ஞ்சொன்று கொள்விது இம்முதலி (29) ல் பட்டவிருத்தி ஒண்ச்செலவின் (30) னுள்ள \* \* மும் அஞ்சொன்றில் (31) கழிவிது நடுவில் மொழிஞ்ஞ த (32) பையார்க்கும் ஊரார்க்கும்.

III. மிக்கும் (2) செனத்தின் (3) னு ஒத்தொ (4) ரு விழிவே (5) ண்டகில் (6) அம்முதல் (7) கு இறநி (8) லத் தின் (9) மேல்வரி (10) யு மெழுதி (11) க்கொடுத்து (12) அம்முதல் (13) க்குபவி (14) செய்யும் ப (15) ட்டரியுமொ (16) ழிஞ்ஞ தண் (17) டிக்கொண்டு (18) வரியும் (19) புள்ளிபா (20) ஞ்ஞனோவி (21) து இம்மா (22) ர்க்கமன்றி (23) யே செய்யோ (24) ருளராகில் (25) \* \* \* \* \* (26) \* \* \* \* \* (27) \* \* \* \* த

IV. ண்டமும் (2) வெச்சுபி (3) ன்னையுங் இ (4) ஸ்செய்த தே (5) காரியமா (6) விதாகவும் (7) ஆசனயார (8) வல்கல் (9) ப்பிச்சு (10) எழுதிய தரவு (11) திருமுதத் (12) தில் ப்பட் (13) டமார்க்க (14) மே எழுதிய (15) மைக்கு இ (16) து கல்வெட் (17) டாகும்.<sup>(a)</sup>

No. 13  
48.

VATTELUTTU.

வர்க்கலையில ஸ்ரீகோயிலீ தென்புறச்சுவரில்.

ஸ்பஸிமி மீடத்தில் புகுவியாழந்நின்றயாண்டு கொல்லம் சாடயெ மாண்டை இடவஞாயிறு இருபத்து ஒன்று சென்ற புதனாழ்ச்சையும் பூவ்பயித்தில் பஞ்சமியும் (2)

(a) I to IV mark the four sides of the tablet. It will be seen how corrupt the language of the document is. Does it show that it was drafted by a member of the Kōdaiallūr Sabha, and not by the hereditary clerk of the crown as usual? It freely mixes up Tamil and Malayalam, as is still done by the illiterate classes in Nānjinād.

அன்றே கார்க்கடகம் இராசிகொண்டு வர்க்கலை உதைய மாத்  
தாண்டபுரத்து வடசேரிகர லெழுந்தேன் அத்திட்டானம்  
துட்டிவி உத்தரத்தோளமு[ம்] கொப்ப (3) கிரிகமும் தளக்  
கல்லும் கூடக்கருங்கல்பணியும் செயிச்சு சிரிமானம் செம்  
பும்மேயிச்சு சிரிமுகமண்டபமும் புதுக்கிப்பணியும் செயி  
ச்சு திருக்க (4) லேயுமும் ஆடிச்சருளிய வேணுவாழந்தரு  
[ள்] சிரிவிர பத்தனாபம்மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடிக்கமை  
ஞ்ச அனிகாரர்.

No. 14  
69.

OLD TAMIL.

பத்மநாபபுரத்துக்குடுத்த கோளபுரம் கோயில் தென்  
புற அஸ்திவாசகவரில்.

கொல்லம் சாகுயக மாணலீட யாண்டு ச-வது சும்பு  
ஞாயிறு உய சென்றநாள் செய்த காரியமாவது வேணுவா  
ழந்தருளுகின்ற ஸ்ரீவிரஉதையமார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடி  
யார் வீரபாண்டிய தேவர்க்கு அமைந்த அதிகாரர்க்கு வுள்ள  
தென்னாட்டில் செங்கழு நீர் நாடு (2) முதல்நாட்டில்பால்க்கோ  
ட்டுதேசம் முத்தலைக்குறிச்சி ஸ்ரீவிரகேரள ஈச்சவரத்துமா  
தேவர்க்கு செலவினும் திருநந்தா விளக்கினும் எழுதிவி  
ட்டுக்கொடுத்தார் அமைந்த அதிகாரர் இம்மார்க்கமேஇத்தே  
சத்து கழியக்கம் கொள்ளும் ஒட்டிகடமையும் உவ்வியும்  
வேய்நெல்லும் அழகெ (3) ருதும் தறிதலைபனைம்பாட்டமும்  
கரைப்பற்றும் அழிவு பிழையும் கோமுறைபாடும் கூடவிட்டு  
க்கொடுத்தார் அமைந்த அதிகாரர் இவ்வண்ணமே இத்தேச  
த்து திருவிதான்கோட்டு மாதேவர்க்கும் பாக்கோட்டு  
தேவர்க்கும் பகவதிக்கும் கழியக்கம் ஒள்ளது நீங்கலாக  
ஒள்ள ஒட்டிகடமையும் உவ்வியும் வேய் (4) நெல்லும்  
அழகெருதும் தறிதலைபனைம்பாட்டமும் கரைப்பற்றும் அழி  
வுபிழையும் கோன்முறைபாடும் கூட ஆசந்திரதாரவல் வீர  
கேரள ஈச்சவரத்தும்மாதேவர்க்கு செலவினும் திருநந்தா  
விளக்கினும் எழுதிவிட்டு கொடுத்தெடுத்து அறியும் தாழக்  
கபுலவரமன் சாத்தன் மணியனும் அறியும் பெனா (5) நாட்டு  
நாராணன் குடிசனும் அறியும் பட்டாழிகண்டன் இரவிவர்ம்  
மன் எழுத்து புனலுரி \* \* \* திரிவிக்கிரமன் எழுத்து  
இவகள்ளறிய யோலை கையெழுதிய கையதைவா இராமன்  
கேரளன் எழுத்து.

