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SHORT HISTORY OF THE RAMA VRAMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND ITS BULLETIN

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

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 According to the scheme approved by the Government the object of the institute was to collect books, journals and unpublished manuscripts on the History of South India in general and of Kerala in particular to afford facilities for carrying on research work on the ancient History of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

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

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

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

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

Secretary,

Kerala Sahitya Akademi.



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THE BULLETIN OF THE SRI RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

THE MALAYALAM OF THE MISSIONARIES

BY

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

Cochin State and Travancore where Catholicism has flourished from a very early past, have ever since the advent of the Portugese in the 15th century attracted a stream of Catholic missionaries from the Latinist countries of Spain, Portugal and Italy. These missionaries knew well that a knowledge of the language of the people among whom they worked was always a key with which they could unlock the people's hearts. Many of them therefore acquired Malayalam with an assiduosity that could not be expected from laymen. Some of the earlier missionaries appear to have aimed at poetic composition, and literary excellence too. The story of the Malayalam scholarship of some of these pioneers is set out in Dr. P. J. Thomas' കേരളത്തിലെ ക്രിസ്തീയ സാഹിത്യം. A Hungarian missionary of the 17th century, who came to be known in Kerala as അമ്ബ്രോസ്യ പാതിരി and who was a scholar both in Malayalam and in Sanskrit, composed Malayalam poems and compiled dictionaries. Paulinos of the 18th century had to his credit quite a large number of Malayalam prose essays, though he had not as much scholarship as അമ്ബ്രോസ്യ പാതിരി Clemens Peanius, another 18th century student of Malayalam, composed സംക്ഷേപ വേദാന്തം and also a book on the Malayalam alphabet. The first Malayalam grammar in Malayalam appears to have been written by Angelo Francis in the first decade of the 18th century.

While some of these earlier missionaries aimed at scholarship, the majority of workers appear to have contented themselves with the acquisition of a linguistic medium which would help them to carry on their work in Kerala.

The journeyman-prose of these missionaries, particularly of the more recent periods, is "coloured" by what may be called the "Latinistic" outlook. Ideas, comparisons and turns of expression are cast in the Latinistic mould; constructions of Malayalam are imitated or adapted from those of the Latin speeches; new compounds and phrases are coined on the analogy of those existing in the speeches of the south of Europe; and sometimes even the words and forms of Malayalam are so chosen as to correspond to the south European outlook. It is these peculiarities that the Christians of Cochin State and Travancore good-humouredly refer to as മുപ്പച്ചൽ മലയാളം.

The study of a language by foreigners necessarily involves, in greater or lesser measure, this "colouring"; and so, the existence of constructional curiosities in the language of the European missionaries should not detract from the credit due to the enthusiasm and earnestness with which they pursued the study of Malayalam.

Though the Malayalam of the missionaries is, as is only to be expected, based upon the "dialect" of the Malayali Christians, it should not be considered to be identical with the "dialect" of the Christians. (which as I have pointed out elsewhere) owes its origin primarily to the cultural separation of the Christians from the Hindus, enjoined by the prohibitions of the Synod of Udayampārūr, whereas the unique peculiarities of മുപ്പച്ചൽ Malayalam arise from the Latinistic outlook of the missionaries. A few of the specialities of the Malayalam of the missionaries may have percolated to the religious word-stock of the masses; but, despite such infiltrations "മുപ്പച്ചൽ Malayalam" should not be equated to the dialect or dialects that Christians speak in south Cochin and North Travancore.

Except for some word-loans and for a few phrases in the religious vocabulary of the Christians, the outlook of the missionaries has left little permanent impress on Malayalam. While the influence of Sanskrit has been ancient (from the days of Tolkappiyam), continuous and long-standing, the contacts of the Latinistic outlook with Malayalam have been comparatively recent and restricted to a small area and a

small number of speakers. Again, the phenomenal influence of Sanskrit on Malayalam was due to the popularity of Sanskrit among *native* speakers for centuries, while the Latinistic outlook remained confined to the language of foreign missionaries. Further, the bonds between Sanskrit and Dravidian have been mutual from an ancient past.

For these reasons, "missionary" Malayalam has remained an "exotic," while Sanskrit has loaned out not only words but a few non-Dravidian sounds, gender-denoters, affixes and postpositions.

After I had dealt with the linguistic peculiarities of the 18th century സംക്ഷേപവേഷണം (written by Clemens Peanius), I chanced to come across two other works written by European missionaries. These two I propose to discuss below, in order to see if the directions along which the Latinistic outlook has influenced their Malayalam may be made clear.

II

The first work is entitled "കേരളരാജ്യത്തിലെ സത്യവേഷതാതം - ഇത കർമ്മലിത്ത മിഷ്യൂനാറിമാരിൽ ഒത്തനാൽ ഉണ്ടാക്കപ്പെട്ടു." Printed in കൂനമ്മാവു in 1872, it treats about the history of Christianity in Kerala; it is based upon older authorities like Paulinus and Raulin, and handled from the standpoint of a warm and vigorous supporter of the Synod of Diamper. The story of the arrival of St. Thomas in India, the rise of Nestorianism and its influence on India, the Synod of Diamper and the subsequent history of Catholicism in Kerala, the literary achievements of some European missionaries in Kerala and finally a chapter on the effect of Tippu Sultan's invasion on missionary activities in Kerala,—these constitute the contents of the book.

This book abounds in passages and constructions of the "Latinistic" variety, a few specimens of which are given below:—

1) Passages embodying typically foreign ideas :

.....ചരിത്ര പുസ്തകങ്ങൾ രണ്ടും വീശുന്ന അന്ധകാരങ്ങളുടെ ഇടയിൽ വഴിതെറ്റിപ്പോകാതെയിരിപ്പാൻ "so as not to lose one's way in the darkness produced by..."

...കണ്ണുനീരുകളെ ചിന്തിക്കൊണ്ടു സത്യം ചെയ്തു....."took an oath, shedding tears..."

[നെസ്തോറിസിന്റെ] നരകത്തിനടുത്ത വസന്തയെ അടക്കുവാൻ വശമായില്ല "was not possible to put down the disease dire as hell".

ഈ ചുമതലക്കു തോളുകളെ വഴക്കാഞ്ഞേനേ "would not have bent the shoulders to these burdens".

പട്ടിക്ക യോഗ്യ മുടിക *"dignum patella operculum."*

തന്റെ ആടുമാടുകളുടെ ഗുണവും സമാധാനവും പൂർണ്ണമാക്കി വരുമ്പോൾ "while completing the process of ensuring the peace and the welfare of the flock".

ചെമ്മരിയാടുകളുടെ വേഷം ധരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു നിങ്ങളുടെ പക്കൽ വരുന്നു, എന്നാൽ ഉള്ളേ പഠിക്കുന്ന പെണ്മാക്കൾ ആകുന്നു എന്നവരിൽനിന്നു സൂക്ഷിപ്പിൻ *"cavete ab iis qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces"*.

ആകാശരാജ്യത്തിന്റെ താക്കോലുകളെ കൊടുക്കയും തന്റെ ആടുക്കൂട്ടത്തിലേ ആടുകളേയും കഞ്ഞാടുകളേയും മേയ്പ്പാൻ ഭാരമേല്ക്കയും ചെയ്തപ്പോൾ "when the keys of the kingdom of heaven were handed over, and the duty of feeding the sheep and the lambs of [his] flock was entrusted".....

.....എന്ന കലഹക്കാരന്റെ വിത്തു ഏറിയവരുടെ ഹൃദയങ്ങളിൽ കിടന്നിരുന്നു....."the seeds sown by the sower of discord lay in the hearts of many."

2) Passive constructions like the following :—

അവരുടെ ചതിവാൽ കല്ലെറിയപ്പെടുകയും....."was pelted with stones on account of their treachery....."

ഈ വർത്തമാനം അറിയപ്പെട്ടപ്പോൾ "when this information was known".

പൊതുവായിട്ടുള്ള കരച്ചിലും ശാപവും കേൾക്കപ്പെട്ടു "general lamentations and curses were heard".

എന്റെ മനസ്സല്ലാ പിന്നേയോ തമ്പുരാന്റെ മനസ്സു ചെയ്യപ്പെടട്ടേ *"non mea voluntas fiat, sed Dei"*.

ഹൊരാജാവിന്റെ തിരുവെഴുത്തുകൾ എത്രയും ആഗ്രഹിക്കപ്പെട്ടതാ[sic] തിന്നു *"Exoptatissimae nobis erant litterae Majestatis"*.

3) Constructions which are exotic in Malayalam :

മറ്റു വഴിയിൽ കൂടെ കരയേറുന്ന എന്നുള്ളവൻ കള്ളൻ "*Qui ascendit aliunde, ille fur est*".

വലിയതായി എന്ന ഞാൻ അനുസരിച്ചില്ലെന്നുവെന്ന അബദ്ധത്തിന്റെ പൊരുതി "*erroris, quem ingentem fateor, veniam imploro*".

നിങ്ങളെ ദോഷിക്കുന്നു എന്നവൾ നമ്മെ ചെയ്യുകെൽവിൻ "Do good unto those who do evil to you".

പിശാചു ഓരോരോ ദിക്കിൽ ആധമമാക്കിപ്പട്ടങ്ങളായിത്തന്ന ദുതന്മാര വഴിയായിട്ട അറിവിൽ കുറയപ്പെട്ടവരാകുന്ന ലോകരെ തട്ടിച്ച ഭയങ്കരമായ ശീശ്മയിൽ ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തുകയും ചെയ്തു "Through the agents made ready by the devil in different parts of the country, men lacking in true knowledge were deceived into becoming involved in a frightful schism".

ഇടിവെട്ടപ്പെട്ട് "*fulmine tactus*".

4) Imitation of Latin "cases".

ആകാശത്തിന്റേയും നിദർഭയും മുന്നൽ ഞാൻ "peccavi in coelum et coram te".

ആത്മാവുകളുടെ രക്ഷയ്ക്കു തല്പര്യം "interest felt about the souls".

അവയൊക്കെയിമ്മേലും മിണ്ടാത്തതൊക്കെ "remaining silent about all that".

സത്യങ്ങളോടു മറുതലിപ്പാൻ "to contradict the truths".

ഈ കാസാ എന്നിൽനിന്നു കടക്കട്ടെ "*transeat a me calix iste*".

5) Word-compounds like the following which denote religious ideas and which therefore may have been specially coined :

ഹൃദയഅലിഖ "tenderness of heart".

ചാവുദോഷം "mortal sin".

പൈത്യാഹങ്കാരം "mad self-love" "*superbia*".

ഗുണവധികാരം "*probitus*".

ദോഷപൊരുതി "forgiveness of sins".

ദൈവ ഊഴിയം "work for the lord".

വെളുസകഥകൾ "open stories".¹

1. It may be noted here that the word-stock of this book is, as only to be expected, that of the Christians of south Cochin and north Travancore. Many words which I have listed in my paper on the "language of 18th century Malayalam prose written by Christians" appear in this book also. Old forms like വേണ്ടപതില്ല, പ്രാർത്ഥിക്കുന്നേൻ, തോന്നായ്ക്കാൻ, ചെയ്യാൻ, രക്ഷിക്കയും ആം also occur. All these must have been survivals in the Christian dialect.

III

The other work which I want to advert to here is a grammar of Malayalam written in Latin and published probably about 1903. There is no title-page in the copy that I possess; and the name of the author is also unknown. Apparently, the book was intended for missionaries who wished to study Malayalam; and I may state at once that the book abundantly fulfills this purpose despite mistakes and wrong etymologies.

The sounds and the grammatical features of Malayalam are viewed here through the Latinistic standpoint. Malayalam sounds are compared to those of Spanish, Italian and Latin (as spoken by the missionaries). The grammatical categories are cast into Latin moulds. The explanations are all made with reference to Latin (or Spanish), and some of the passages composed by the author for illustrating his propositions are examples of typical "missionary" Malayalam.

At the same time, there is no doubt that the author has studied Malayalam with some care, since he mentions or interprets unique Malayalam features like the following :

the "palatalised" ക്ക ;

the "neutral" vowel occurring as finals of nouns and of conjunctive participles, and also as the unaccented varieties of *a* in medial positions of words ;

the change of *a* to *e* in the radical syllables of Sanskrit loans with initial ഴ, ജ, ഡ, ട, ബ, ത, and ;

the opening out of *i* to *e* (as in എല) and of *u* to *o* (as in കോട);

the colloquial assimilation of alveolar ന് to a വർഗ്ഗാത്മക nasal before ക്, ച്, ത്, പ് in external സംസ്ഥി ;

the "nasal" assimilation in Malayalam ണ് and ണ്ത ;

the value of *l* for Sanskrit *t* in ത് ;

the qualificatory ഏ (which, however, is wrongly marked off as "ഏത്ത") ;

the old Malayalam negatives like സ്തേഹിക്കായന and സ്തേഹിക്കായ്ക്ക, which "*vix in praxi utuntur*";

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- the old use of ആം, as in ചെയ്തില്ലനും ചെയ്തായില്ലനും;
- the reference to the exotic character of the passive voice in Malayalam ;
- the "habitual" meaning of the future tense with ഉം;
- the clear description of the relative pronouns ;
- the use in Malayalam of the tense with ു, preceded by forms having final restrictive എ.

In view of these features, there is little doubt that the grammar would surely have served the practical purpose of introducing Malayalam to European missionaries.

There was a period in the history of the languages of Europe, when the scholars (who were in those days Latinists) had the tendency to saddle European 'vernaculars' indiscriminately "with the elaborate Latin system of tenses and moods". Jespersen observes that "by means of such Procrustean methods the actual facts of many languages were distorted and misrepresented; discriminations which had no foundation in reality were insisted on, while discriminations which were non-existent in Latin were apt to be overlooked".

The Sanskritists of Kerala have similarly tried to measure Malayalam grammar by the pattern of Sanskrit; for instance, the ബാലപ്രബോധം invents equivalents in Malayalam for the അപ്രകാരം construction, and gives the illustration പുറകുകിട്ടാലഹ കൂകുമെന്നുള്ളതുണ്ടായി. Again it regards സൂര്യൻ കക്കടകേനില്ലം വിഷയത്തിൽ as a locative absolute in Malayalam !

The adoption of a foreign grammatical terminology or scheme of classification need not by itself vitiate the usefulness of a book, if the fundamental features of the language concerned are analysed faithfully and minutely. It is when the important features of a language are ignored or misrepresented or neglected as unimportant, on account of the foreign outlook, that the treatment lays itself open to criticism. It may be said that for Malayalam, and for Dravidian in general, neither the terminologies nor the methods of grammatical classification have been uniform. Nor has the interpretation of grammatical facts from a foreign standpoint been everywhere successful.

The ancient Tamil grammar, *Tolkappiyam*, with its demarcations of *ഘഴുതു* ("sounds" with the sub-divisions *ആർ*, *പ്*, *മൊഴിമരപ്പ്*, *പിറപ്പ്*, *പുണർ*, *തൊക്കെമരപ്പ്*, *ഉരുപിയൽ*, *ഉയിർ* *മയങ്കിയൽ*, *പുളുഴയങ്കിയൽ* and *കററിയലുകരയങ്കിയൽ*) and *ചൊൽ* which divides Tamil parts of speech into *പെയർ*, *വീരനെ*, *ഇടൈ* *ചൊൽ* and *ഉരിചൊൽ*, and discusses morphology and syntax in nine chapters, has achieved signal success in the analysis of the unique peculiarities of Tamil. The later Tamil grammar *Nannūl* adopts this outlook with some modifications, but *Vīracōḷiyam* and the 17th century *Prayōgavivēkam* have done little justice to Tamil owing to the ultra-Sanskritic predilections of their method of approach.

The Telugu *Śabdacintāmaṇi* adopts a Sanskritic terminology and is more or less influenced by Sanskrit. On the other hand, the Kannaḍa grammars, *Bhaṣābhūṣaṇa* and *Śabdamaṇi-darpaṇa*, though not uninfluenced by Sanskrit, have analysed the features of Kannada sufficiently well. The European studies of Dravidian speeches, from Beschi to Vinson, have all been influenced by their European outlook, but they have attained varying degrees of success in the task of interpreting Dravidian.

For Malayalam, Kērala Pāṇini has propounded an original classification, aimed at exposing loyally the subtle grammatical distinctions of Malayalam, and divided the Malayalam parts of speech into *നാമം*, *കൃതി*, *ഭേദകം*, *നിപാതം* and *അവ്യയം*.

In the absence of a well-defined terminology or method of classification, the missionary author of this grammar adopted the perspective with which he was most familiar. I have pointed out already that some of the unique features of Malayalam have been well grasped. At the same time, the author's foreign outlook has not been without detriment to his handling. He has a tendency to mark off too many categories, some of them like the concreative, subjunctive, supines and gerundives being unnecessary; on the other hand, he sometimes fails to stress the importance of fundamental points, as when he clubs together the first element of compounds like *പോർപാതം* with adjectives, or when he regards *ഇരിക്ക* (in *അപ്പൻ ഇരിക്കെ മകൻ ഭാവെടുക്കണം പറഞ്ഞു*) as a "praesential".

The values of Malayalam sounds are given in terms of those of the sounds of Latin, Spanish or Italian. "a" for instance, is "*cia italicum, cha hispanum, suave;*" ഞ "profertur attracta retrorsum lingua, ita tamen ut *g vix audiatur;*" ഞ is "*gn italicum;*" ഞ "pronuntiatur inversa retrorsum lingua, fere adeo ut interiorem palati summitatem attingat, siccum sonitum producendo;" ഞ "ut ha anglicum et *ja hispanicum;*" and so on.

The parts of speech are (following the orthodox classification of Europe) marked off as Nouns, Adjectives, Pronouns, Verbs, Adverbs, Postpositions (in the stead of Prepositions), Conjunctions and Interjections.

Among the "cases" of nouns, four "ablatives" are distinguished, viz., the types of പശുചിന്താ, പശുചിന്താ, പശുചിന്താ and പശുചിന്താ. The instrumental and the locative are included in ablatives (according to the method of Latin grammars.)

"Adjectiva explicita" are forms like സന്തോഷമുള്ള, പിന്നെത്ത, ഇന്നലെത്ത, പൊൻ (in പൊൻപാത്രം), ആറു (in ആറുവെള്ളം), etc.—"Adjectiva abbreviata" are ഇള in ഇളനീർ കുറ in കുറുപ്പ്, etc.—And then there are also "Adjectiva attributiva" and "Adjectiva praedicativa."

Categories galore appear in the section on verbs: primitive verbs and derivative verbs, transitives, intransitives, auxiliaries, actives, passives, causals, intensives, composites, defectives, irregulars, the strong ("firma") and the weak ("infirma") are some of these.

The "moods" are the indicative, the imperative, the infinitive and the subjunctive (!) Malayalam constructions corresponding to the Latin supine, gerundials and participles are marked off, and conversely Malayalam participles are translated into Latin.

Simple, progressive and concreative (as in പോകയാകുന്നു) varieties are distinguished for the Malayalam present tense. The past tense has three varieties: the imperfect (പോയ്ക്കൊണ്ടിരുന്നു or പോകയാകുന്നു), the perfect (with its three sub-divisions: remote, proximate and progressive) and the pluperfect.

"Potentiales, impotentiales, necessariae, innecessariae, praeceptivales, prohibitivales, precativae, intentionales, habituales, dubitative, praesentiales, temporales, honorificae" these are "modal" forms of verbs !

And then there are "completives" and "explicatives" among "intensives".

While it may be granted that the author has succeeded in explaining some of the important features of Malayalam grammar, his Latinistic outlook has had a "cramping" effect on the treatment of a number of other features.¹

1. Forms like ഇനിക്കു, ഒക്കെയുടെ, ഒക്കെക്കു, കതിരേ (vocative), താമ്രത (vocative) കച്ചിൽ, പാച്ചിൽ, താത്താങ്ങൾ and imperatives like ചാട്ടു, എടു, കൊടു show that the language on which this grammar is based is the "dialect" current among Christians of south Cochin and north Travancore.

Illustrations like the following reflect the "Latinistic" outlook: അവൻ എന്നപ്രതി ദുഃഖിച്ചു "*Ille doluit de me*".

നിന്റെ രാജ്യം വരണം "*Adveniat regnum tuum*".

നാം പോകട്ടേ "*Eamus*" (for normal ഞങ്ങൾ പോകട്ടേ or നമുക്കു പോകാം.)

ഞങ്ങളുടെ ഇന്നന്ന അപ്പം ഞങ്ങൾക്കു തരണമേ "*Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie*".

ഞാൻ ദൈവത്തിൽ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു "*Confido in deo*".

There are gaps and mistakes like the following. Among the sounds, the difference between dental ന് and alveolar ന് has not been noted; the sound of ഞ് is not exactly 'fere ട്'; Sanskrit compounds are mentioned in the section on Malayalam സന്ധ; പോകുമ്പോൾ is wrongly split up into പോകും and അപ്പോൾ; the 'radix' of ചുരുങ്ങ is not ചെറു; വന്നുട്ടങ്ങ is not the "emphatic" form of വന്നു; etc.

Some of the "etymologies" are unhappy: വ് of രാജാവ് is not an 'affix'; ഇള of ഇളനീർ cannot be "derived" from ഇളയ which is not the 'forma integra'; ആളൻ of പുണ്യവാളൻ is wrongly isolated as വാളൻ; the ഏ in അവൻറെ is not the modification of അ of അത്; എന്നീ should be split up into എന്ന് and ഇ; to derive ഓക്ക from ഓൺ is to put the cart before the horse; ആണ as in "എന്റെ അച്ഛനാണ്" should not be confused with ആണ്, though sometimes ആണ (ultimately from ആശ്വത) is pronounced as ആണ് in Malayalam; it is wrong to say that there are no impersonal verbs in Malayalam, as instances like മിന്ന, ഇടിപ്പു fall under this category; and so on.

OUR IRON INDUSTRY

BY

T. SUDHAKARA MENON

We have indisputable evidences to show that iron industry was a very old one with us. The use of iron vessels is mentioned in *Manusmṛti*. *Matsya Purāṇa* mentions iron as one of the several materials used for the construction of idols. Iron was one of the constituents of *Pañcaloha* which was extensively used for making Hindu idols. Iron and its compounds were used by Hindu physicians from very ancient days. In Kerala, also, iron had been in use from time immemorial. The ancient Nayar warriors had several weapons of iron and steel and many of them have been referred to in the ballads known as *Vatakkal Pāttukal*; and the Archaeological Department of the State has obtained iron implements of some antiquity from the dolmens of Kattapala and Porkalam, near Kunnampulam.

Iron industry has been the hereditary occupation of *Kollans* or *Karuvans*. They extracted the metal from the lateritic ores and the black magnetite sand in river beds and made various implements with it. The fuel used was wood charcoal. Although the methods were extremely crude, their skill is to be very much appreciated.

Mr. C. Achutha Menon has thus remarked about the iron industry of Cochin State in his *Cochin State Manual* (1911); 'Iron used to be worked in Talapilli and Chittur Taluks, but the influx of cheaper English material killed the native industry more than half a century ago. The ruins of several old furnaces for obtaining iron from laterite were visible in these Taluks till recently'.

Mr. I. C. Chakko has mentioned in his *Geology of Travancore* (1921) that Kunnathnad Taluk was an important centre of indigenous iron industry.

Dr. Francis Buchanan has given a detailed description of the iron industry of Malabar in his book *Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar* Vol. 2 (1800):—

'The ore is dug out with a pickaxe, and broken into powder by the same instrument. It is then washed in a wooden trough, about four feet in length, open at both ends, and placed in the current of a rivulet, so that a gentle stream of water run constantly through it. The powdered ore is placed in the upper end of this trough; and as the water passes through the heap, a man continually stirs it about with his hand. The metallic sand remains in the upper end of the trough, the quartz is carried to the lower end and the clay is suspended and washed entirely away.....the furnaces are excavated out of the front of a mound of clay.....From behind opposite to each furnace, an arched cavity is dug in the mound, so as to leave a thin partition between the two excavations. For allowing the vitrified matter to run off, there is in this partition a hole one foot in diameter. Above the furnace is erected a chimney of clay, built with four plain sides, which in two different places is strengthened by four bamboos; lashed together at the angles.. The front of the furnace is quite open. Early in the morning, **when going to smelt**, the workmen put wet sand mixed with powdered charcoal into the bottom of the furnace, so as to fill it up as far as the hole in its back part, through which the vitrified matter is run out. The sand and charcoal are well beaten, and formed so as to slope from the outer and upper edges, both toward the hole and toward the ground in front of the furnace. The whole is then well stopped with clay; and clay pipes are inserted at each corner of the furnace, for the reception of the muzzles of the bellows. A row of clay pipes, eight or ten in number, is then laid on the surface of the sand, at right angles to the back of the furnace. Their outer ends project a little beyond the front, and their inner ends reach about half way to the back. The front of the furnace is then shut up with moist clay; and stoppers of the same are put in the outer mouths of the pipes. By removing these stoppers, and looking through the pipes, the workmen judge how the

operation is going forward. Ten baskets of charcoal, each weighing 63 lbs. are then poured in by the chimney; and this having been kindled, the bellows are set to work. Then 16 porays of prepared ore, weighing 2160 lbs., and 20 baskets more of charcoal, as the fire makes room for them, are gradually added. The operation lasts for 24 hours, two sets of men relieving each other at the bellows, and keeping up a constant blast. The principal workman who attends the fire adds the fuel and ore, and stops up the breaches; and when the mass of iron has formed, breaks the clay that shuts up the hole in the back part of the furnace, and lets out much vitrified matter, that strongly resembles brown haematites, and no doubt contains much iron, which this imperfect operation is unable to reduce. The bellows are then removed, and the front of the furnace is broken down. A great part of the charcoal which has not been consumed is then pulled out with sticks or forks and extinguished by water. The mass of iron is allowed to remain on the sand for 24 hours, and to cool gradually. According to the success of the operation it weighs from 8 to 12 *tolams* or from 256 to 384 lbs. The mass, when cool, is broken in pieces with a large hammer, and sold for use, it being then malleable, although somewhat brittle'.

Mr. C. A. Innes has thus remarked in his *Malabar District Gazetteer 1915*); 'The whole of the District, Hill and Plain alikecontains iron ore in inexhaustible quantities, and if only there were coal at hand, Malabar might become one of the greatest industrial centres in India. One hundred years ago, when Dr. Buchanan travelled through the district, as many as thirtyfour forges were at work in the vicinity of Angadippuram in Walavanad; and in 1848 iron works were started at Bepore. But the works failed, and the native industry, killed by the influx of cheaper English material, is moribund; and only at one or two forges near Karuvarakkundu in the Ernad Taluk are small quantities of iron still smelted by the primitive processes described by Buchanan'.

In Cochin State, I have seen large quantities of iron slag

or *Puranakittam* in several places like Kadavallur, Desamangalam and Anappara. These are the relics of the ancient indigenous iron industry. It is interesting to note that this *Puranakittam* is used by Ayurvedic Physicians as a valuable medicine.

The most remarkable occurrence of *Puranakittam* in Cochin State is at Panjal, near Cheruthuruthi. In a new Panchayat road about two miles to the east of Vettikkattiri Railway Station, heaps of *Puranakittam* are found on either side. This road has been cut along the southern slope of Panjal hill which is full of pieces of this material. In a teak plantation, just to the west of the junction of the old and new Panchayat roads, also, I found large quantities of *Puranakittam*. It can be conjectured that the iron weapons used by the famous ancient warriors—Manakkot Achans of Mullurkkara—were probably manufactured at Panjal.

Puranakittam contains a large percentage of iron, on account of the imperfect and crude methods of extraction of the metal from the ores. By applying modern metallurgical operations, it is possible to extract all the iron from this material, and I think this is an industry worth developing on a small scale in Cochin State, especially in these days of war when iron has become very dear.

THE TRIPPUNITHURA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

THE RECORD OF VIRA RAVI VARMA—A NOTE

(Prof. K. R. PISHAROTI M. A.)

The inscription studied below is incised in Malayalam characters on the *Kumuda* on the south side on the western face of the western *Gopura* of the Trippunithura temple. It runs as follows:—

ājñāmevamiti prabhussamadhiyāmagresarah pāṭhivā-
dvidvatprābhṛtabhaktimāṭṭavasudhā-nāthāc samādāya saḥ 1
citram paścimagopuram tvakalayat cāpasthite bhāskare
vīraśrīravivarma nāma sacivaḥ pūrṇatrayīśālaye 11

The text may be translated as follows:

Having received the order *so be it* from the king, who was the lord of the *Māti* kingdom and who offered devotion as his welcome to the learned, (his benevolent associate, lord Vīra Ravi Varma constructed the ornate western *Gopura* in the *Pūrṇatrayīśa* temple, when the Sun was in *Dhanu*

The inscription thus records that Vīra Ravi Varma took permission from the king of Cochīn and constructed in wondrous form the western *Gopura* of the Trippunithura temple in the month of *Dhanu*.

The statement that the construction work was finished in the month of *Dhanu* necessarily suggests that the year of construction must also be mentioned in the epigraph and this may be taken as indicated by the term—*kali*—occurring in the predicate, *akalayat*, of the text of the record. A scrutiny of the third *pāṭa* where this phrase occurs would show that the *Kali* given cannot be taken in terms of days.¹ Can it, then, be in terms of years? If so, the part of the word—*gopuram tu*—may be taken as the year of construction, particularly because this

1. If, however, *gopurantvakalāyat*, may be taken as laying down the number of *Kali* days, then it would work to about six hundred years earlier—an antiquity which does not appear to be justifiable by the evidence now available.

part is immediately followed by the term *-kala-*; and this phrase corresponds to the *Kali* year 4213, i. e., 1112 A. C.

And we may here point out that we have other instances of *Kali* dates being handed down to us in terms of years; compare for instance *dadurđharām*. We are, therefore, inclined to accept it as denoting the *Kali* year and hold that *the western Gopura might have been originally built in 1112 A. C.*

A possible objection to this dating may be anticipated in the nature of the Malayalam characters used in the script, which is presumably modern. In reply to this we need only draw the attention of the readers to three documents: i) the Āditya Rāma record of Trivandrum,¹ in the Ūrakam inscription of Perumpaṭappu Eḷaya Tāvaḷi Narayāṇa Iravi, dated 110 C. E. corresponding to the *Kali* date, '*naviḡā raciteyam*', i. e. about 1453 A. C., and iii) the Vira Rāghava Cakravarti Plate assigned to 1451 A. C. The Malayalam characters appearing, in these three documents are all alike in general shape and agree with what we have to-day; and merely for this reason, therefore, they may not be termed modern. As a matter of fact, the present Malayalam characters were devised and used by us for the purpose of transcribing Samskrit texts, and, if latterly they were used exclusively for Malayalam, it was the result of the large preponderance of Samskritic idioms in our vernacular. Hence the nature of the Malayalam characters need not necessarily invalidate the dating of the record, as we have interpreted it.

Another possible objection against this dating may be advanced from the point of view of the fact that this record associates with the temple the king of Cochin—an association which the records of the temple for this period do not support. In reply to this we have only to point out that even an earlier record of the temple—we mean the record of Goda Ravi—shows that the Perumpaṭappu Mūppil was closely connected with the temple even in the first half of the tenth century of the Christian Era. And this record further shows that the temple had become an important centre of *Vaiṣṇavite* worship at that time. Further, tradition tells us that in the middle of

1 *BRVRI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 61 ff.

the twelfth century, the royal family of Cochin was closely associated with this area, as evidenced by the chronogram, *Koṭuttū brāhmanādhyam*, which bespeaks the acquisition by the princess of the family of the site of modern Cochin from the Chief of Idappalli. Thus the association of the king of Cochin with this temple in those ancient days need not invalidate the dating advanced.

The construction of the *Gopura* is here mentioned as having been done after taking permission from the king of Cochin. When this statement is read along with the statement contained in the Goda Ravi record, one may assume that the king of Cochin had vested interests in the temple even from the tenth century onwards at the latest. But the more ancient *ola* records do not show such connection. The temple was situate in the *Kurunāt*; i.e., in the country ruled over by the *Kurūsvarūpam*, and this was apparently under the suzerainty of the king of Cochin. Hence the taking of permission need not necessarily mean any vested interests in the temple or the king's ownership of the temple: it means only that the king of Cochin was the overlord of the temple, as he was of every temple in the land by virtue of his being the religious overlord of all Kerala.

The text lays down that the construction work was undertaken by Vīra Ravi Varma. When we know that he was not the king of Cochin, the *prima facie* assumption is that he was the ruler of *Kurunāt*, i.e. the chief of the *Kurūsvarūpam*. This assumption is supported by another record in the same temple which runs as follows:

śeṣāsīnam yayāce deśaśataśīrasam kāraṇāmbhasthamiśam
yatkaunteyopamitya syayamatimahatā bhaktivittena pūrvam |
pūrṇatrāyālaye sthāpitamavatu kurukṣmālālāme punastat
jyotirbhadṛāsanāhipravaraphaṇamaṇicchatracitroj्ज्वालमवाḥ ||

The third *pāda* of this verse categorically states that Trippunithura was the crest jewel of *Kurunāt*; and since the *Nāt* had its own rulers, the *prima facie* assumption that the ruler of that country constructed the *Gopura* is perfectly legitimate. That he was the ruler of the place is also clear from the expression, given in the record, that he was the *Prabhu*, that is the sovereign of the country.

What is the relation of Ravi Varma with the kings of Cochin? While there is no means of deciding this definitely, we may say on the basis of the text itself that he was the *saciva* of the latter. And this, we may mention, is also the relation in which Ravi Āditya of the *Goda Ravi Record* stands to the Perumpatappu Mūppil. From this we may also conclude that Ravi Āditya also was a member of the *Kurūsvārūpam*. This relationship is, however, natural, particularly because, during those days and much later also down till the middle of the seventeenth century, Perumpatappu Mūppils were the imperial Overlords of all-Kerala. If the interpretation we have given above is correct, as it presumably looks, then we have the earliest reference to the members of the *Kurūsvārūpam* in the Ravi Āditya of the tenth century and Ravi Varma of the twelfth century.

Who was the king of Cochin at the period is the next question we may ask. From the Quilon record, it will be found that the Perumpatappu Mūppil during 1102 A. C. was Rama Tiruvati Koyiladhikarikal Kulāśekhara Cakravarti who made good the losses sustained by the people during the Coḷa inroads in 1097 A. C. He was one of the eminent sovereigns of the Perumpatappu Svarupam, and he exercised imperial suzerainty over the whole of Kerala from Kōlam in the north to at least Quilon in the south, an aspect we have elaborated elsewhere. In the political and military activities of the period, he might have been helped by Ravi Varma of the *Kuru Svarūpam*, who is here described as a nobleman and great warrior. We are, therefore, inclined to identify the *Mātavasudhānātha* of the record with the Perumpatappu Mūppil Rama Varma Kulāśekhara Cakravarti of the Quilon epigraph.

It may not be that the *Gopura* that now stands on the western side is the one built by Ravi Varma. Probably it is not, for towards the close of the ninth century M. E. the same was rebuilt. It is, however, possible that the basement of the structure is an old one.*

* The text of the record is published in the 7 AS., Vol. VI.

SUPPLEMENT to the BULLETIN (No. III).

VIKRAMA the GREAT
OF CALICUT.

K. R. PISHAROTI, M. A.

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VIKRAMA—THE GREAT.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

During the closing decades of what in the European sense of the term may be called the Middle Ages, the foremost of the kingdoms into which Kerala was divided was Calicut. Under the brilliant rule of a succession of eminent sovereigns, she had already attained to zenith of her prosperity¹, politically and commercially. In the field of politics, thanks to the goodwill of the mighty Empire of Vijayanagar, she conquered all the petty potentates² lying to the north of the Bhāratapuḷa, called *Dakṣiṇagamga* in Samskrit. Amongst the kingdoms that lay to the south of this river, the most powerful was Cochin under the sway of the Perumpaṭappu Mūppil, and it was always her ambition to subjugate this kingdom, or at least to prevent it from exercising the all-Kerala supremacy.³ Commercially, she had canvassed all the trade of the West Coast in pepper and spices, and these her valuable products went into the markets of the European countries through the Moorish merchants and into those of the far East through the Chinese traders. The political successes that crowned her arms, the wealth that her commerce brought unto her, the consolidation of the conquests that she made and the wise and statesmanlike policy that her great rulers followed made Calicut the premier kingdom of the West Coast. She was strong, she was wealthy, she was aggressive and she was

1. Vide last chapter. Ibn Batuta calls it *one of the greatest ports of the district of Malabar*; Ma Huan, *'the greatest emporium of trade'*; Abdur Raazak, *'a perfectly secured harbour'*; Nicolo Conti, a *'noble emporium for all India'*; Niketan, *'a great city'*.

2. Such for instance as Polanai, Vailuvanaṭ, Kurumbranai, etc.

3. Vide the writer's paper on *the King of Cochin versus the Emperor of Kerala*, published in the *Maharaja's College Magazine*, Ernakulam.

ambitious. Hers was the ambition to found an empire on the West Coast and revive the ancient glory of the *Perumals* and she narrowly escaped doing so through the vicissitudes of fortune. Thus, while fate was against her founding a political empire, she did succeed in one direction at least, in establishing an *Empire of Letters*, which has ever since been the envy of all her neighbours, both friends and foes, an empire which is even today looked up to with glory and pride by every son of Kerala. The founder of this *Empire of Letters* was Mānavikrama Śaktan Tampurān, the *Lord of the Mountains and the Seas*¹ who guided the destinies of the kingdom in the latter half of the fifteenth century.² Great was his love of learning, and from available references it would be seen that he was also a scholar of no mean repute³. Thanks to the interest and solicitude evinced by this monarch in the cause of learning and the liberal patronage he extended to her votaries, there basked in the regal munificence of his Court at Calicut, according to tradition, nineteen *Kavis*,⁴ poets and scholars—the largest number that any king gathered around him or that ever flourished at the court of any king. A discerning and grateful progeny has very aptly compared this Vikrama with the Vikrama of Ujjain and the Bhoja of Dhar. The lives and doings of the members of this famous *Vikramasūdas* and of their contemporaries should certainly read like a page of romance in the history of *Kerala Contribution to Sanskrit Literature*.

Great undoubtedly was the splendour of Vikrama's court, but unfortunately the history of the period, shrouded in mystery⁵. In spite of the fact that there were nineteen

1. Compare the title *Śilābdhisvar* which is a samskritised form of the term *Kunnalakkon*. Is not this a metamorphosis of *Kunjarakkon* which is very appropriate for a feudatory of Anangundy kings?

2. That this is the period will be clear from the following section.

3. He was the disciple of Karunakara Pisharoti of Mukkola and was the author of a commentary on the *Anargharaghaviya*: vide last chapter.

4. To be more correct, tradition speaks of eighteen and a half poets, Punam being assigned only the place of a *half Poet*.

5. The archives of the royal family at Calicut do not contain any documents pertaining to this period, for these, it is reported, were all destroyed in a series of fires, accidental and vandalistic.

stars adorning his court, not a single date, except that given by Cennos Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiripād, has survived the wreck of time. As a matter of fact even the date of the great Vikrama himself is unknown, and it has to be reconstructed from the solitary date given by his courtier.¹ Arguing from this date, we may tentatively put down the age of Vikrama to the middle of the latter half of the fifteenth century. And the glorious renaissance of Samskrit learning that we witness at this time at the court of Calicut and in a subordinate degree at the courts of Kolattiri in the north and Cochin in the south, stands in striking contrast to the decadence that we meet with elsewhere in India.

II. Talitānam².

Vikrama introduced a novel method for securing and perpetuating the presenee at his court of a galaxy of eminent pandits by the re-organisation of what has familiarly come to be called the *Tali-tānam*. In full form it should be *Tali-Bhaṭṭatānam*, i. e., the *Bhaṭṭa-dānam* conducted in the Tali temple. *Bhaṭṭa-tānam* is being derived in two different ways as *Bhaṭṭa-sthānam* or as *Bhaṭṭa-dānam*³ i. e., the dignities of, or the present of money to eminent *Bhaṭṭa* scholars.

*Bhaṭṭa-dānam*s are generally instituted in connection with the anniversary celebrations of a deceased ancestor, and such

1. Compare Cennos Nampūtiripād's *Tantrasamuccaya: Kalyaṇdeś-vatīyatsu nandanayaṇeṣvambhodi samjeṣṇ- ityadi*, which works to about 1427 A. D. and which bespeaks the *Kali* date of the birth of the poet and not of the writing of the work as some others hold.

2. The information presented here is taken from *MM.* and *HSLK*; vide also the writer's paper in *IHQ.*, Vol. V.

3. In local Malayalam it is called *Pattattānam* which means the same. And in either case it would mean the honouring of *Bhaṭṭa* by the award of money for their proficiency, originally in *Mimamsa* and latterly in any of the orthodox *Sastras*, such as *Vyakarana*, *Vedānta* and *Nyaya*. In later days, however, it has degenerated into mere money gifts irrespective of the recipient's scholarship.

*dānam*s are generally celebrated even today by the royal families on this coast, by the Zamorin Maharaja, the Maharaja of Cochin and the Maharaja of Travancore. This consists of the award of money purses to deserving scholars in the various branches of Hindu *śāstras*, as tested at a *Vidvatsada*^s though originally the award must apparently have been confined to experts in *Mīmāṃsā* alone, as the term Bhatta would suggest. The *Sastras* discussed are *Mīmāṃsā*, *Vedānta*, *Vyākaraṇa* and *Nyāya*; and the value of the *danam* would depend upon the nature of the subject, but more upon the scholarly attainments of the candidate concerned.

The famous *Talittānam* was instituted in ancient days in memory of a deceased ancestor of the Zamorin of Calicut who came to an unnatural end through the intrigues of a princess of the family;¹ and consequently the *danam* must have been in existence even before the time of Vikrama the Great. It can, however, definitely be said that it was made to function in the cause of advanced *śāstraic* learning by this great prince himself. This re-organisation of the *dānam* no doubt served as a great stimulus for the revival of learning; and it certainly helped to focus a renaissance in literary and *śāstraic* studies at Calicut. For, it became the ambition of every scholar to be honoured by a purse at *Talittānam*, as this came to be looked upon as the hall mark of proficiency in *śāstraic* lore.

In the *Talittānam*, *śāstraic* discussions take place, as we have already mentioned, in the subjects of *Mīmāṃsā*, *Vedānta*, and *Vyākaraṇa*. For each of the two branches of *Mīmāṃsā*—the *Prābhakara* and *Kaumarilla* systems—there are set apart twelve purses; thirteen purses are offered for *Vedānta* and nine for *Vyākaraṇa*. These forty-six purses are to be won by open competition by scholars in the *śāstra sadas*. Besides, there are four purses, not thrown open to scholars, but reserved for hereditary *Sthanis*, and they are each given to (i) Ālattūr Nampī,

1. Vide *HSLK* pp 466–467.

one of the premier *Aṣṭavaidyans* of Malabar; (ii) the Bhaṭṭatiri of the Tali temple, (iii) Mullepilli Nampūtiri and (iv) the Koyma, representing the Zamorin himself. There is also reserved another purse to be given to the scholar who stands most pre-eminent amongst all. Thus in all there are fifty-one purses awarded every year in the month of *Thulam*, each purse being of the value of fifty one *fanams*, roughly corresponding to Rupees Sixteen. It was, indeed, counted a great honour to be allowed into the *Sadas* and to take part in the *śāstraic* discussions¹. Consequently, scholars from far and wide flocked to Calicut every year to participate in the *śāstra Sadas*.

The procedure followed in the *Talittānam* is also interesting and may be noticed briefly. The members of the Payyūr Bhāṭṭa Mana constituted the judges. The scholars who wished to take part in the discussions had to pass through a preliminary test, and the successful candidates were presented to the Zamorin who gave them each a piece of sandalwood, a bouquet of jasmine flowers and some betel leaves and nuts. Then they were all escorted by Mullepilli Nampūtiri to their respective seats in the hall. When all the scholars were seated, the members of the royal family presented themselves: they, then, circumambulated and made their obeisance to the assembly. The conclave met in the northern vestibule of the Tali temple, and hence the function is called *Talittānam*. It is an

1. It is interesting to notice here that the scholars at the court of Vikrama were all Nampūtiris and this is naturally so, for Brahmins alone were allowed to study the orthodox *Sastras*, and they alone were admitted in'to the *Sadas*. The natural presumption, therefore is that all those who were able to win a prize at the *Talittānam* were made members of the *Vikramasadas*. If, therefore, we do not find others we mean Ambalavasts or Nayars figuring as scholars during the period, it does not necessarily mean that there were no scholars among them. As a matter of fact we shall be noticing one Marar, one Warriar and one Pisharotti among the eminent poets of the period, and in addition there are the members of the Desamangalatt Wariyam who were the traditional *Kulagurus* of the members of the royal family of Calicut. Hence the statement of the eighteen and a half poets of the *Vikrama Sadas* must be taken in the sense of the scholars who were honoured by the award of money purses at the *Talittānam*. It does not exhaust the list of the scholars of the period

inviolable rule that discussions in *Mīmāṃsa* and *Vedānta* must be held in the temple itself and that Brahmins alone should participate in the discussions. *Vyākaraṇa* and *Nyāya* discussions may, however, be held in the palace of the Zamorin, situate near the Tali temple. The first day's function ends with the obeisance of the members of the royal family, and the subsequent six days are set apart for *śāstraic* discussions.

The institution of the *Talittanam*¹ and the very liberal patronage extended to scholars and poets by the great Vikrama thus secured the presence at his court of the flower of Kerala scholarship of the day. This period is rightly looked upon as the heyday of our splendour, so far as Samskritic studies are concerned.² The nineteen scholars and poets,³ constituting the famous *Vikramasadas*, were the nine members of the Payyur Bhāṭṭa Mana, popularly known as the *Navaratnas* or

1. The account given in the following pages cannot from the very nature of the sources be said to have much pretence to finality. The main aim is to codify the floating traditions regarding this galaxy of scholars, poets and scholars, and to introduce into the subject whatever discipline is possible from the few internal evidences available from the extant works, which some of these towering personalities have left behind them.

The *Talittanam* which was reorganised in this form by Vikrama in the latter half of the fifteenth century continued to be the greatest attraction for scholars and poets from that time onwards till sad times fell upon the kingdom and it became absorbed into the British Empire.

2. See Appendix I for a statement of the varied facilities that Kerala offered for the development of Samskritic studies.

3. We may here notice a couple of general facts connected with the patronage extended by the royal family of Calicut to scholars. The pages following will make it clear that there was, in and about Calicut, a large number of scholars and poets who were as great as the coterie of *eighteen and a half poets*, but who were not included in the same. This *Vikramasadas*, as we have mentioned already, is composed of only Brahmins, and these, then, will be only those who distinguished themselves in *Sastra Sadas*, the minor scholars being left out. Thus the court of Vikrama must be assumed to have been graced by scholars other than those included in the *Vikramasadas*. This is an interesting fact that should not be forgotten by the student of literature.

Narayogins of Payyūr Mana, the five Nampūtiris of Tiruve-gapura, Mullepilli Nampūtiri, Uddanta, Cennos Nārayaṇan Nampūtiripāt, Kākkāṣeri Dāmodaran Bhaṭṭatiri and Punam Nampūtiri. Of these nineteen members, no information is available regarding the Nampūtiris from Tiruve-gappura and of Mullipalli Illam, and so they are not separately treated in the course of the present study.¹

The nineteen members who constituted the *Vikramasadas* are termed *Kavis*, a term which means poets. Apparently a question may be asked; has every one of them produced works? Certainly we have no information that they have or they have not. But it deserves to be pointed out that in ancient parlance the term would denote not the writing of poems as such, but it refers primarily to the capacity for composing verses within a specified time on any subject announced. In other words, the term would only imply that all the members of the *Vikrama-sadas* had the blessings of the *Muse* and could compose poems whenever required.

Still another point that deserves to be noticed here is that all these scholars were not permanent residents of Calicut: they had an annual meet during the period of the *Talittanam*, when they held the *Festival of Letters* under the distinguished presidency of the great and glorious Vikrama.

1. A consensus of tradition would have it that Uddanta was the most outstanding personality at the court of Vikrama. From the nature of the *Talittanam*, as we have described it, it would seem that at the most Uddanta could have taken a prize in all the sections of *Mīmamsā*, *Vedānta* and *Vyākaraṇa*. Such an assumption cannot satisfactorily explain the need felt by the Malayali Nampūtiris to create a scholar to defeat Uddanta. Regarding this, however, tradition is very strong. Hence we have to assume that Uddanta's position at the court and in the *Sastrasadas* was something more than the receiving of a purse in connection with *Talittanams*. This he might or might not have received. Apparently, there must have been a bigger purse set apart for the greatest scholar of the day, and this must have been consistently taken by Uddanta—a purse which was intended for the *Sarvatantrasvatantra*. Such an assumption would not in the least affect the greatness of the *Nararatnas* of Payyūr Mana nor of Cennos Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiripād. We are, therefore, inclined to think that Uddanta's position at court was not as a specialist in any one *Sastra* but as the expert in all the *Sastras*, in which capacity he was then equalled by none at the court.

CHAPTER II. PAYYŪR BHĀṬṬATIRIS.

The Payyūr Bhāṭṭa Mana was the central stronghold of both the schools of *Mīmāṃsa*;¹ and the members of this family, nine in number, formed the major part of the members of the famous *Vikramasādaś*.² These scholars, *Narayogins* or *Nava-ratnams*, as they are popularly called, have focussed the attention of orientalists, and more than one notice of them is available,³ even though none of them is within the easy access of the layman.⁴ One school of thought would have it that this premier family of Bhāṭṭas traced their descent from the famous Maṇḍanācārya⁵. This, however, is only a piece of inference

1. Vide KS -verse 78 of :-

kiñcid pūrvā raṇakhalabhuvī śrīmadadhyakṣayethā-
stanmīmāṃsādvayakulagurorsadma puṇyam maharṣeḥ iti.

2. Vide section on *Pattattanam* in Chapter I.

3. The earliest of these notices was that of the present writer in his paper on *Religion and Philosophy*, (vide *IHQ*, Vol. V). This note was scrappy, being built upon insufficient materials. The next is the more complete notice by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastry in his Samskrit Introduction to the *SS*. (*MUSS* No. VI) The conclusions of this writer have been bodily accepted and embodied by Mr. V. A. R. Sastry in his English Introduction to his edition of the *TB* (*AUSS* No. III) The latest notice is by Vatakkankur in his *HSLK* who differs fundamentally from that view, for he makes Paramesvara III the contemporary of Uddanta. In the light of the available evidence this view must be pronounced to be wrong.

4. Two of these are in English and one in Samskrit. The only one in Malayalam is scrappy and incomplete.

5. This view is set forth by the present writer in his paper *Religion and Philosophy*. (vide *IHQ*, Vol. V). The latest writer to expound this view is Vatakkankur Rajaraja Varma, vide *HSLK*, Chapter VII, Page 453. This view is, however, questioned, (vide *KSPP*, Vol. V). The view that they are identical is based upon a verse occurring in the commentary on the *Tatvabindu* by Paramesvara II; cf.

maṇḍanācāryakṛtayo yeṣvādhīyanta kṛṣṇaśaḥ 1
tadvmsēna mayāpyeṣa racitārādhya devatām 11

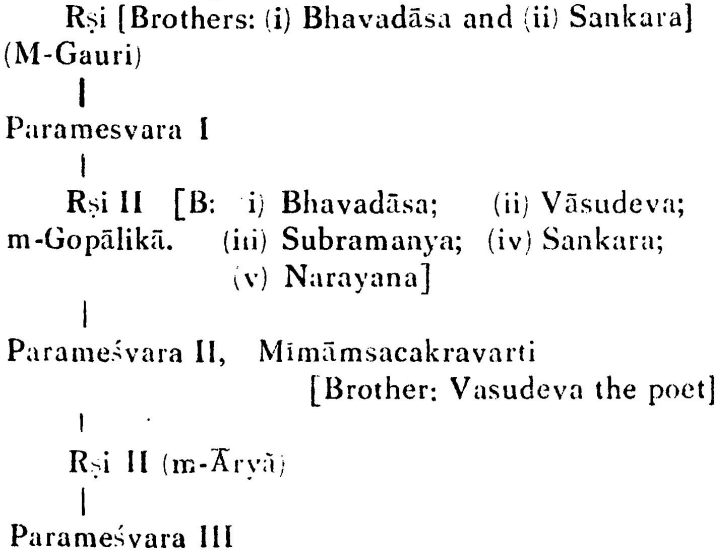
and remains yet to be substantiated". In any case, with the beginnings of the greatness of the royal family of Calicut and the reorganisation of the *Talittānam*, this family became well-known for its scholarship, and it reached the acme of perfection in the latter half of the fifteenth century under the brilliant lead of Maharṣi his scholarly brothers and his eminent son, the nine gems of Vikrama's court. These nine Bhāttas were to adjudge the merits of the combatants in the battle of learning that was annually held at the Tāḷi Temple.⁷ From the literary evidence now available, it is possible to reconstruct six generations of this family in continuous succession, roughly covering a period of at least a hundred and fifty years.

It must certainly be conceded that this verse by itself does not categorically prove that the author is a descendant of Māndana, but this is certainly the implication, as we shall presently show. As the text stands, it would only mean that Paramesvara comes from a family which made the study of Māndana its primary concern. The question deserves to be asked how far this would be a qualification for Paramesvara or a source of greatness for him. To one who is a non-entity, it may serve as a valuable introduction, but to one in the position of Paramesvara, it is nothing, for he is one who can stand on his own legs. Now even assuming that this is a source of greatness for Paramesvara—and this is possible only on the assumption that the interpretation of Māndana was the peculiar tradition of this family—the question deserves to be asked why this family should have specialised in Māndana. The only reasonable assumption is that Māndana must have been associated with this family; otherwise the family preference for Māndana could not be explained. It would hence mean that the traditions of that great scholar and his interpretation of the *Kaumarilla* system were handed down in this family from immemorial times, in continuous succession from father to son. On the whole, then, it may with a large amount of truth be held that Māndana was the forefather of the Payyur Bhatta Mana, though the basis of this view, as it now stands, is rather weak. More than this we cannot in the present state of our knowledge say.

6. The speculation gains considerably in strength, when it is further pointed out that the old *Māndana-Suresvara* equation has been bowled down; These two writers are looked upon as being different.

7. Vide description of *Talittānam*, given ante.

The reconstructed chronology is as follows: Rṣi, I the earliest member we so far know, married a Gauri and had a son, called Parameśvara, whom we style Parameśvara I. This Parameśvara had two paternal uncles, a Bhavadāsa and a Śankara. He had eight sons, the eldest of whom was Rṣi II or Maharṣi, as Uddaṇṭa styles him, and among the brothers, the names of Bhavadāsa, Vāsudeva, Subramanya and S'ankara alone are definitely known, possibly also Nārāyaṇa. Rṣi II married Gopālikā and begat a son Parameśvara, styled *Mīmāṃsacakravartī*, whom we term Parameśvara II. He had evidently a brother also, called Vāsudeva. Parameśvara II had a son, named Rṣi II. This geneology⁸ may be represented as follows:



Parameśvara I says that his parents were Rṣi and Gauri and that he had two paternal uncles, Bhavadāsa and Śankara, both of whom and particularly the latter were his teachers. He is the author of a commentary, called the *Svāditankaraṇi* on Vācaspati's *Nyānakāṇika* as well as another, called *Juṣadhavamkaraṇi*, which is so far not available.⁹ This Parameśvara is

8. This geneology is based upon the reconstruction of Mr. Ramanatha Sastri, as set forth in his Samskrit Introduction of his edition of SS.

9. Vide SS., Introduction page xlii.

described as being the grand-father of Parameśvara II.¹⁰ His uncle śamkara may be the author of the commentary, called *Vivaraṇa* on the *Pātañjalayogabhāṣya*, for in one manuscript the colophon reads *itiśrīpayyūr bhagavatpāda-kṛtam*¹¹. Rṣi II, the son of Parameśvara I, is identified with the Maharṣi of Uddanṭa; he married Gopālikā and was the father of Parameśvara II. He had seven brothers,¹² of whom four have been identified, namely Bhavadāsa, Vāsudeva, Subramanya, and śamkara, who is also described as being a *Bhagavatpūjyapāda*, the rest being unknown. The father as well as his brothers must have had a hand in the shaping of the studies of Parameśvara II, and this fact is made clear in his works. So far we have come across no works that may be ascribed to the brothers, except Vāsudeva, but every one of them must have been a great scholar – an aspect that is borne out by the testimony of Parameśvara II. These authors we shall now notice.

10. Vide *ibid* page xiii:

itiśrīmadrṣigaurīnandanaśrībhavadāsapitṛvyasrīmat-
śankarabhagavatpūjyapādaśiṣyaparameśvarakṛtau sva-
ditamkaraṇyām tṛtīyaḥ śloka iti.

11. Vide *ibid* page xv. According to the writer's inductions, this Śamkara must have been a *Sanyasin*. It may, however, be pointed out that since there is a Śamkara who is mentioned as the uncle of Parameśvara II, one cannot be quite clear as to the authorship of the commentary on the *Yogabhyāsa*.

12. Mr. V. A. R. Sastri in his Introduction to this edition of the TB. says that Parameśvara II had only four brothers. True we have so far been able to locate only four brothers. But our traditions say that there were eight brothers, and this is also borne out by the tradition of the *Navaratnas* or *Nava-Yogins* who, according to tradition, took part in the *Vikramādas*

The unstinted testimony of Uddaṇṭa¹³ and Kāṅkaśseri¹⁴ would have it that Rṣi II, alias Maharṣi, was the greatest scholar at the court of Vikrama. His was the ideal of the life of a Vedic Brahmin, who spent his time in writing and teaching and in learned disquisitions. He is rightly styled the *Kulaguru* of both the systems of *Mīmamsā*¹⁵ *śāstraic* discussions were the daily feature of the home of Maharṣi, so much so that even the parrots in the lecture hall there have become well versed in *Śāstraic* terminology, and their chatter would terrify the newcomer. He is described as being engaged in writing commentaries on *Śāstras*¹⁶ or in expounding the stories of Hari and Hara,¹⁷ or in welcoming guests, or in conversing with the learned. He is further described as an eminent *litterateur*, and his approval is the last word in literary

- 13 kiñcid pūrvā raṇakhalabhuvī śrīmadadhyakṣayethā-
 stanmīmāṃsādvayakulaguroḥ sadma puṇyam maharṣeḥ
 vidvadvrnde vivaditumanasyāgate yatra śaśvat-
 vyākhyāśālāvalabhinilayaḥ tiṣṭhate kīrasanghaḥ | 78
 śāstravyākhyā hariharakathā satkriyābhyāgatāna-
 malapo va yadi saha budhairaksipedasya cetah |
 tadviśrabda dvija parivrṇe niṣkuṭadrau niṣannaḥ
 kokūyetha sa khalu madhuram sūktimakarṇya tuṣyet || 79
 ślaghyachandaḥ sthitamapi maya śobhanarthe niyuktam
 śravyaḥ śabdaiḥ sarasasumanobhajamabhrantavrttim |
 dūrapraptya praśithilamiva tvam sakhe kavyakalpam
 dhīman paśyet sa yadi nanu te śudha eva pracaraḥ | 80
- 14 yasmin prīṇati vanīkaratalavilasadvallakītaullyabhajam
 sota vataśanadhīśvaraviśadaśirahkampāḍambhavahanam |
 vacam mocāmadhūlimadhurarasajuṣamullasannaigama-
 dhva-
 śraddhaluḥ keraḷakṣmatilakamrsissahitīparadrśva ||

15. Vide citation I in note 13 above.

16. None of his works has so far been unearthed

17. Vide citation II in note 13 ante. The reference here is to the *Paurāṇik* recitals which are a common feature of the ancient aristocratic families in Kerala.

greatness—an aspect that is mentioned both by Uddaṇṭa¹⁸ and Kāḱkaṣṣeri Bhaṭṭatiri.¹⁹

Here, we have the picture of the routine life of an ideal Nampūtiri Brahmin in Malabar—a life completely devoted to the discharge of his religious duties and the cultivation of learning—*Sāstrās* and *Kāvyaś*. It is this life, we may in passing note, that was the cause of the great contribution that Kerala was able to make to the sum total of what is termed *Sanskrit literature*²⁰. Thanks to the peculiar family organisation of the Nampūtiris, the members were able to enjoy learned leisure and utilise it for the advancement of learning²¹.

Amongst the Malayāḷi scholars, Maharṣi stands one of the foremost, though it is a pity that we have not been able to secure any of his works so far: *Payyūr Bhātta mana* was a traditional centre of learning, and Maharṣi, his brothers and sons formed a learned *coterie*, in the presence of whom even the very eminent Uddaṇṭa paled into insignificance. One tradition is handed down which has a personal touch: in the course of an exposition in the famous *Vikramasadas*, Maharṣi once nodded. The mistake was not lost upon Uddaṇṭa, and with the greatest respect for the eminent scholar, he requested him to expound again. But Maharṣi said he would not, for he was not in the habit of speaking twice in a *Sadas* and so withdrew as one defeated, even though it was a mere slip. In this traditional story we have the true nature of the great scholar revealed to us. If our traditions may be believed,

18. Vide citation 3 in note 13 *ante*. The *Śloka* introduced here hives this idea; if Maharsi reads through a poem, then its *Pracara* is assured

19. Vide citation in note 14 *ante*. Compare the expression *sahiti-paradrsva*.

20. This aspect we have elaborated elsewhere: compare for instance the writer's papers: (i) *Indigenous Education in Kerala* published in the *Ernakulam College Magazine*; (ii) *Sanskrit Studies in Cochin*, contributed to the *Progress of Cochin*; (iii) *Facilities for the study of Sanskrit in Kerala*, contributed to the *Shama'a*

21. Vide the writer's paper *Sanskrit Studies in Kerala*; also appendix I. Also the *Three Kerala Eras*, JOR, Vol. I.

there was since his time no scholar in the whole range of Kerala who rose to his eminence - an aspect that is elucidated in the eulogy of Uddanta

payyūrādhyā maharṣe kavītāmārge ca kālidāsam tvam |
dāne ca kalpavṛkṣam sarvajñatve ca candrakhaṇḍa-
dharam²² ||

Maharṣi is here compared to Kalidasa as a poet, *Kalpavṛkṣa* as a donor and Śiva in his omniscience

Paramesvara II²³ mentions a Vāsudeva as his uncle, and, therefore, he is the brother of Maharṣi. Paramesvara wrote his commentary on *Svataḥpramāvadā*, in accordance with the views expounded by this Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva also figures as a great poet: he is the author of a number of *Kāvya*s,²⁴ *Devicarita*, *Acyutalīla*, *Satyatapaḥkathā* and *Śivodaya* as well as of the *Sandeśa*, called *Cakorasandeśa*. His known Śāstraic works are *Kaumārīlayuktimālā* and *Vākyamālā*.

22. Vide *HSLK*, page 472.

23. Compare *SS*, page x.

evam svataḥpramāvadam vyākhyādgopālikāsutaḥ |
vāsudevapitrivyoktarītyā kevalayaiva tu ||

The text, it may be mentioned here, belongs to the *Prabhakara* School; and both Vasudeva and Samkara were exponents of this branch of *Mīmamsa*.

24. Vide *TC*, under R. No. 3607. The description given there says that Vasudeva is the son of Rsi and Gopālika thus making him a brother of Paramesvara II *alias* Mīmamsacakravartī. Though one cannot always put faith in the statements contained in this catalogue, one may *prima facie* believe this to be true; for, in the first place, the poems do not reveal the true hand of a poet. Secondly, *Cakora* is held to be written as a counterpart to the *Kokila* written by Uddanta, and this would lead to the conclusion that Vasudeva would be a younger contemporary of Paramesvara and Uddanta. This position would be quite tenable, if Vasudeva is a younger brother of Paramesvara II.

25. Vide *TR*, Introduction page 89. Compare the colophon to this work which runs as follows:

maharṣigopālikānandanakṛtiḥ kaumārīlayuktimālā |

Of the five *Kāvya*s here mentioned,²⁶ *Devīcarita*, and *Acyutalīla* deal with *Paurāṇic* stories. In his *Styātapaḥkatha*, he describes the penance performed by Rṣi, a predecessor in the family, and consequently it would be a valuable work for reconstructing the history of the family. The *Śivodaya* describes his brothers and their lives and would thus give valuable materials for the study of this period. The *kāvya*s are no doubt very learned, but they do not reveal the hand of a great poet, and they suffer to a great extent from the inevitable difficulties that beset a *Yamaka* writer. On a higher poetic plane is his *Vākyāvalī*: it deals with the life of Śrīkṛṣṇa. One peculiarity of this work is that every stanza begins with a *Vākyā* from Vararuci, and it is probably from this that the work has come to be called *Vākyāvalī*. It contains four *Sargas*. His most valuable contribution to Sanskrit, however, is the *Kaumārīlayuktimāla*, in which the author appears in his own element, for there he is dealing with a *Sāstraic* topic. This work briefly summarises in metrical form the substance of Kumārilla's *Tantravārtika*, and here also at the beginning of each verse he adds the *Vākyā*s of Vararuci. These works certainly reveal the scholarship of Vāsudeva, but as poems they necessarily fall into the second line.

Regarding the *Cakorasandeśa*, it is reported to have been written as a counterpart to the *Kokilasandeśa*, of Uddanṭa. If this report be true, then it could not be a work of this Vasudeva but of the brother of Paramesvara II. As a lyric poem it is not of great merit. The work is, however, not void of its own interest. It stands different from other *Sandeśa*s in two respects. This is probably the only *Sandeśa*, in which the *Nāyika* sends a message to the *Nāyaka*. This is no doubt a unique feature. In the second place, the circumstances in which the separation takes place are not born of the usual love episode, but on account of the conscious departure of the *Nāyaka* on a pilgrimage. A party of pilgrims reached the house of the hero of the *Sandeśa* bound for *Vedāranya* in connection with a solar eclipse that was soon going to be. Compare for instance the following verses:—

26 Some notice of these works is available in *HSLK*, in chapter VII, pp. 452-463.

atragacchanath tu pathikāḥ kepi vedānuraktāḥ
 tīrthāttīrtham vimalamanasāḥ sañcaranto'dvijendrāḥ 1
 vedāraṇyam prati jigamisaṁ bibhrato'rkoparāge
 devīm dr̥ṣtvum bhuvanamahitām pāvanīm keralesu 11

x x x x x
 yataḥ kānto mama khagapate keralān puṇyadeśān
 kīrtisthambhāniva bhagavato' reṇukeyasya ramyān 1
 vedāraṇyāhvayapuravare vedagamyām vasantīm
 durgam durgatyapanayakarīm lokitum lokanatham 11

And in company with that party the hero left for Kerala. But he did not return in time, and so the heroine sends him a message. The messenger starting from Vyaghrapura reaches Kerala via Ramesvaram and the Cape Vedaranya is described in grand terms; and the literary and Śāstraic atmosphere of the place is set forth in two verses which may be quoted here:

kr̥ṣṇadvaipāyanamunīkṛtā Bhāratakhya kathā sā
 devīmahatmyampi mahitam tatpuraṇantaram ca 1
 śrīmad Ramayaṇavarakathā sapi Valmīkīgīta
 śruyeramste śravaṇasubhaga hyagamaścapi sarve 11

x x x x
 manvadergam śṛṇu ca padavakyaṭmabhaṣyanitika-
 sūtravratanyapi munīkṛtanyullasad vartikani 1
 kavyam śṛavyam śṛṇu ca madhuram natakam capi nana-
 bhūtam bhūtam ramayadakhilam kalidasadibhūtam 11

This is an interesting picture of Mahārṣi's abode at Raṇa-khalabhuvī, and it bears out all that Uddanta has said about it. Here flourished in an intensive form the study and teaching of the Puranas, the *Ramayana* and other *Kavyas*, *Āgamas* and *Dharma Śāstras*, the two sciences of *Vyakaraṇa* and *mīmamsā* including the *Sautras*, *Vartikas* and *Bhāṣyas* as well. The *Sandēśa* also shows that the ladies of the house-hold of Mahārṣi were well-versed in music.

One would be tempted in this connection to speculate that the hero the author is having in view may be Uddanta himself. We know from the *Prastavana* of the *Mallikamaruta* that Uddanta was fond of pilgrimage and that he had visited

many places as a pilgrim. It is probably this love of pilgrimage that first took him to Kerala, which he ultimately made his home for some time at least. Such an interpretation would explain the tradition connecting this work with Uddanta and his *Sandeśa*.

By far the most important and possibly the most brilliant of this group of writers is *Mīmāṃsacakravartī* Parameśvara II, the son of Maharṣi and Gopālikā and the nephew of the eight brothers, we have already mentioned. The testimony of his own works and the high admiration with which Uddanta refers to him,²⁷ both alike tend to prove that he was the most eminent scholar of his time, well versed in both the systems of *Mīmāṃsa*. He studied under his own father and his brothers, specialising in the *Kaumārilla* system under his uncles Bhavadāsa²⁸ and Vāsudeva²⁹ and the *Prābhākara* system under Subramaṇya and Śaṃkara³⁰. He is the author of a number of works of which the more important are the following: (i) *Vibhramavivekavyākhyā*; (ii) *Tatvavibhāvana*, a commentary on the *Tatvabindu*; (iii) *Nītitatvavirbhāvavyākhyā* and (iv) *Gōpālīka*, a commentary on the *Sphoṭasidhi*.³¹ The wealth and importance of his works earned for him the well-merited title, *Mīmāṃsācakravartī* from his contemporary Uddanta and the *Vikramasadas*. It certainly attests to his eminence as a scholar,

27. vede sādārabudhirudhatatare tarke param karkaśaḥ
śāstre śāntamatiḥ kalāśu kuśalaḥ kāvyeṣu bhavyodayaḥ |
slāghyaḥ satkavitāsu ṣatsvapi pāturbhāṣāsu sa tvam
sarvoddanta kaviprakāṇḍa dadase kasmai na [kṣitau
[vismeratām ||

Here Parameśvara gives a glowing tribute to Uddanta, and Uddanta is quoting this panegyric on him in his drama *Malikamaruta* as a valuable testimonial.

28. Vide SS, page viii:

itigopalīkasūnuḥ ṛṣeḥ pituranugrahāt
antevāśī pītrvyasya bhavadāsasya dhīmataḥ ||

29. Vide citation given in note 23 ante.

30. Vide SS, page x.

31. Vide SS, Samskrit Introduction.

when it is remembered that even Uddanta feels honoured by by a word of praise by Parameśvara.³²

We have in the preceding set forth the information that is available from the works left to us by the brothers and sons of Payyūr Bhāṭṭa Mana.³³ We shall now proceed to illustrate the nature of the information we gain from these and thus elucidate the subject.

Taking the last of the works of Parameśvara II, the commentary on the *Sphotusidhi* gives us some glimpses of the author's biography in its closing section :

tatvabindorkrtā yena vyākhyā *Tatvavibhāṣā*
 teneyam racitā vyākhyā nāmna gopālikā smṛta
 śabdanam palakam hyetadasya mūlam nibandhanam
 eṣa vyākhyeyaśambandhanamupadanaccapālika
 nandagopasuta devī vedarāṇyanivasinī
 matra gopālika nāmna sevitaśmadapekṣāya
 tadprasādadiyam vyākhyā mayā viracita kila
 iti gopālikasamjñamasya vyacakṣate budhaḥ
 Maṇḍanacaryakṛtayo yeṣvadhīyanta kṛṣṇaśaḥ
 tadvamaśena mayāpyeṣa racitardhya devatam
 brahmaviṣṇumaheśanarūpiṇīm viṣvamataram
 rṣim pitāmanamyabhovadasamanantaram
 gurūnanyamśca racita vyākhyeyam kṣamyatam iti
 yanyūnamatiriktam ca duruktam ceha kiñcana
 parameśvara evasyaḥ karta sakṣadnirañjanaḥ
 nayam janastu tannama sajjano mandacetasaḥ³⁴

From this extract it will be clear that the author Parameśvara was the son of Rsi and Gopālika, that amongst his *Gurūs* was

32. Vide citation in note 27.

33. Following the view advanced by Mr. Sastri as set forth in his edition of the SS.

his own uncle, Bhavadāsa and that one of his works is a commentary on *Tatvabindu*, called *Tatvavibhāvana*. In the course of this latter work occurs a statement which runs as follows:

asmābhirapi *Vibhramavivekaryākhyāyām* taduktasamkṣepo
darśita iti na prakramyate³⁵

and this shows that he was also the author of a commentary on *vibhramaviveka*. Again, in the course of the commentary on Cidānanda's *Nītilatvavirbhāva* occurs the sentence,

yathā ca padavadvākye'pi lakṣaṇasambhavaḥ tathoktam
Tatvavirbhāvanayamāsmabhiriti.³⁶

Later the commentator says: —

iti gopālikāsūnuh rṣeḥ pituranugrahāt
antevāsiḥ pitrvyasya bhavadāsasya dhīmataḥ
cidānandakṛtāvādyam vyacaṣṭha paramēśvaraḥ
vyākhyātum cāryavādam ca samīhā tasya samprati³⁷

and concludes with the following statement:

iti vyākhyāpayāmāsa kāryavādamimam sudhīḥ
subrahmaṇyayathārthākhyo bhrātureva ca sūnunā
vedāraṇyanivasanya haimavatyā prasadataḥ
vyakhyanam kartumeṣodya pramavade'dhyavasyati³⁸

This shows that he was not merely the commentator of the *Nītilatvavirbhavo*: he was taught the *Prabhakara* system by his own uncle Subrahmaṇya³⁹. In concluding the *Pramavada*, he writes as follows:

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34. Vide SS. page iv.
35. Vide *ibid* page vii.
36. Vide *ibid* page viii.
37. Vide *ibid*.
38. Vide *ibid* page ix.
39. Vide TB. — Introduction page 89.

evam svataḥpramāvadam vyākhyādgopālikāsutaḥ
 vasudevapitr̥vyoktarītya kevalayaiva tu
 abhivandya mahadevam vedaraṇyanivasinam
Kalapratyakṣavade vyākhyā prastūyate mayā⁴⁰ |

and at the close of this text, he says:—

kalapratyakṣavadamevam vyākhyadr̥ṣeḥ sutaḥ
 bhavadasapitr̥vyasya prasādadeva kevalat |
 kīyavaṅgmanasam samyakprahvibhavena śankaraḥ
 anyathakhyativadepi sa vyākhyatam samudyataḥ⁴¹ |

These quotations make clear the names of four of the uncles that Parameśvara had, namely Bhavadasa, Vasudeva, Śankara, and Subrahmaṇya. And, lastly in concluding his commentary on the *Manovaibhava* he writes:

yo nyayakaṇṭikavyākhyamakarot parameśvaraḥ
 tasya pautreṇa tatsūnorantevasina svayam⁴²

Thus it will be seen that his grandfather was a Parameśvara, styled the first, who was the author of a commentary on the *Nyayakaṇṭika*⁴³ and that he was the śiṣya of a son of Parameśvara. This would show that there were two Parameśvaras, and that the author of the *Nyayakaṇṭika* was the grandfather of the son of Gopalika. Compare the closing part of the commentary, *Svaditankarāṇi* on the third verse:

itiśrīmadtṣigaurīnandanabhavadasapittvyaśrīmat
 śankarapūjyapadaśiṣyaparamēśvarakṛtau *Svaditan-*
karāṇyam tritīyah śloka iti.⁴⁴

This definitely shows that the author of the commentary of the *Nyayakaṇṭika* was a Parameśvara different from the son of Gopalika: he was the son of Rsi and Gauri, and he had two uncles, called Bhavadasa and Śamkarabhagavatpūjyapada. The

40. Vide SS. page x

41. Vide *ibid* page x

42. Vide *ibid* page xiii.

43. Vide TB Introduction page 89.

44. Vide SS. page xiii.

latter of these two uncles ultimately became a *sanyāsi* and was apparently installed as the head of the Natuvil Maḍham, under whom Parameśvara, the son of Gopālikā, must have studied. Compare the following extracts:

Gaṇesaśya prasādena Vṛṣakṣetranivāsinah	I
kalpanāpoḍhavadasya vyākhyā tāvat krtā mayā	II
abhivandya hr̥ṣīkeśam vṛṣakṣetranivāsinam	I
vyākhyānam kriyate yogirūḍhi vādepi śaktitah	II

x x x x

atha natvā mahādevam vṛṣagrāmanivāsinam	I
karmapratyakṣavādasya vyākhyā prastūyate mayā ⁴⁵	II

From these references it would be clear that Parameśvara II must have had a part of his education at Trichur, for here he worships the gods enshrined at Trichur. Probably, he went to Trichur to complete his study under his uncle Śankarabhagavatpūjyapāda, the head of the Natuvil Maḍham. The extent of Parameśvara's scholarship will be clear from his grandson's statement in his *Sutrārthasaṅgraha*;

Yathā ca tatrābhavataḥ śaddarśinīpārādrśve satyapi
viśeṣataḥ kaumārīlatantrasvatantravattayā vivrtatātvā
virbhāvatatvabindusphōtasidhayaḥ asmat pitāmahapādāḥ
vibhramavivekavyākhyayam - ityadi⁴⁶

From what has been said above it will be clear that Parameśvara II has been rightly styled *Mīmamsacakravartī* and was the worthy son of the worthy Mahārṣi.

We have now briefly touched upon the various works that can with certainty be ascribed to Parameśvara II, and this list will bear out all that has been said about the greatness of this eminent scholar. His commentaries are invaluable to the

45. Vide *ibid* page xlii. To the question why Parameśvara should have made obeisance at the shrines at Trichur, the only answer possible will be to assume that thither he went to complete his studies under his uncle, who had become the President of the Natuvil Maḍham. This is not an improbable suggestion.

46. Vide *HSLK*, page 461.

students of the Bhaṭṭa system, for they help considerably to understand correctly the difficult language of Maṇḍana and Vacaspati. The summary *Karikas*, added to the commentary on *Tatubabindu*, form a useful addition and enhance the value of the commentary.⁴⁷

The last of the members of the family of scholars of whom mention may be made here is Parameśvara III, the grandson of Paramesvara II and the son of Rṣi and Ārya. He is the author of the *Mīmamsasūtrasaṅgraha* as well as of a commentary on the *Kasika* of Sucaritamiśra.⁴⁸ The former is a commentary on the *Sūtras* on the lines of *Sabarabhaṣya*.⁴⁹

47. Vide *TB*, Introduction page 89—90 Vide also pages xiv xv. In the present state of our knowledge this stricture seems to be out of place. Paramesvara was commenting on the text as handed down in his family and in accordance with the interpretation current in the family. The question has to be asked whether a better interpretation is possible with the existing text, and we are told that it is not possible. In view of this, it is uncharitable to say that Paramesvara is nodding.

48. Vide *TB*, Introduction pp 98 99.

49. In his recent book *HSLK*, Vatakkankur has dealt with the Bhattatiris, and as we have already mentioned, he differs fundamentally from the view point set forth here. He assumes that Paramesvara III was the contemporary of Uddanta and the famous Mimamsacakravartī, and categorically states that Maharsi and his seven brothers lived before the period of the famous Vikrama Sadas (vide page 464). This view, it needs scarcely be said, is wrong. In the first place the title Cakravartī is fittingly worn by Paramesvara II rather than by the third. Secondly, there could not be according to this view nine members of the family at Vikrama's court, as tradition would have it. The writer has felt this difficulty, and so first postulates another series of eight brothers (vide page 465), and then later questions the validity of the tradition of nine Bhattas at Vikrama's court, (vide page 474). He also confuses the Vasudeva mentioned by Paramesvara. This confusion of authors and works and hence of dates appears to be standing defect of the conclusions of the writer. The work certainly contains a large mass of valuable materials, but the treatment of the same lacks scientific discipline. Consequently, it cannot be a safe and sure guide for students

Enough now has been said in the preceding pages to show that Payyūr Bhaṭṭa Mana could rightly be called the central stronghold of both the systems of *Mīmāṃsā* and the most flourishing centre of *Sāstraic* studies in the fifteenth century—a position in the field of *Śāstraic* studies which was carried forwards down to the close of the sixteenth century. We have no means of deciding how far backwards its control of these *Śāstras* could be traced. In any case, it must have been fairly old, so that there might be this great efflorescence in the age of Vikrama.

Before we conclude, we may notice one interesting tradition with reference to the eight brothers of the family. It was a convention adopted by the brothers that when they meet for their parent's anniversary, each should bring a new work on the *Mīmāṃsā* system. If any failed to do so, he would not be permitted to sit with the rest and participate in the religious ceremony. This convention naturally helped in the production of a large series of works and tended to keep up the flame of *Sāstraic* learning among them.

CHAPTER III.
UDDAṆṬA SASTRI.

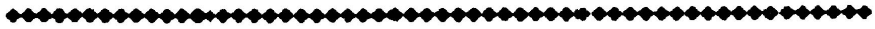
Uddanṭa was probably the first among the Tamil Brahmins to reach Kerala in search of literary patronage in the fifteenth century.¹ In any case, it can certainly be said that the figures more prominently in the literary traditions and legends of Kerala than any other *Paradesi* writer and scholar.

Uddanta was born at Lātapura in Toṇḍamaṇḍala, of very pious parents who were well versed in the *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas*. He was the son of Ranganātha Bhatta and Rangadevi, his grand-father being a Kṛṣṇa and his great grand-father Gokulanātha. Compare the following extract from his *Mallikāmāruta*:²

- I. asti khalu dakṣiṇāpathe dayamānakāmākṣikatakṣakālām-
buda tāṇḍavitakaviśikhaṇḍimaṇḍaleṣu tuṇḍireṣu kṣīranadī-
kṣāhṭopaśalyo latapuro nāma mahānagrahāraḥ/tatra ca:
tapaścaraṇacañcavaḥ sakalaśāstramuṣṭindhayaḥ
svanuṣṭitamahādharāḥ śrutiparāyaṇaśśrotriyāḥ/
tatra camuṣyāyanasyāpasthambaśākhādhyayino bādhūla-
katarupallavasya kavītāvallabhasya vipaṇcipaṇcamodañ-
citakirterupadhyāyagokulanāthapautrasya kṛṣṇasūnoḥ
putraḥ bhattaranganāthasya uddanṭakavirityudarama-
bhijanma
- * * * * * * *

1 So far as we know, the only scholar who came to Kerala at this period was Balakavi, the author of the *Ratnaketudaya* and the *Ramavarmavilasa*, written at the instance of the king of Cochin and Kṛṣṇa-sudhi at Kolattiri court who wrote *Kavyakalanidhi*. A century later another distinguished scholar reached Kerala and that is Vedantadesikacarya, who wrote the *Ravivarmayasobdusana*, a commentary on the *Kavyaprakasa*, at the instance of Ravi Varma and Vira Kerala Varma of Cochin towards the close of the sixteenth century.

2. Vide the Bombay edition of the text, issued by Nirnaya Sagar Press. This is also quoted in HSLK.



COCHIN EPIGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT



II.

TWO VAṬṬELUTTU INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE IRINNĀLAKKUṬA TEMPLE.

MESSRS. V. N. D, NAMBIAR & V. K. R. MENON.

These inscriptions are incised on two separate slabs which were, till recently, lying in an exposed position inside the prākāra of the temple. On being informed of their historical importance, H. H. the Taccudaya Kaimal has been gracious enough to have them fixed up on the inner wall of the prākāra. They are now easily accessible. A tentative reading of the first of these was published in the last issue of this Bulletin, as it is the only lithic inscription of Ko Stānu Iravi as yet discovered in Malabar. A more complete reading is given below.

I. Stānu Iravi Inscription.

The language of the inscription is distinctly Tamil and calls for little comment. The inscription is far more elegantly executed than either of the two sets of copper plates, the Kottayam Plates, belonging to this monarch's reign. The chief paleographical peculiarity is the closed loop of the bottom of ka¹, though it is clearly distinguished from the broader and flatter loop of ca¹.

The inscription records a transaction which took place in the *eleventh* regnal year of Ko Stānu Iravi, when the *Paratiyārs* and *Elaiyār* came to the following unanimous agreement: —

“The territory lying to the west of Irinam Nāt, to the north of (Kuttaṅgoḷa) Cirai, to the east of Utarāttu (river of the name of Utar?), and to the south of (?) river, is under *Itaiṇḍu* to the temple. The Urālars are prohibited from leasing these lands etc. Those who violate this injunction would be guilty of matricide, and those who abet them belong to the same category”¹

1. In the last issue, a—Ma) has unfortunately been misprinted in place of ka).

It is interesting that there is no mention of fines, which is usually found in such inscriptions. In Bhaskara Iravi inscriptions, the defaulters are held to have committed the murder of their fathers and married their own mothers. The imprecatory portion in the Stāṇu Iravi inscription is comparatively milder. The boundaries mentioned in the inscription cannot be settled with certainty. The two rivers most probably refer to the Cālakkudi and Karuvaṇṇūr rivers.

After careful scrutiny we are convinced that the temple is referred to as *Iruṅkātikkūtal*, just as in the Tālaikkāt inscription and the "Huzur Office" Plates referring to the Tiruvalla temple. And the year mentioned is the eleventh, and not the sixteenth, as was wrongly given by us in the previous issue.

Text:

Line

- 1) സ്വസ്തിശ്രീ കോ. അങ്ങ ഇരവിക്ക് ചെല്ലാനിൻ യാണ്ടു പ
- 2) തിന്നൊൻറാവതു || ഇപ്പാണ്ടു ഇതുകാടി (കൂട)
- 3) ൽ പരയെയാതം, ഇളയെയാതം, തിരുക്കൈക്കീഴ് കൂടി (അ)
- 4) വിരോതത്താൽ ചൈയ്ത (ചപയൈ) യാവതു || ഇരിന്നം നാട്ടിനു
- 5) മേക്ക, (കൂട്ടക്കൊള) ചിരൈക്കു വടക്കു, ഉടരാറി ന കി (ക്ക)
- 6) ഴക്ക, — — — യാറിന്നക്ക തെറുക, ഇതുകാടി കൂടൽ
- 7) - - - - - ഇടൈയീടുളള യിടത്തു ഈ - - -
- 8) (ഒറ്റിവൈക്കവും) കൊള്ളവും ഇവകളക്ക (അടൈയുഴവും) - - -
- 9) - - - - - കേൾക്കവും, ഇവകളാൽ - - - - - കവും, ഇവ
- 10) കള - - - - - തമം പെറാർ || ഇപ്പൊളരി - ച പ
- 11) തൈ പിഴക്ക - - - - , തായാറെക്കൊൻ പാതകളാവതു. അ
- 12) പ്പാതകരോടു - - - പ്പാരിക്കും - - - ഇപ്പിന്നെയരെയാവതു. *

11. Bhāskara Nampirāṇār Inscription – No. (2).

This inscription is incised in nineteen lines on a dressed slab, approximately 3½ ft. × 2½ ft. It is a complete inscription, and though no date is given, it may be stated on paleographical

* The punctuation marks are, of course, ours.

grounds that the inscription cannot be later than the 11th century or earlier than the 10th century.

The language of the inscription is Tamil, but a fair number of malayalised forms appear, *ge*, *Irinnu*, *Purmāyi*, *Kalkkaṭa-kam*, *Nilkka*, etc. The inscription has been carefully incised and can be deciphered with little difficulty. It apparently refers to the present estate of *Pōṭṭai* belonging to the temple. This estate was given to *Pārkkara Nampirāṇār Tiruvati* as *Atti-pēru* by the temple *Potuvāl*. The name of the estate was forthwith changed from 'western *pōtta*' to *Pārkkara-puram*, and was handed over to four members of the famous *Maṇigrāmam* guild, whose names were *Kōtai Kumaraṇaṇ* of *Ayikkarai*, *Kumaran Kōtai* of the *Ūr i e.*, a local citizen), *Nākaṇkaṇṇa* of ?, and *Kaṭtan Kumaran* of the *Ūr*. They were to manage the estate under *Kāraṇmai* tenure and see to the maintenance of four lamps in the temple. These four persons were exempted from sea-customs *ulgu* and weighing customs (*tulāk-kūli*). They were to hold the office of *Kōyil-Maniccams*, temple officers possessing both legislative and executive powers, and collect fines as they think fit. This *Cērikkalam* was to be under the protection of the *Six Hundred* of *Valluva-nāt*.

The names of the four members of the *Maṇigramam* guild are distinctly Hindu, but we cannot say whether they professed the Hindu or the Christian religion. The *edicts* promulgated at the '*Synod of Diamper*' (1599 A. D.) make it abundantly clear that the Syrian Christians of Malabar, before the arrival of the Portuguese, had Hindu names, often acted as the kings, officers, and made offerings to Hindu deities. Further speculation on the subject is, therefore, unnecessary.

It is tempting to speculate whether the *Bhāskara Nampirāṇār Tiruvati* mentioned in the inscription may be equated with the famous *Bhāskara Iravi Varma* who made the copper plate grant to the Jews. Paleographically, however, the copper plates, in which scarcely any distinction is made between *K*. and *Ca*, appear to be decades later than the present inscription.

But even if the *equation* be accepted the date of the inscription is not settled. For, the century of the reign of that Bhāskara Iravi Varman is by no means fixed, in spite of the optimistic claim of Mr. Ramanatha Iyer to have established the "*triple synchronism*" of Bhaskara Iravi Varma, Kōvarttaṇa Marttāntan of Vēṇāt and Sri Vallabhan Kōtai of Venāt (cf. T. A. S. Vol. V, pt. II, page 188—9). In all completely deciphered inscriptions (cf. T. A. S. Vol. II pt. I, pages, 33, 34 etc.) the phrase "*Vēṇātutiya Kovarttaṇa Marttaṇtan Nanrulai Nātu Vālkayil*" occurs whereas in the Tirukkatittāṇam inscription the deciphered portion reads, ".....ttāṇtan Nanrulai Nātu Vāla." The obvious inference is that the missing portion would read just as in the other inscriptions, so that the gist of the inscription would be as follows:—

"Kōvarttaṇa Mārtāntan of Vēṇāt who was also ruling Nanrulai Nātu, made arrangements that a festival instituted in the temple (some time previously) by Sri Vallabhan Kōtai of Venāt should be properly conducted. This translation took place in the (2+?) year of Ko Bhaskara Iravi—".

Mr. Ramanatha Iyer's interpretation that Sri Vallabhan Kōtai was ruling Vēṇat, and Kovarttaṇa Marttāntan was ruling Nanrulai Nātu *simultaneously*, is obviously wrong. The late Swami Kannu Pillai suggested two alternative dates for the Ko Bhaskara Iravi Varman who made the Tirunelli copper¹ plate grant*; namely 1st March 1021 A. D. and 1116 A. D. The paleography of the numerous lithic inscriptions of one or more monarchs of this name points to the latter date as the more acceptable one.

*This plate was discovered by Mr. L. A. Cammiade and is apparently unpublished (c f. T. A. S. Vol. II, p. 188). It is granted in the 43rd regnal year, and should not be confused with the grant given on "*two thin copper plates*" in the 47th year of a Bhaskara Iravi Varma to the same temple [I. A. Vol. XX, p. 286].

Text :

- 1) സ്വസ്തിശ്രീ തിരുവിതങ്കാടിക്കുടൽ തിരുവടിയുടെ (പ) റെയർ
- 2) ക്കാടാകിൻറു പാക്കര നമ്പിരാനാർ തിരുവടിക്ക ചോ(കി)രത്തുപൊ
- 3) തുവാളട്ടിക്കൊടുത്ത പൂമി പടിഞ്ഞായിററിപ്പോട്ട എൻറു
- 4) പേർ വിട്ടു പോട്ടെക്കച്ച മിതിനു കച്ചമെൻറു പണ്ണി
- 5) കൊടുത്താർ തിരുവിതങ്കാടിക്കുടൽ മുക്കാൽ വട്ടാന്തിതൻ
- 6) ന പാക്കര പുരമായി പ്പടിഞ്ഞായറു പോട്ടയ് ചെല്ലഞ്ചെലവു
- 7) നാനാഴി അരി തിരുവമിർതു, ഒരു നന്താവിളക്കും, ഉച്ചെത്തിത
- 8) വമിർതു, || കലക്കുകത്തിൽ വിയാഴനിൽക്കലെയ് ത അട്ടിൽ
- 9) പ്പേറു കരണമാവതു || പാക്കരപുരം പടിഞ്ഞായിററുപോട്ട്
- 10) ടൈ, ആറോട്ടു തൊട്ടെടുകരെയും, വയലും മടന്നെയും, അ
- 11) കപ്പട അട്ടിപ്പെറുകാരാൺമയ് കൊടുത്തതളിനാർ, പാർക്കര
- 12) നമ്പിരാനാർ തിരുവടി, അട്ടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാർ, അയിരക്കരൈക്
- 13) കോതൈ കുമാരന ന, ഊരതു കുമാരൻ കോതൈ, (യ--)ളിയത്തുനാകങ്കണ്ണ,
- 14) ഊരതു കണ്ടൻ കുമാരൻ || ഇന്നാ (ൽ) വർ മണിക്കിരാമത്താതം ത
- 15) ങ്ങൾ കാരാൺ മെയ്യാൽ അറുവിളക്കു നാൻറു ചെലുത്ത കടവിയർ ||
- 16) ഇന്നാൽവത (മു) ഇളിട്ടു എൻമർക്ക ഉലകും, തുലാക്കുലി
- 17) യുമില്ലെ. || കോയിൽ മനിച്ചർക്ക മണിക്കിരാമത്താർ നാൽവ
- 18) ര്ക്ക തോൻറിയ പിഴൈയുന്തണ്ടമുങ്കൊള്ളക്കടവിയർ ||
- 19) ഇച്ചേരിക്കൽ വള്ളുവനാട്ടു അറുന്തറുവർക്കകാവൽ.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The Rama Varma Research Institute has been in existence for the last 16 years. During this period, it has been able to build up a fairly good research library, which contains 1,326 volumes. It has published over 1,130 pages of original research matter through its *Bulletin*, two parts being issued every year, and its pages have been honoured by distinguished contributors, both Indian and Foreign (please see the list in Annexure I). We solicit the patronage of the public, so that we might enhance the usefulness of the Institute. The rules of the Institute are given in Annexure II.

I

Mr. K. M. Raghava Menon, Cranganore, writes on *Kannaki* and *Vasūrimāla* as follows :

The *Vasūrimāla* shrine, located in the south-west corner of the Cranganur temple, is supposed to be the idol of *Bhadrakālī*. It is made of granite which seems to be rather old, and the figure represents an old type of sculptural art. During the *Guruti* offering, the idol is decorated with garlands and is profusely covered with *Guruti-prasādam*, on which occasion a silver-plate is distinctly seen in the place of the left breast. Ladies attend to the worship in this shrine. *Guruti-ambā* is another name by which this deity is known among some people.

Can this be the original idol of *Kannaki*? This would be the impression left on one's mind on first seeing this idol. This was also the reply that the writer got to a question put to an old man of the locality, regarding the origin of the shrine. *Prima facie*, the resemblances are, indeed, striking between the one breasted and *Guruti*—covered *Vasūrimāla* and *Kannaki*, the devoted wife of Kovalan, whom Elankov Aṭikal has described as *ōt't'amulacci* and *blood-covered*. *Kannaki* is supposed to be the

incarnation of *Kāli*, the controlling deity of varied terrible diseases, who is 'the malevolent goddess of small-pox and cholera who is to be appeased' and who is 'identified with diseases, revenge and slaughter in various forms'. Such also is *Vasūrimāla*, as our pious traditions would have it. Again, in one of the many *Tot'tams* (lit. *Stōtrams* that are prevalent here even today, reference is made to Kannaki in the south and *Pālakan alias* Kṣetrapālakan in the north-eastern corner, presumably Kovalan, who during the *Camayam* festival is dressed up like a Tamilian merchant prince. Besides, another name by which this idol at Cranganur is known is the *Pattini Devi*¹ which is the peculiar name by which Kannaki lives in Tamil tradition. And, lastly, we are told that Manimekhalai had seen her parents at Cranganur and had a conversation with her mother Kannaki. These considerations would tend to show that the *Vasūrimāla* idol² might well be identified with the image of Kannaki, originally set up by Cenguttuva Perumāḷ.

If this identification of the *Vasūrimāla* is sustainable, as it presumably looks, then here is another argument which would show that the genuine Vañci of old was located on the west coast: it is none other than Tiruvañcikulam.

1. The term *Pattini* may mean either *Patni* or *Paṭṭiṇi*. The former is correct with reference to Kannaki. The latter also may be considered to be its significance. For, during the famous *Bharani* festival, the Bhagavati temple is left for seven days after *Asvati* locked up with no service, when the goddess has literally to *starve*.

[The name *Musiris*, by which Crangannur was called by the Romans, perpetuates the importance of the goddess *Vasūri* alias *Maṣūri*, as the presiding deity of the temple. This aspect is also preserved in the local nomenclature of *Kurumba-kkāvu*, i. e., *Kuruppe-kāvu Kuruppā* being the name for small-pox. (Vide the first number of the Bulletin: *Cranganore - A Study* —Ed.)

II VAÑCI.

Among the recent publications, one of the most important to the student of Kerala History is the *Ceran Vañji* by that distinguished historian of South India, Dr. S. K. Ayyangar. An attempt is made in the work, and we believe successfully, to locate Vañci, the capital of the ancient Ceras, and the author has come to the conclusion that the original Vañci was on the West Coast. The *pro-Karūr theory* of the location of Vañci advanced by a section of Tamil scholars on the basis of Tamil texts and recently resuscitated by another exponent of South Indian History, Mr. R. Dikshitar, in his rendering of the famous Tamil classic, the *Silappatikāram*, is here exploded by another great Tamil scholar—again on the basis of Tamil texts. So far as one could see, Dr. Ayyangar has convincingly answered the arguments of the *pro-Karūr* theorists.

Subsequent to the appearance of Mr. Dikshitar's translation of the *Silappatikāram* and before the publication of the *Ceran Vañji*, Malayali scholars also have offered their contribution to the elucidation of the Vañji problem; and the *Bulletin* itself published two long papers on the subject, one by the talented scholar, Mr. K. A. Menon, and another by our eminent editor of the *Kerala History*, Mr. T. K. K. Menon, while Prof. Mundasseri and Mahakavi Ullur wrote long papers in Malayalam on the same topic; and all these writers are agreed that the Vañci of old is situate in Malabar. Mr. A. G. Warier has in a critical note conclusively proved by relevant extracts from the *Silappatikāram* that Mr. Dikshitar's geography of ancient South India, in so far as it bears on the Vañji problem, is self-contradictory. Thus so far as matters now stand, the *pro-Karur theory* of the location of Vañji, despite its recent resuscitation by Mr. Dikshitar has been given its death knell by scholars, both here and on the other side of the Ghats. Hence to the student of the ancient history of South India, *Vañci continues to be situate on the West Coast*, which, indeed, has been the opinion of a great many Tamil scholars even before.

Now that the question of Vañci's location has been raised and is being discussed, there are, indeed, a few other topics, which, we submit, deserve elucidation.

There is in the first place the question: 'what is the relation between Kerala and Cera?' Are these one and the same or are they different? It is assumed on philological grounds that Cera and Kerala are identical - an assumption advanced on the basis of the speculations of Dr. Caldwell, which, so far as we have been able to examine, cannot stand a scientific scrutiny. Philologically their identity is doubtful, and politically their lack of identity has been only too clearly expressed by our ancient traditions which bespeak a *Ceramun Perumal* being imported from the east to govern over Kerala for a period of twelve years. The *Keralotpatti* itself speaks of Kerala in more than one sense: first as the tract of land from Gokarnam to Comorin and then as applying to the Malayali country proper, after the separation of the Tuluva kingdom; then again to the divisions of Kerala for administrative and military purposes; and lastly sometimes to Kolattunāt *alias* Mūṣaka and sometimes to the territory lying between Kolattunāt and Kūpaka (Quilon). The late Justice Mr. Sesha Iyer speaks of a *Cera* dynasty ruling from Tondi in Malabar and the main line established at Vañji with a viceroyalty at Karur. As against this, the exact situation and limits of Cera are yet to be known. If, however, the terms are to be understood as being identical, then the ancient political entities, Cera and Kerala must also have been identical; that is to say, if philological identity is accepted, then geographical and political identity of the two automatically follows. And this certainly means that the ancient Ceras *alias* Keralas extended their political suzerainty over the Ghats eastwards and this expansion might naturally have resulted in the foundation of an eastern capital at Karur, which, then, became Karūr-Vañji, as distinguished from the *genuine* Vañci. In other words, if the identity of the terms is accepted, the Karur-Vañji becomes a *neo*-Vañji. If, however, the Cera Kerala equation cannot be accepted and the two must be regarded as separate entities, the question has to be considered first whether Kerala conquered Cera or

the vice versa, so that the one might impose its capital upon the other. Pandit M. Raghava Ayyangar claims an antiquity for Karur Vañji as early as the second century A. C. while several scholars would shift the date of the *Silappatikāram* to the sixth century and others even to the eighth century of the Christian Era. It has thus to be conceded that the exact location of Vañji is closely rolled up with the elucidation of the inter-relationship or identity of Cera and Kerala and its antiquity. Indeed, very loose are our ideas on this subject and more light deserves to be shed on this subject. If Cera and Kerala are identical, then Vañci must certainly be on the west coast, the Karur-Vañji being founded as the eastern capital, when the Ceras, i. e. Keralas, extended their conquests over the Ghats. If the two are not identical, the ancient Vañci *may* be localised on the east, the neo-Vañci being founded on the west coast, when the Ceras came to lord over Kerala. The exact political interrelation of Cera and Kerala has to be clarified as a necessary preliminary to the final localisation of Vañci.

In the second place, the question of the origin and significance of the term Vañci or Vañji has yet to be investigated. So far as we are concerned, Vañci figures only in a couple of places in the name of the town, Tiruvañcikuḷam and in an inscription in the temple which refers to the deity as *Vañculeśa*. In these two instances and in all the Tamil texts, the term figures as *Vañci*, which is pronounced as *Vañji* by the Tamilians, as a result of a phonetic rule of vocalising all consonants between the two sonants, a rule which obtains rigourously in the Tamil language. There is thus the second question to be decided: which is the form of the word—is it *Vañci*, or is it *Vañji*? That is to say, is the original term *Vañji* written as *Vañci* on account of the inadequacy of the Dravidian script, or is it *Vañci*, written as such, but pronounced by Tamilians as *Vañji* on account of the peculiar phonetic law operating in the Tamil language? And according as we accept the one or the other form of the word the meaning also differs. As matters now stand, there is no means of deciding what the original form of the word was without fixing up the original significance of

the term. And this leads to the next question what does the term *Vañji* or *Vañci* mean?

As we have already said there are two forms in which the word has been handed down to us—*Vañci* and *Vañji*. Taking the first of these forms, the term has necessarily to be traced to the root, *Vañc*, to move to and fro, to go astray, to totter etc., if indeed we may assume that the word is *Sanskritic* in origin. This signification of the term is borne out by the nature of the ancient harbour at Muzuris, which is styled *Pseudostomos*, meaning *False-mouthed*. Can this be the original term and its significance? Not unlikely. *Vañci*, then, would be a descriptive term, describing the nature of the harbour; and from this point of view the absence of this term, as referring to the city of Mahadevarpattanam, both in *Sanskrit* and *Malayalam* literature, finds easy explanation. If, on the other hand, we take *Vañci* as an original *Dravidian* term, its only meaning, so far as we are aware, is boats and in this sense it would mean a place for boats, i. e. harbour a signification which is perfectly in keeping with the ancient history of the place as the greatest emporium of trade on the west coast. In further support of the same, we may advance the name of two other places in ancient Kerala, namely Kola, i. e. the dominions of the Kolattiri chief, and Kolamba *alias* Kūpaka, i. e. the dominions of the chief of Quilon, which also mean boat. Thus local nomenclature and the ancient history of the place justify our treating this word as *Dravidian* in origin and significance.

Considering the other form of the word *Vañji*, as it is pronounced by *Tamilians*.—written as *Vañci* as a result of the inadequacy of the *Tamil* script, it has a wonderful variety of meanings. According to the eminent lexicographer, Monier Williams, the term means 'the names of various trees and other plants according to L. *Dalbergia Ongeinensis*, *Jonesia Asoka*, *Calamus Rotang*, *Hibiscus Mutabilis*; a cow that yields plenty of milk; name of a river; a sort of bird; the river, named *Vañjula*.' Analysing these meanings we find that the term might be taken to mean i) a tree or plant ii) a bird, iii) an animal, iv) a river in general, and v) the river, named *Vañcula*;

Which of these senses is the most appropriate with reference to Vañji is the next question that we may consider. Both Messrs Ayyangar and Dikshitar take the term as meaning flora, the former as a tree and the latter as a flowering plant or creeper. These senses cannot, it appears, be associated with Vañji. The only tree that is particularly associated with śrī Vañculeśa is the *Konna* tree, and Vañji does not mean that tree. No other variety of trees and plants and reeds, referred to by the term Vañji, can be said to be peculiar to the city of Vañci. Hence in the absence of further evidence we may *not* accept the term as standing for a tree or plant or creeper, in so far as it has reference to the city of Vañci. Such an association *may*, however, be correct, if its original location was on the other side of the Ghats, but since the two *Vañcis*, if, indeed, there were two Vañcis, must have something definite in common, a signification that does not apply to the one cannot be applied to the other. Vañji, as referring to a bird, also cannot be significance of the term, as it is applied to the city.

Coming, however, to the next sense, the sense of cow yielding plenty of milk, this certainly arrests our attention. An eminent Tamil scholar once told the writer that Vañci must be on the other side of the Ghats, i. e. must be Karur-Vañji, because even today, as it was in the days of the *Silappatikāram*, a famous centre of cows, and this is an aspect which is true even today, for Karur is famous for its ghee. His identification apart, we take it that that scholar is of opinion that the ancient Vañci was famous for its milch cows, presumably according to the *Silappatikāram*. If this opinion is sustainable, this nomenclature is amply supported by the names of the neighbouring areas. Compare for instance, Pullūt't'u, meaning the island of grass, and Goturuttu, meaning the island of cows. Here, then, is an interesting point of view. The Tamil texts and local nomenclature agree in its reference to the presence of milch cows at Vañci. Here we might also point out the fact that the name Purunai, given to the Periyar river at the mouth of which Vañci stands, also means milch cows. Not only that : in support of this idea, we may point out the

name of the royal family of Cochin. It is known as *Māṭavamśa*, where the term *māta* means cow; compare also its samskritised form *Cośrivamśa*. It is to be noted that *Kocchikirītapati* was the lord of the imperial capital after the period of the Perumals, i. e., from 427 A. C, as far down as the middle of the fourteenth century; this city was abandoned only when it was closed up and a new harbour was opened up at Cochin in 1341-2, thanks to the heavy floods during the year. Here, then, is a signification which seems to be well borne out not merely by the ancient texts, but also by the nomenclature of a political entity and of the neighbouring areas. And this sense that *Vañci* means a milch cow must, therefore, command our serious attention, if not acceptance – an aspect which does not seem to have been stressed by any of the writers on the subject.

Lastly, we may notice the significance of the term which gives the idea of a river, called *Vañcula*. This sense also is particularly appropriate, so far as *Vañci* on the west coast is concerned; for the river flowing by its side is named *Vañcula*, as evidenced by the term *Vañculaśa*, by which the deity, enshrined at Tiruvañcikkulam, is known. This, then, also forms an arrestive sense of the term *Vañci*.

In the foregoing we have considered a series of meanings for the term *Vañji* alias *Vañci*, and from the point of view of local conditions, geographical and political, we may presume that any of the senses, *boat* or *false mouthed river* or *Vañjula river* or *milch cow* might be taken as the significance of the term; and, according as we fix up the meaning of the term, we may fix up the original form of the word also. It is curious enough to mention here that the eminent lexicographer should have also stated that the term *Vañci* has a variant form *Vañji*, and this is also supported by the *Amarakośa*.

Enough now has been said to show that a consideration of the meaning and the original form of the word would give us a large amount of materials to decide the location of the city of *Vañji* or *Vañci*, materials which unfortunately have

not been taken notice of hereto. This then is a fundamental weaknesses of the *pro-Karūr* theorists. Another weakness of theirs has been the fact that they presumed that the *Silppatikāram* was to be assigned to the second century A. C. The only basis for this ascription is the Gahabahu synchronism, and this dating has been exploded by the late Mr. Sivaraja Pillai in his *Chronology of the Tamils* on grounds which appear to be conclusive. If Mr. Pilla's view should command attention,—and the arguments of Mr. Pillai have not so far been answered—then these theorists must be said to be making too much of the antiquity of the *Sangham* works and, therefore, any evidence drawn, or conclusions arrived at, therefrom cannot command the serious attention of non-Tamil scholars.

When due allowance is made for these two primary weaknesses of the *pro-Karur* theorists, and full value is assessed of the signification of the term *Vañci*, the city of *Vañci* cannot be located anywhere other than on the West Coast.

K. R. P.

ANNEXURE I.

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ANNEXURE II.

Rules and Bye-laws of the Rama Varma Research Institute.

RULES.

1. *Name*: The Institute shall be called "The Rama Varma Research Institute".

2. a. *Aim and objects*: The objects of the Institute shall mainly be: to collect books, journals and unpublished manuscripts bearing on the History of South India in general and of Kerala in particular; and to afford facilities for carrying on research work on the ancient History of Cochin.

c. *Bulletin*: It shall publish a bulletin at least once a year which shall, among others, deal with the result of the research work as also the work of the Institute.

b. *Granthavali*: It shall be competent for the Institute to publish a series, to be called 'Rama Varma Granthavali' of rare and important Sanskrit and Malayalam manuscripts after getting them carefully edited by competent scholars.

d. *Monographs*: It shall also publish monographs written by competent scholars on subjects falling within its purview.

3. a. *Management*: The Institute shall be managed by a Committee consisting of a Secretary and five other members appointed by the Government.

b. The Committee shall meet at least once in three months. Three members shall form a quorum. The decision of the majority shall be the decision of the committee. In the case of equality of votes, the Diwan shall be the deciding authority.

4. a. *Finance*: The Secretary of the Committee shall, as formally sanctioned by the Committee, draw and disburse the grant from the Government to the Institute and shall maintain such account books, vouchers and receipt books as are prescribed by the Account Code.

b. *Audit:* At the beginning of each year, the Government shall have the accounts audited and the stock of books, manuscripts and other articles taken by an officer deputed by it.

5. *Purchase of books:* The Secretary can on the written request of a member of the Committee, purchase a copy of any standard work on Kerala not owned by the Institute. In the case of manuscripts and of other books, he shall write for them only if consented by the Committee.

6. *Research scholars:* Only research scholars, certified as such by a competent professor of a first grade college, or those who come for reference with a ticket of admission from one of the members of the committee, shall have access to the Institute.

7. a. *Library:* A member of the Committee can remove any book outside the Institute. Each member can take only three books at a time. He cannot transfer it to any one, nor keep it for more than three months at a time.

Note— i. This concession applies only to books and journals that are printed and not out of print.

ii. A bound volume of the copies any journal shall be regarded as one book. But only one number of any journal a member can keep and that for a week only.

b. No manuscript of book shall be removed by others without the previous sanction of the Government, which must be sought for through the Secretary of the Institute, who shall forward the application to the Diwan for sanction.

c. No issue of any manuscript, book or journal shall be made before a proper receipt is passed, and a bond furnished wherever necessary.

Bye-laws.

1. a. The Secretary can call for an annual meeting of the Committee when necessary, and shall convene one if he is requisitioned by two members of the Committee.

b. He shall ordinarily give a week's notice to all members before holding a meeting.

2. The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Committee and shall be responsible for carrying out its resolution.

3. The Secretary shall keep a stock register of manuscripts, books and other articles belonging to the Institute and shall also maintain a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts.

The Working Scheme.

A. The Institute shall take in, on the recommendation of the Committee three classes of Members:—

i. Honorary Members, ii. Life Members, and iii. Ordinary Members.

i. Honorary Members: The number of Honorary Members shall be limited to six at a time. They shall be elected on the basis of the original work they have done in the field of Kerala cultural antiquities in one or other of its branches. Each Honorary Member is expected to deliver at least one lecture every year under the auspices of the Institute.

ii. Life Members: The Life Members shall be those who pay a subscription of Rs. 50

iii. Ordinary Members: There shall be two kinds of ordinary members, Resident Members and Non-Resident Members, who shall pay respectively an annual subscription of Rs. 4 and Rs. 3.

Note:—Resident Members shall be those who ordinarily reside in Cochin State. The committee shall have the power to refuse admission to any without assigning any reason. All members shall be invited for all the lectures delivered under the Institute, shall get free copies of all the publications of the Institute, and shall be allowed to loan books from the Institute library on their paying a deposit money of Rs. 5 and on their agreeing to bear the postage &c.

B. None of the Members shall have any voice or vote in the management of the Institute. But all their suggestions will thankfully received and duly considered.

C. The Committee shall arrange for, through the help of the Honorary Members, at least six lectures every year on a subject connected with the antiquities of Kerala.

D. The Committee shall invite distinguished scholars to deliver courses of lectures, not less than one every year, on any of the subjects, or aspects thereof, mentioned below: (connected with South India in general and Kerala in particular):-

1. Pre-historic antiquities.
2. Religion and philosophy.
3. Art, art-craft and architecture.
4. Folk-lore, place names, &c.
5. Notices of unpublished manuscripts, records, inscriptions, &c.
6. Social life, customs and manners.
7. Languages and literature (both Sanskrit & Malayalam).
8. Anthropological notes.
9. Ancient History.
10. Biography of great men.

Note:—The remuneration in each case shall be fixed by the Committee.

E. The Committee shall award a gold medal of a value of not less than Rs. 50 to the best original paper submitted to the Institute on any of the subjects mentioned above.

Note:—The paper accepted by the Institute as worthy of the award shall be the property of the Institute. In the absence of any candidate worthy of award, the committee may, at its discretion, award the medal to any scholar who, in their opinion, has done most during the year or years proceeding to elucidate Kerala culture or Kerala History

F. The Committee shall arrange to publish at least one Bulletin annually which shall contain, 1. a succinct account of the working of the Institute, 2. the lectures delivered under the auspices either in extenso or in the form of summary as merit requires or space permits, 3. a bibliography of the important articles, memoirs or books published during the period, 4. select contents from standard journal of such articles as have any bearing on the Kerala History, Archaeology or Anthropology, and 5. the list of books, newly acquired for the Institute library.

Secretary.

TIRUKKURAL IN MALAYALAM

**[A 16th century Ms. containing the Tamil Text and the
Malayalam translation]**

Edited by L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M. A., B. L.

206. തീപ്പാല താൻ പിറർകൾ¹ചെയ്യുൽക്ക നോ²യിപ്പാല തന്നെ
ടെൽ വേണ്ടാതാൻ.-

തന്നെക്കു മുമ്പം കൂടാതെ ഇരിക്കേണംമെങ്കിൽ മറ്റൊരുത
നെക്കുറിച്ചു ദോഷം ചെയ്യായ്ക്ക.

207. എന്നെപ്പുകെയുറാത്തയ്യർ വി³നെപ്പുകെ വീയാതു പിൻ
ചെൻ⁴റടും.-

തന്നിട്ടു പെരിയ ശത്രു ഉണ്ടെങ്കിലതു പൊറക്കും; വീനെ
യാകിയ പക വി⁴ടാതെ കൊല്ലും.

208. തീയവൈ ചെയാർ കെടുതൽ നി⁵ഴന്നെ വീയാതടിയുരേന്ത
ററും.-

ദോഷംവെള്ളവന കേടു അവനെത്തന്നെ ചുറ്റി നിഴൽ
പോലെ നില്ക്കും.

209. തന്നെത്താൻ കാതലനായിൻ എ⁶ന്നെത്താൻറും തു⁷ന്നെൽക്ക
തീവിനെപ്പാൽ.-

തന്നെ തന്നിട്ടു സ്നേഹമുള്ളവൻ ഒരുത്തരെക്കുറിച്ചു കററ
ഞ്ഞൊരു ദോഷമെങ്കിലും ചെയ്യായ്ക്ക.

210. അരംകേടനെൻപതറിക മരംകോടിത്തീവിനെ ചെയാനെ
നിൻ.-

പറഞ്ഞൊരുവനെ ഒരു ദോഷം ചെയ്യായ്ക്കിൽ അവനെ പെരി
യോര ആപത്തു വരിക ഇല്ല.

1. പിറർകൾ“ചെയ്യറ“ക

2. നോയ“പ്പാലതന്നെയടൽവേണ്ടാതാൻ (നോയ“പ്പാല + തന്നെ +
ടെൽവേണ്ടാതാൻ)

3. വിനെപ്പുകെ “the wrath of evil deds”.

4. വിടാതെ കൊല്ലും of the Mal. translation (for “പിൻചെൻറടും”
of the original) may be compared to the Tam. commentarians' പക്ഷിപ്പി
ക്കുകൊല്ലും.

5. ...കെടുതനിഴന്നെന്നെ... (കെടുതൽ + നിഴൽ + തന്നെ.)

6. തന്നെത്താൻ

7. തുന്നറ“ക

ഒപ്പുവരിതൽ.¹

ലോകിതമറിഞ്ഞ ചെയ്യീൻറത.

211. കൈമാറ്റ വേണ്ട കടപ്പാടു മാരിമാട്ടെന്നാറുംകൊല്ലോവുല
കു.-

ഉപകാരം ഇങ്ങോട്ടു ഉണ്ട എന്റാ നിനച്ചു കൊടുക്കേണ്ടോ;
ലോകത്തിങ്കൽ മഴക്കു ഉപകാരം ചെയ്യമാറുണ്ടോ.

1. ഒപ്പുവരിതൽ.—

ഒപ്പുവരിതൽ is explained by മണക്കുടവർ as “ഇല്ലെന്ന ഇരത്തുവ
ന്താർ യാവക്കും വരെയെതുകൊടുക്കുമാറിലരെന്നിനും തമ്മളവിറംകും തംവ
രുവായളവിറംകുമേറകത്തക്കൊക്കത്തക്കനവറിതു കൊടുത്തൽ”

പരിമേലഴകർ's interpretation is expressed in general terms:
“ഉലകനക്കെ അറിതു [ഉപകാരം] ചെയ്തൽ”.

The Mal. rendering has “ലോകഹിതമറിഞ്ഞു ചെയ്യീൻറത”. The
idea of ഉപകാരം ചെയ്ത is evident from the Mal. translations of the
couplets 211 and 212. In effect, therefore, the Mal. explanation is pra-
ctically the same as പരിമേലഴകർ's, though ലോകഹിതം “general wel-
fare” cannot literally be equated to ഉലകനക്കെ “the practice of the
world”.

മണക്കുടവർ's കൊടുത്തൽ does not envisage all that is implied in
ഉപകാരം ചെയ്തൽ.—

Pope translates ഒപ്പുവരി as “due beneficence” which is com-
prehensve enough, while Beschi's explanation “munificum esse cum iis
cum quibus mundi mos id postulat, puta cum templis, cum pauperibus.
cum propinquis, cum amicis, cum hospitibus” is somewhat limited in its
scope, in spite of the phrase “mundi mos” (a rendering of പരിമേലഴകർ's
ഉലകനക്കെ), since his explanation does not advert to the doer at all.

2. The idea of കൈമാറ്റ (=പ്രത്യുപകാരം) is conveyed by ഉപകാരം
ഇങ്ങോട്ടു.

3. Though the word കൊടുക്കേണ്ട is used here, the general idea is
implied in ഉപകാരം occurring in this couplet and in 211.

212. താളാറി¹ൽ തന്തപൊരുളെല്ലാം തക്കാർക്കു വേളാഴമെ² ചൈ³
തപ്പൊരുട്ടു.-

താൻ നടന്ന ദൈവദണ്ഡിച്ചു ഉണ്ടാക്കിയ പൊരുളാലേ നല്ല
ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഉപകാരം ചെയ്തു.

213. പുത്തേളുകത്തുമീണ്ടു പീറലരിതേ⁶ [ഒ]പ്പുരവിനല്ലപിറ.-

കൊടുത്ത ഇലോകത്തിങ്കൽ കിട്ടുപലംപോലെ ദേവലോ
കത്തും കിട്ടാ.

214. ഒത്തനറിവാരുയിർവാഴ്വാൻ മരൈയാൻ ചെത്താരുൾ വൈക്കു⁹
പ്പു.-

ലോകിതമറിഞ്ഞ കൊടുക്കിൻറവനേ ഉയിരുള്ളവൻ; അത
ല്ലാതറിൻ ശവപ്രായം.

1. താളാറിത്തന്ത (താൾ + ആറി + തന്ത).

2. വേളാഴൈ-ഴ് for ഞ് in Mal. ഴ്മ് is noteworthy.

3. ചെയ്വുറുപൊരുട്ടു (ചെയ്വുൾ + പൊരുട്ടു).

4. The Mal. rendering is in the form of a direction, while the Tamil original is the statement of a truth.

5. ദൈവദണ്ഡിച്ചുണ്ടാക്കിയ expresses the idea of താളാറിത്തന്ത.

6. പെറലരിതേ (പെറൽ + അരിതേ).

7. The sense of the couplet is that neither in heaven nor on earth does a virtue so great as ഒപ്പുരവു exist.

8. മരൈയാൻ.

9. വൈക്കപ്പു.

215. ഈതണി നീർനീരൊത്തറോ¹ ഉലകവാംപേരിവാളെൻറീത.-

ഘോകിതംശാരിഞ്ഞ കൊടുക്കിൻറവൻപൊരുഷം² ഉറവുള്ള³ നിറഞ്ഞ കളത്തിന സമം.

216. പയൻമരം⁴ ഉള്ളൂർ പഴുത്തറാൽ ചെൽവം നയനടയാൻകൽപ്പ⁵ ടിൻ.-

നല്ലവനുള്ള പൊരുഷം⁶ പെരുവഴിക്കൽ നല്ലമരം പഴുത്ത തി[*ന]സമം.

217. മത്താകിതപ്പാമരത്താൽ⁷ പെരുഞ്ചെൽവം⁸ പെരുത്തകൈയാൻ⁹ കൽപ്പടിൻ.-

ഘോകിതമറിഞ്ഞ കൊടുക്കിൻറവൻവാഴ്വ¹⁰ മരുന്ന ആ കിൻറ മരത്തിന സമം.

1. നീരൊത്തറോ

2. പേരിവാളെൻറീത (പേരിവാളൻ + തീത). പൊരുഷം does not seem to be a happy translation for തീത 'prosperity', 'wealth', unless പൊരുഷം is understood in a somewhat figurative sense.

3. ഉറവുള്ള in the Mal. translation is quite appropriate for the elucidation of നീർ നീരൊത്തറോ; but the idea of ഈതണി "the tank which supplies water to the village" is lacking in the Mal. rendering.

Similarly, the idea of the phrase ഉലകവാം (ഉലക + അവാം) is left out in the Mal. version. മണക്കടവർ explains ഉലകവാം as "ഉലകത്താരല്ലൊരാലും നച്ചപ്പടുകിൻറ", while പരിമേലഴകർ has "ഉലകനടൈയെ വിതമ്പിച്ചെഴും".

4. പയൻമരം ("the fruit-bearing tree")

5. നയനടൈയാൻകട്പടിൻ (നയനടൈയാൻകൾ + പടിൻ)

നയനടൈയാൻ is interpreted here again by മണക്കടവർ as "പിറരാൽ വിതമ്പപ്പടയാൻ", while പരിമേലഴകർ equates it to "ഒപ്പു വുപെഴ്യാൻ" — the Mal. version has നല്ലവൻ which is colourless.

6. പെരുവഴക്കൽ is intended to express the idea of ഉള്ളൂർ (= ഈർ നടുവ).

7.ത്തപ്പാമരത്താൽ

8. പെരുഞ്ചെൽവം

9. പെരുത്തകൈയാൻകട്പടിൻ (പെരുത്തകൈയാൻകൾ + പടിൻ)

218. ഇടനിൽപരുവത്തും പ്പുറവിൽക്കൊൽക്കാർ കടനറികഴ്ചിയ¹ വർ.-²

ജോഗിരമറിഞ്ഞവൻ വാഴ്ച³ കുറഞ്ഞാലും ജോഗിതം കുറക ഇല്ല.

219. നയനടൈയാൻ നൽകൂർത്താനാതൽ ചെയനീർമൈ ചെയ്യാത മൈകലാവാറു.-⁴

ലോഗിതം അറിഞ്ഞ ചെയ്യാതുകൊണ്ടു ഒൻറം ഇല്ലാതേ ചോം.⁵

1. പ്പുറവിൻകൊൽക്കാർ (പ്പുറവിൻകു + കൊൽക്കാർ)

2. കടനറികാഴ്ചിയവർ (കടൻ + അറി + കാഴ്ചിയവർ)

3. വാഴ്ച കുറഞ്ഞാലും clearly conveys the meaning of ഇടനിൽ പരുവത്തും.

4. നയനടൈയാൻ

5. ചെയനീർമൈ (ചെയൽ + നീർമൈ) agrees with മണക്കടവർ's reading—പരിമേലഴകർ has ചെയനീർമൈ (ചെയും + നീർമൈ)

6. ചെയ്യാതമൈകലാവാറു (ചെയ്യാതും + അമൈകലാ + ആറു)

7. The Mal. rendering is confused and unsatisfactory. The idea implied is that when the man of due beneficence suffers from poverty (or other want of facilities) he would lament only over his inability to do good to others but never over his poverty or want of facilities.

Beschi has brought out these ideas clearly: "Munificum virum pauperum evadere non adeo illum vexat, uti displicentia, quam habet, quod nequeat exercere munificentiam ut aequum est".

മണക്കടവർ's "ചെൽവങ്കരൈപടിനും ഉപകാരഞ്ചെയ്യാർ" does not (I think) envisage the full import of this couplet.

220. ഒപ്പാവിനാൽ വരും കേടേനിൽ അകത്തോരുവൻ വിററുകോട്ടക്കുളയ്ക്കത്തു.³—

ലോഗിതമറിഞ്ഞ കൊടുത്ത ക്ഷയിച്ച[വ]ൻ ക്ഷയിക്കയില്ല;
വിത്തിട്ടതിനുസമം.⁴

മറയ്ക്കുക.

ഇല്ലാത്തവൻ ധർമ്മം ചെയ്തിൻറെ.

221. വരിയാർക്കോൻറീവതേയിക്കേ മറെറല്ലാം കുറിയ്തിർപ്പെ
നിരയുടെതു.⁵—

ഇല്ലാത്തവൻ കൊടുക്കിൻറതേ കൊടുക്ക ആകിൻറ[*തു];
അതല്ലാത്തതു വായിപ്പ കൊടുക്കിൻറതിന സമം.⁶

1. കേടേനിൽ (കേട് + എനിൽ)

2. അകത്തോരുവൻ (അകത്തു + ഒരുവൻ)

3. വിററുകോട്ടക്കുളയ്ക്കത്തു (വിററു + കോൾ + തക്കതു + ഉടയ്ക്കത്തു)

4. “ക്ഷയിക്കയില്ല, വിത്തിട്ടതിനുസമം” of the Mal. rendering expresses the substance of വിററുകോട്ടക്കുളയ്ക്കത്തു, the literal meaning of which is that beneficence is so valuable a virtue that it is worth acquiring through the sale of one's possessions (or even one's own self).

മണക്കടവർ gives an illuminating explanation: “ഒരുവൻ ഒപ്പാവു ചെയ്തതിനാലേ പൊതുക്കേടവരുടെൻറു ചൊല്ലിൽ, അക്കേടേക്കേടാക ചേയ്ത്തൊക്കുള്ളൽ കൂടാതു; അകത്തു, ഒൻററെ വിററു, ഒൻററെക്കൊള്ളുകിൻറ വാണികമാകക്കൊള്ളുതകതിയുടെതു”—The കരുത്തു is summed up as “കേട്ടാനായിനും അതന്നെ ആക്കമാകക്കൊള്ളൽ തക്കം, പിറപയപ്പന നമെയാതലാൻ”

The idea of “selling even one's own self” is suggested by പരിമേലഴകർ; and Beschi (“etiamsi te ipsum vendere”) and Pope (“’Twere meet man sold himself”) follow this Tam. commentarian.

5. കുറിയ്തിർപ്പെ

6. വായ്പകൊടുക്കിൻറതിനുസമം brings out the idea of കുറിയ്തിർപ്പെ നിരയുടെതു.

222. നല്ലാ[റ്റ]നിനും കൊളറീതു മേലുകും ഇല്ലനിനും ¹രതലേ
നൻറു.-

മേടിക്കിൻറത നൻറ എൻറ വരികിലും വേണ്ടോ; സ്വ
ഗ്ഗ്ലാപ്ലി ഇല്ലംകിലും കൊടുക്കയത്രേ ഉത്തമം.

223. ഇലനെന്നും എപ്പു²രെയൊമൈ ³രൊതൽ ⁴കലനടൈയാൻകണ്ണേ
ഉളു.-

⁵ഇല്ല എൻറ പറെയാതേ കൊടുപ്പാൻ ⁶വംശപതിക്കേ തോ
ൻറു.

224. ഇന്നംതിരക്കപ്പട്ടയാൾ ഇരന്തവരിതുമുഖം കാണമളവു.-

⁸ഇരക്കിൻറത ആകാ; അതിലും കൊടാത്തവൻറെറ മുന്നിൽ
ചെപ്പൻറ ഇരക്കിൻറത ആകാ.

1. ഇല്ലെനിനും

2. എപ്പുരെയൊമൈ

3. ഈതൽ

4. കലനടൈയാൻകണ്ണേ

5. ഇലനെന്നൊപ്പുരെയൊമൈയിതൽ has been interpreted in several ways according as ഇലൻ refers to the donor or to the donee.

ഇലൻ has been taken by പരിമേലഴകർ as a കരിപ്പവിനെ first person singular, and Pope and Beschi ("nil habeo") follow this interpretation ഇലൻ may, however, be regarded also as a third person singular കരിപ്പവിനെ form.

ഉരെയൊമൈ is taken as modifying the verb-idea in ഈതൽ by മണക്കവടർ and by the Mal. rendering.—പരിമേലഴകർ would construe ഉരെയൊമെയും ഈതലും ഉളു. The fact that the predicate is in the plural does not necessarily necessitate the taking of ഉരെയൊമൈ as an additional subject: for, according to the rules of Tamil Grammar, the plural idea implied in the process of "giving" (ഈതൽ) is sufficient to justify the use of the plural predicate. While Pope takes ഉരെയൊമൈ and ഈതൽ as two separate subjects, Beschi regards ഉരെയൊമൈ ("non profitendo") as a verb-modifier.

6. കലനടൈയാൻ has been well translated into Malayalam വംശപതി.

7. ഇരന്തവിരിൽമുകക്കാണമളവു (ഇരന്തവർ + ഇൻമുകം + കാണമളവു.)

8. The translation here has gone completely wrong. Even the text of the original has been wrongly reproduced as തുമ്മുക (for ഇൻമുകം). The idea is that until the man's face is lit up with joy, the giver feels no delight in giving, the implication being that the giver should confer his gifts unstintedly till the needy man feels joy.

225. ആറ്റുവാരാറൽ പചിയാറൽ അപ്പചിയെ¹ മാറ്റുവരാറലിൽപ്പിൻ.-

എല്ലായിലും അടക്കുതാത്ത വിശപ്പു; അത അടക്കിൻറ വനത്രെ² തപോതനരിലും വലുത.

226. അറാരഴിപചിതീത്തല്ല³തൊരുവൻ പെററാൻ പൊരുൾ വൈപ്പഴി.-

ഇല്ലാത്തവെൻറെ വിശപ്പിനെ അടക്കിൻറവനത്രെ ധമ്മ മെൻറ നിക്ഷേപത്തെ വല്ലിൻറത.

227. പാത്തുൺ മരീയവനെപ്പചിയെന്നും തിപ്പിണി തീണ്ടലരിതു.-

എല്ലാക്കും ചകുത്ത കൊടുത്ത ഉണ്ടവനെ വിശപ്പാകിൻറ ഭവം തീണ്ടുക ഇല്ല.

1. അപ്പചിയെ മാറ്റുവരാറലിൽപ്പിൻ (അപ്പചിയെ + മാറ്റുവാർ + ആറലിൽ + പിൻ)

2. The use of തപോധനൻ in the Malayalam rendering explains who the "strong men" or ആറ്റുവാർ are.

Both the Tamil commentaries have envisaged this: മണക്കടവർ says "തവവണ്ണവാരീനും താനവണ്ണവാർ വലിയുടേയർ"; and പരിമേലഴകർ interprets ആറ്റുവാർ as തവത്താൻ വലിയാർ; cf. Beschi: "charitas perfectior est poenitentia".

3. അറാരഴിപചിതീത്തല്ല³തൊരുവൻ.....(അറാർ + അഴിപചി + തീത്തൽ + അ³തു³ + ഒരുവൻ....).

4. The phrase ധമ്മമെൻറ നിക്ഷേപത്തെ in the Malayalam version may be compared to പരിമേലഴകർ's "പൊരുൾപെററാനൊരുവൻ അത നൈത്തനക്ക ഉതവവൈക്കുമിടം, (പചിയെത്തീത്തലാകിയ) അറം ആകം."

5. മരീയവനെ.—This participial noun is formed from old Tamil മരീയു.

228. ുൗ൬ പക്കമിർ പമറിയാർകാറാമുടൈമൈ വയത്തിഴക്കം വൻകണ്ണവർ.-

കൊടുത്ത സ്തോടിക്കിൻ സന്തോഷത്തെ അറിയാതവർ നേടിയ പൊരുളാൽ പലമില്ലാതെ മരിപ്പർ.

229. ഇരഞ്ഞലിനിന്നാതു മൻ നീരപ്പിയ താമേ തമിയരുണൽ.-

താൻ ഭണ്ഡിച്ച ഉണ്ടാക്കിൻറതിൽ കൊടാതെ യാപിക്കിൻ[ത്] ഇരക്കിൻറതിലുമാകാ.

1. ഈ൬ പക്കമിർ പമറിയാർകാറാമുടൈമൈ വൈത്തിഴക്കം വൻകണ്ണവർ (ഈ൬ + ഉ പക്ക + ഇർ പം + അറിയാർകൊൽ + താം + ഉടൈമൈ + വൈ൬ + ഇഴക്ക + വൻകണ്ണവർ)

മണക്കടവർ explains “ഉ പക്കമിർ പം” as “പെറവക്കി വരുകൾ ലച്ചി” while പരിമേലഴകർ would have “വറിയാർ ഉവത്തലാൻ അരുളുടെ യാരെയുമിർപം.”

The Malayalam version does not explain this point. The use of the word മരിപ്പർ in the Malayalam version has reference to the ഇഴത്തൽ in the original, which presumably refers to “loss through death”.

2. മൻ. This is an ഇടൈച്ചെൽ having the force of ‘certainty’.

3. നീരപ്പിയ is taken by മണക്കടവർ as a third person participial അറിയുന്ന plural noun meaning തേടിയ ഉണവുകളെ, while പരിമേലഴകർ regards it as an old purpose-participle of the ചെയ്യിയ type, and interprets it as (പൊയടുകാര) നീരപ്പുവണ്ടി, though he refers to the other interpretation also in his commentary.

The Malayalam ഭണ്ഡിച്ചുണ്ടാക്കിൻറതിൽ seems to be nearer related to മണക്കടവർ’s interpretation.

4. യാപിക്ക- is a verb-base formed from Skt. യാപ-.

യാപിക്ക and യാവിക്ക- occur in very old inscriptions and in modern communal colloquials.

5. ഈക്കൻറതിലുമാകാ shows that the Malayalam version takes ഇൻ in ഇരഞ്ഞലിൻ as having the meaning of “more than”. പരിമേലഴകർ gives ഇൻ the meaning of “more than” (on the ground that, while ഇരഞ്ഞൽ involves humiliation only for the moment, the selfish enjoyment of one’s possessions would produce in addition നൽകരു or poverty afterwards).- മണക്കടവർ takes ഇൻ as meaning പോല.

230. ചാതലിൽ¹ ഇന്നാതതില്ലെ² ഇനിയതും³ ഞ്ഞതൽ ഇല്ലെപയാക്കട്ടെ -

ചാകീൻറത ള്വം; അതിലും ള്വമേറും ഒരുത്തന ഏതും കൊടാതത.

പുകഴ് -

കീർത്തി.

231. ഞ്ഞലിപെപടവാഴ്തലതുവല്ലതുമായില്ലെയുയിർക്ക. -

കൊടുക്കിൻറതേ കീർത്തിക്കും ആയിസ്സിനും നല്ലത.

232. ഉരപ്പാർ ഉരൈപ്പവെ എല്ലാം ഇരൈപ്പാർക്കൊൻറീവാർമേൽ⁵ നില്ക്കും പുകഴ്. -

ഇരക്കിൻറവക്ക കൊടുക്കിൻറവനോ ലോകത്തിനകൽ പ്രസിദ്ധമുള്ള.

1. ചാതലിൽ

2. ഇനിയതതും (ഇനിയതും + അതും)

3. ഇതതൽ

4. മണക്കുവർ construes the first part of the couplet as പുകഴ് പടവാഴ്തലാവതു കൊടുത്തൽ, whereas പാരിമേലഴകർ would regard ഇതതൽ and വാഴ്തൽ as optatives. -

The Mal. rendering is but an inadequate summary.

The expression ആയിസ്സിനും is not a happy or satisfactory condensation of the idea contained in “അതു അല്ലെതു ഊഴിയം ഇല്ലെ ഉയിർക്ക” which is explained by മണക്കുവർ as “അക്കൊടെയാനല്ലതു ഉയിർക്ക ഇലാ പം വേറൊൻറല്ലെ”, and by പാരിമേലഴകർ as “അപ്പകഴല്ലതു മക്കളായി പയൻപിറിയൊൻറല്ലെ”.

5. ഉരൈപ്പാരുരൈപ്പവെല്ലാം (ഉരൈപ്പാർ + ഉരൈപ്പവെ + എല്ലാം)

6. ഇരപ്പാക്കൊൻറീവാർമേനിറുകുപുകഴ് (ഇരപ്പാക്ക് + ഒൻറു + ഇവാർ + മേൽ + നിറുകും + പുകഴ്)

233. ഒൻറാവുലകത്തുയർത്ത പുകഴല്ലാൽ¹ പൊൻറാനി²ല്ലതൊ
ൻറിൽ.-

ഒരുത്തൻ മരിച്ചാലും ലോകത്തിൽ മരിക്ക ഇല്ല
കീർത്തി.

234. നിലവരെ നീൾപുകഴാറിൽ³ പുലവരെ പോറാതു പുത്തേ⁴
ഴലക.-

കീർത്തിയുള്ളവനെ സ്വർഗ്ഗത്തിൽ ഉള്ളവരും [അവനെ] സ
മ്മതിക്കും.

1. പുകഴല്ലാർ...

2. നിറപതൊൻറിൽ (നിറപതു + ഒൻറു + ഇൽ)

ഒൻറ (ഇങ്ങനെയിൻറാക) is explained by മണക്കടവർ as modi-
fying (പൊൻറാതു) നിറപതു, while പരിമേലഴകർ would make the word
modify ഉയർത്ത.

Other meanings have been suggested by പരിമേലഴകർ in his
commentary: ഒരു വാർത്തയാകപ്പൊല്ലിനെനവും ഒരു തലൈയാകപ്പൊൻറാ
തു നിറപതു എന്നും ഉരെപ്പാതമുളർ.

3. നീൾപുകഴാറിൻ പുലവരെപ്പോറാതു...

4. പുത്തേഴലക.-

5. പുലവരെ in the Tam. original is, according to പരിമേലഴകർ,
ഞാനികളെ; മണക്കടവർ equates പുലവരെ to തേവരെ,

നിലവരെ "to the confines of earth" "intra terrae fines"
(Beschi)

235. നത്തംപോൽ¹കേടുമുളതാകുംചാക്കാടു² വിത്തകുല്ലാലരിതു.-

³ശംഖ ചത്താലും മുഴക്കം പോകാ; നല്ലവനെ ദേഹം പോയാലും കീർത്തി പോകാ.

236. തോൻറി⁴പുകഴൊട്ടുതോൻറുക അകുതില്ലാർ തോൻറലിൽ⁶ തോൻറാമൈ നൻറു.-

പിറക്കിൽ കീർത്തിയൊടുക്കുക പിറക്കു; അതല്ലായ്യിൽ⁷ പിറയ്ക്ക നല്ലത.

1. നത്തംപോൽ¹കേടും

2. ഉളതാകുംചാക്കാടും

3. The Mal. version expresses the substance of the couplet and reinforces it with a proverb; the literal meaning is that "loss that is gain (or like gain) and death that is life (or like life) would fall to none except the wise."

പോല is given the full meaning by മണക്കുടവർ, while പരിമേലഴകർ dismisses it as an ഉരൈയമൈ.

While മണക്കുടവർ's explanation restricts itself to the literal signification, പരിമേലഴകർ distinguishing പുതവുടമ്പു (the physical body made of the പഞ്ചഭൂത's) and പുകഴുടമ്പു (a life which has won renown), explains the phrase നത്തംപോൽകേട as "പുകഴുടമ്പു ചെൽവമെയ്തു പുതവുടമ്പു നൽകുർത്തൽ", and the expression ഉളതാകും ചാക്കാടു as "പുകഴുടമ്പു നിറക പുതവുടമ്പു ഇറത്തൽ".

4. തോൻറി⁴ പുകഴൊട്ടു തോൻറുക

5. അകുതിലാർ

6. തോൻറലിറോൻറാമൈ നൻറു (തോൻറലിൽ + തോൻറാമൈ + നൻറു)

7. പിറയ്ക്ക is a noteworthy Mal. form

237. പുകഴ്പടവാഴാതാർ തന്നോവാർ തമ്മെ ഇകഴ്വാരെ
നോവതെവെൻ.¹—

തനിക്കു കീർത്തി ഉണ്ടാകാതെ വാഴിൻറവൻ തന്നെ നിന്ദി
ക്കൻറതിന ളക്കിക്കേണ്ടാ.

238. വചൈ എ²മ്പ വൈയ്കത്താർക്കെല്ലാം ഇചൈയെന്നും എ⁴ച്ചം
പൊർവിടിൻ.—

ഭൂമീകൽ കീർത്തിയോടുകൂടെ വാഴാതവെൻ അപകീർത്തി
ഉള്ളവൻ.

239. വചൈയിലാ വ⁵ൻപയം കുൻറും ഇചൈയിലാ യാക്കൈ
പൊറുത്ത നിലം.—

കീർത്തി ഇല്ലാതെ നില്ക്കിൻറ ദേഹം നില്ക്കിൻറ നിലത്തേ
വിളവുകൂടെ വിളെയ്യാ.

240. വചൈയൊഴിയ വാഴ്വാരെ വാഴ്വാർ ഇചൈ ഒഴിയ
[*വാഴ്]വാരെ വാഴാതവർ.

അപകീർത്തികൂടാതെ ഇരിക്കിൻറത കീർത്തി, അതല്ലാതെ
വാഴിൻറത അപകീർത്തി.

1. നോവതെവൻ (നോവതു + എവൻ)

തന്നോവാർ (തം + നോവാർ) "without bewailing their own im-
perfections."—This idea is not brought out in the Mal. rendering.

2. എൻപ

3. വൈയകത്താർക്കെല്ലാം

4. എച്ചം പൊരാ വിടിൻ "in the event of praise not being left
behind"; വചൈ is "disgrace", and ഇചൈ "renown".

5. വൻപയൻ

6. വാഴാതവർ in the original is interpreted by the Tam. commen-
taries as "as good as dead men" "(ഇറന്തവർ" "പിണ്ണത്തോടൊപ്പർ")

ഇല്ലാമകിഞ്ചു[*തു] തുറവരം കൂറിനതു.

¹
അരുളിടമെ.

241. അരുൾ²ചെൽവം ചെൽവത്തുൾചെൽവം പൊരുൾചെൽവം
³പുരിയാർക്കണ്ണമുള.-

ഒരുത്തന ധനമാകിൻ[തു] എല്ലാരോടും കൂപ; അതല്ലാത
ധനം കീഴ്ജ്ജാതിക്കുമുണ്ട.

242. നല്ലാറാനാടി⁴യതളാഴക പല്ലാറോരി⁵നമക⁶തേ തുണൈ.-

നല്ലവണ്ണം നിൻറ കൃപയെ നേടുക; അതുതാനേ ധർമ്മ
[ത്തിന] തുണൈ.

243. അരുൾ ചേർത്ത നെഞ്ചിനാക്കി⁷ല്ലെ ഇരുൾ ചേർത്ത ഇന്നാ
ഉലകം പുകൽ.-

കൃപയുണ്ടായി ഇരിക്കിൻറവന നരകമില്ല.

244. മനുയിരോപിയ⁷തളാഴ്വാക്കി⁷ല്ലെൻപ തന്നയിരഞ്ചും വി
നൈ.-

എല്ലാ പ്രാണത്തേയും രക്ഷിച്ചിരിക്കിൻറവനേ കൃപയൊളുപ്പി;
അവന പാപമില്ല.

1. അരുളിടമെ.—This is explained by മണക്കുടവർ thus: യാതാനു
മോതയിർ ഇടർപ്പടിൻ അതറുക തന്നയിക്ക് ഉററ തുൻപത്തിനാൽ വരുത്തു
മാറുപോല വരുത്തും ഇരുമുളിടമെ.

2. അരുൾചെൽവം ചെൽവത്തുൾചെൽവം പൊരുൾചെൽവം.....

3. The meaning of പുരിയാർ is "കീഴായിനോർ" (മണക്കുടവർ) or
"ഇഴിനോർ" (പരിമേലഴകർ). The expression കീഴ്ജ്ജാതി of the Mal.
translation need not be understood literally. Beeschi has "etiam vilibus
hominibus communis est" for പുരിയാർക്കണ്ണം ഉള.

4. നല്ലാറാനാടി⁴യതളാൾക (നല്ലാറാൻ + നാടി + അരുൾ + ആൾക)

5. പല്ലാറോരി⁵നമക (പല്ലാറാൻ + തേരിനം)

6. അറുകതേ

7. അരുളാൾവാറുകി⁷ല്ലെൻപ (അരുൾ + ആൾവാൻ + ക് + ഇൽ +
എൻ പ)

245. അല്ലെ¹ൽ അതളാഴ്വാർക്കില്ലെ² വഴിവഴംകുമല്ലെൻമാ³ണാലും കരി.-

കൃപ ഉള്ളവർക്കു ഇജ്ജവത്തിൻകൽ ഒരു മുഖമില്ല; അതിന്നു⁴ നടുവ ഭൂമിയിൽ വാഴുന്നവർ.

246. പൊതൽ⁵ നീംകിപ്പൊച്ചാത്താ⁶രൻപരൾ നീകിയല്ലവെ⁷ ചൈതൊഴുകവാർ.-

കൃപയെ നീക്കി ദോഷത്തെ ചെയിൻവർ പൊരുളി⁸ല്ലാതേ⁹ വശംകെടുവർ.

1. അല്ലെ

2. അതളാർവാക്കില്ലെ

3. വളിവഴകാല്ലെൻമാണാലും (വളി+വഴകും+ല്ലെൽ+മാ+ണാലും)

4. നടുവു" in the Mal. translation expresses the idea of കരി "witness", but വളിവഴകാല്ലെൻമാണാലും "the people of the vast, prosperous region of earth over which the winds blow" is not brought out fully.

The Mal. rendering may be compared to മണക്കടവർ's gist of the couplet: അതളുടൈയാക്കു അല്ലലിൻമൈ ഉലകത്താർമാട്ടേ കാണപ്പട്ടം.

പരിമേലഴകർ explains his meaning thus:—അതളാർവാക്കു അല്ല ലുണ്ടാക ഒരുകാലത്തും ഓടിടത്തും ഒരുവശം കണ്ടറിവാർ ഇന്നെയിൻ, ഇന്നെ മുക്കത്താൻ ഞാലത്താർ യാവശം ചാൻറ എൻപാർ, വളി വഴകും മല്ലെൻമാണാലും കരി എൻപാർ

5. പൊതണിക്കി

6. അതണിക്കി അതൾ + നീകി)

7. ചെല്ലൊഴുകവാർ

8. മണക്കടവർ says that the lack of benevolence in one's previous birth would result in loss of all wealth and make one unworthily oblivious,

പരിമേലഴകർ's explanation is different: അതളെത്തവിർത്ത കൊടുമൈക്കളെച്ചെല്ലൊഴുകവാറൈ, ഉറുതിപ്പൊരുളാകും അറഞ്ഞെച്ചെയ്യാതാ തുൻപുറകിൻമൈയൈ മറത്തവർ എൻറ ചൊല്ലവർ നല്ലോർ.

മണക്കടവർ and പരിമേലഴകർ differ in their interpretation of "പൊതൾ".

പൊരുളില്ലാതേ in the Mal. translation agrees with മണക്കടവർ's meaning.

9. വശംകെടുവർ is not quite satisfactory for പൊച്ചാത്താർ "those who become oblivious of their condition".

247. അതളില്ലാക്കുവുക¹മി²ല്ലെ പൊതളില്ലാ²ർക്ക് ഇവുക³ ഇല്ലാതയാകും.-

കൃപയില്ലാതവക്ക് സ്വർഗ്ഗമില്ല: പൊതളില്ലാതവക്ക് ഇഹ ലോകമില്ല.

248. പൊതളൊരാൾ പുപ്പർ അകാലതളൊരാൾ അറാൾ മറാതല രീതു.-

അത്ഥമില്ലാതവന ഒരു കാലമുണ്ടാം; കൃപ ഇല്ലാത്തവന ഒരു നാളമില്ല.

249. തെതളാതാൻ മെയ്പ്പൊതൾ കണ്ടൊരാൾ മോചിൻ അതളാതാൻ ചെല്ലുമനം.-

കൃപയില്ലാതെ ചെയ്യിൻ്റെ ധാരം അന്നമില്ലാതവെൻ പ രൻചൊരുളെ അറിഞ്ഞതിന്നു സമം.

250. വലിയാർമുററന്നെ നിന്നെക്ക താൻ തന്നിൽ മെലയാമേൽ ചെല്ലമിടത്തു.-

വലിയവർ വലിയോർമുന്നിൽ താൻ ചെറുതെൻ്റെ അറിഞ്ഞ ചെളിയവർമുന്നെ താൻ കൃപയോടുകൂടെ ചെയ്യുക.

1. അതളില്ലാക്കുവുകമി¹ല്ലെ (അതൾ + ഇല്ലാക്ക് + അവുക + ഇല്ലെ.)

2. പൊതളില്ലാക്കുവുകമി²ല്ലെ (പൊതൾ + ഇല്ലാക്ക് + ഇവുക + ഇൽ + ആകി + ആകു)

3. മെയ്പ്പൊതൾ

4. കണ്ടൊരാറേരിൻ (കണ്ടു + അറു + ആൾ + മോചിൻ)

5. ചെല്ലുമനം (ചെയ്യാ + അറ)

6. പരൻപൊതൾ "the truth of God" stands for മെയ്പ്പൊതൾ which may also be translated as "true wisdom". പരിമേലഴകർ would explain മെയ്പ്പൊതൾ as മെയ്ന്നുലിൻ ചൊല്ലാപൊതൾ.

മണക്കടവർ's gist is "അതളില്ലാതാൻ അറവുഞ്ചെയ്യമാട്ടാർ," while പരിമേലഴകർ suggests "അതളാതാൻ ഇടടെയേ അറവുഞ്ചെയ്യാൻ അതന്നെ തന്നെതളിച്ചെഴുതിനാൽ താനേ അഴിഞ്ഞുവിടും; പരി അറക്കട് കെല്ലാ അതളിക്കെമെ മുലം."

7. വലിയാർ മുററന്നെനിന്നെക്ക (വലിയാർമുൻ + തന്നെ + നിന്നെക്ക)

8. ...ത്താൻറന്നിൽമെലയാർമേഛെല്ലമിടത്തു (...താൻ + തന്നിൽ + മെലിയാർ + മേൽ + ചെല്ലാ + ഇടത്തു)

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