

BULLETIN
OF THE
RAMA VARMA
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

954 BUL

VOL. IX PART II

BULLETIN
OF THE
Rama Varma
Research Institute

J566

~~2754~~



VOL. IX PART II

1972
REPRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
THE KERALA SAHITYA AKADEMI, TRICHUR.

Bulletin of the Rama Varma
Research Institute

Vol. IX Part II

May 1972

Printed at

B. B. Press, Viyyur, Trichur-10

Published by

The Kerala Sahitya Akademi, Trichur-1

Price Rs. 1-50

VOL. IX - PART II

REPRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
THE KERALA SAHITYA AKADEMI, TRICHUR

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

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

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 According to the scheme approved by the Government the object of the institute was to collect books, journals and unpublished manuscripts on the History of South India in general and of Kerala in particular to afford facilities for carrying on research work on the ancient History of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

The Institute grew up steadily enhancing its reputation among scholars. In 1944 at the instance of the then Diwan of Cochin Sri 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.

CONTENTS.

	Page
THE GAYAMAHTMYA <i>By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M. A.</i>	65
THE MEANING OF THE TALI RITE	68
<i>By Dr. A. Aiyappan, M. A., Ph D., (London), F. R. A. I.</i>	
GRAMMAR IN LIU ATILAKAM	84
<i>By Mr. L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, M. A. B. L.</i>	
EQUIVALENTS OF THE ENGLISH PERFECT IN TAMIL AND MALAYALAM, ACCORDING TO CERTAIN EUROPEAN GRAMMARIANS <i>By Percy Macqueen, I. C. S., (Rd)</i>	102
UDDANTA SASTRI <i>By Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti, M. A.</i>	111
MODERN TAMIL PROSE <i>By M. S. Ramanujam, M. A.</i>	127
TWO VATTELUTHU INSCRIPTIONS IN IRANIKKALAM TEMPLE	134
<i>By Messrs K. R. Menon and V. N. D. Nambiar, B. A., B. L. M. L. C.</i>	
TRIPRAYAR INSCRIPTION	137
<i>By Mr. A. Govinda Warrior, B. A., & B. L.</i>	

THE BULLETIN
OF THE
SRI RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE.



THE GAYĀMĀHĀTMYA

BY

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M. A.

(University of Madras.)

The *Gayāmāhātmya* comprises chapters 105-112 (inclusive of the current text of the *Vāyu Purāna*. (My references are to the Ānandāśrama edition.) It is well-known that many *sthalamāhātmyas* which claim to be part and parcel of some famous Purāṇa or other are not traceable in the known texts of such Purāṇas. We may guess that the *Gayāmāhātmya* is also to be counted among such late and independent *sthalamāhātmyas* which, perhaps because it claimed to come from the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, found its way to the end of some manuscripts of the Purāṇa,¹ and the Pandits of the Ānandāśrama have indicated that they knew of at least three manuscripts which did not contain this section (p. 426, n). The composition of the *māhātmya* is of very poor quality and falls much below the level of the main text of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, and the legends it retails are euhemeristic accounts calculated to justify and celebrate the merits of *śrāddhas* performed in Gaya.

Similarily the even more jejune chapter 104 which has been included on the authority of a single ms. (n. at p. 422) is also a late interpolation, or rather meaningless addition. The intention of this chapter is to declare the eighteen Purāṇas to be

¹cf. Winternitz, *Gesch des. Ind. Liter.* (1909) i. p. 464 p. 1.

the authentic work of Veda Vyāsa and Vyāsa himself to be the incarnation of Viṣṇu. It opens with a speech from Śaunaka and other sages addressed to the Sūta (vv 1-18), the *Pūrṇa Pauranika*, expressing satisfaction at the knowledge they have gained by listening to the eighteen *Purāṇas* and enquiring naively if there was anything else to be known, whether Vyāsa, or the Sūta himself had kept back from them anything worth knowing. Incidentally this speech records the names, and the length in round numbers of verses, of the eighteen *Purāṇas*; but considering the context in which it appears, this has no value for the critical student of the *Purāṇa* texts. The Sūta's reply to Śaunaka and others comprises three parts—(1) a brief exposition of the *Advaita Vedānta* and the doctrine of *mayā* (which ends with the downright statement that all of it is expounded in the Veda (19-43); (2) the statement of the doctrine that Śrī Kṛṣṇa, in the company of Rādhā, is the embodiment of Brahman and Ātman (44-56), and (3) an account of Vyāsa's efforts to get at the inner meaning of the Veda by meditation and by *tapas* in Mount Meru, his vision of the four Veda-puruṣas and their revelation to him that he was himself an incarnation of Viṣṇu, born of his own will for the good of the world and that he had expounded in his works doctrines entirely in accord with their own doctrines:

asmat-sammata evā'rtho bhavatā sampradarṣitaḥ	I
purāṇeṣvītiḥaseṣu sūtreṣvāpi ca naikadhā	II

Note that this remarkable utterance put into the mouth of the Vedas themselves expresses all that is held dear by the orthodox faith viz., the unity of the authorship of the *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇas* and *Brahmasūtra*, and the continuity of faith from Vedic times down to our own.

The true ending of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* occurs at the close of chapter 103. There we get the usual *phalaśruti*, including the meaning of the term *Purāṇa* and the *Vidyāvamśa* of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (58-67).

But as the brief analysis of ch. 104 given above has shown, even these later accretions to the *purāṇa* are not without interest to the history of Hindu thought. One more instance may be given of the progress of syncretism in this thought in relatively recent times. In the very last chapter of the *Gayāmāhātmya* we have the following interesting attempt to bring together the cults of sacrifice and pilgrimage to *tīrthas* (holy places) by a metaphor:

nirmathyāgnim śamīgarbhe vidhirviṣṇvādibhiḥ saha I
 lebhe tīrtham tu yajñārtham triṣu lokeṣu viśrutaṁ I
 makhasamjñam tu tattīrtham pitṛṇām muktidāyakam I
 (50—1)

—another attempt to establish a direct connection between the Vedic religion of old and the practices of popular Hinduism of modern times.

THE MEANING OF THE TĀLI RITE.

BY

DR. A. AIYAPPAN, M. A., Ph. D. (London), F. R. A. I.

The object of this paper is not so much to explain the significance of the *tali* rite as to point out the need for methodological discipline and check in sociological studies. The sources of error are more numerous, and the play of the personal equation in observation and interpretation greater, in the field of the social sciences than in physical or biological subjects. The object of the social scientist is to establish generalisations or laws regarding human group behaviour which would approximate as much as possible to reality and also explain the various social phenomena. If a sociological generalisation is correct, it should be possible to predict events in terms of it. It has been found, especially in the field of economics, that the so-called economic laws have several of them no validity in truth; hard facts have proved that many economists were false prophets. Anthropologists concerned themselves more with the past than the present or future, but when they came to understand non-European cultures better, many of their theories, such as primitive communism, primitive group marriage, primitive matriarchate, etc., were found to be incorrect. They now realise that attempts to reconstruct the past configuration of human society and institutions with the material at our disposal can at best be patch work only. History, archaeology, mythology, and traditions supply us with the data for the world's ancient sociology, but there are major difficulties in the evaluation of the data thus presented. Most of us are familiar with instances of history being vitiated and warped to serve particular ends. The further we go back in time, the less reliable become the works of historians. Every archaeologist knows how difficult it is to interpret the meaning of the relics brought out by the spade. When, in the place of history, the inquirer has to depend on traditions, the position is worse. Traditions may have historical cores, but they are very often

rationalisations or imaginary constructions more useful to the psychologists than to the historian. In dealing with preliterate people, and people like the Malayalis whose written history is meagre, the social historian is confronted with insuperable difficulties. It is obvious that we do not have the material for a really scientific history of Malabar Society, and that whatever work we do can be of just antiquarian interest. In spite of the general poverty of historical data, we are interested in what our ancestors did, and attempts to get an outline of the past are therefore never disparaged or discouraged. It is however the duty of every one to understand the limitations of the subject, and to put forward generalisations that have been subjected to severe criticism, feeling it no shame to confess lack of information or inability to come to any definite conclusions. What is to be deprecated is the piling up of hypotheses on guesses and half-truths, and passing them for reality itself.

In historical sociology, use is very often made of the comparative method. Light is sought to be focussed on a certain custom or institution by comparing it with others that have a resemblance to it. This method is no doubt illuminating, and brilliant use has been made of it by Fraser. What is often ignored is the condition precedent to the comparative use of sociological data. Cultural traits that have a superficial resemblance may have very unlike meaning, and if two traits are to be compared it must be definitely established that they are at least comparable. In other words, if traits are not fully analysed they are not to be used for comparative purposes, as, otherwise we expose ourselves to the risk of erroneous equations and superficial parallelisms. Unless we are in possession of a complete knowledge of the culture of a people, isolated elements of it should not be extracted for comparison with traits of other people. This may appear to be a very simple caution, but is very often ignored.

I have tried to use historical, traditional, and comparative evidence in the discussion below, but shall take care to point out the pit-falls in doing it. I do not pretend to have got at

the real meaning of the *tali* rite as it would be impossible to do so unless we knew much more of the history of Malabar society.

In the field of the historical-comparative study of Malabar institutions, a good deal has been written on *tali-kettu-kalyanam*. The essence of the rite can be stated in generalised terms to be as follows:

Except the Namputiri Brahmin,* the lowest castes, and the aboriginal tribes, among all other Hindu communities of the Malabar coast girls have to undergo, before attaining puberty, an elaborate rite in which (1) they are secluded for a short period of time as though have menstruated; (2) after the period of seclusion they are invested with a small ornament known as the *tali* by an adult male who is a member of a superior caste, an unrelated member of the same caste, a cross cousin, an aunt or the shaman of a goddess, according to the local custom or the economic means of the celebrants of the rite; (3) in most cases, after the ritual of investing the girl with the *tali*, she and the man have to spend some hours or days together; and (4) there is in some localities a formal separation or ceremonial destruction of the tie created by the rite.

The non-performance of the ceremony before the girl attains puberty involves a penalty, and therefore, normally it precedes marriage. Among the Nayars it is a very expensive and grand ceremony and as a rule a large number of girls varying in age from three to fourteen undergo the ceremony in a group. The poorer people even among the Nayars who cannot afford the cost of a grand feast have the essential part of the rite, namely, the tying of the *tali* ornament done by the mother or an aunt in the presence of the diety of their local temple. There is no insistence on it being done by a man.

Among the large majority of castes now-a-days, the *tali* tying ceremony is looked upon as a meaningless affair and is being dropped. Aristocrats among the Kshatriyas and Nayars who are great stricklers after old customs still celebrate the

*Among the Namputiris, the father of the bride ties the *tali* on the day of the marriage proper. The Namputiris alone, of all the Brahmins of this province, relegate the *tali* rite to its proper place for it is not a vedic rite.

occasion. The *tali* rite was the first among ancient ceremonies that was recommended to be dropped by the religious reformers among the Iravas, one of the most numerous among the castes of the Malabar Coast.

Attention was specially focussed on this rite by the members of the Malabar Marriage Commission that collected evidence about marriage customs of the matrilineal castes of Malabar in order to find a basis for the introduction of legal marriages for those communities. A narrow-minded judiciary of the nineteenth century found it difficult to regard as valid the marriage of the Nayars which gave the children neither the status of the father nor the right of inheritance of paternal property. It was the fashion for them to regard Nayar marriage as mere concubinage. Those who were responsible for the appointment of the Malabar Marriage Commission were anxious that the state should legislate to legalise the marriage of matrilineal castes of Malabar. The Malabar Marriage Act which later provided for the registration of marriages was taken advantage of only by about half a dozen couples in the course of the three decades during which the law remained on the statute book. This act is a standing monument of judicial misunderstanding of elementary sociological situations. The time-honoured marriage system of the Nayars satisfied all the conditions of a socially recognised mode of sexual association, and, was, therefore, a real marriage though it did not tally with the notions of academic lawyers.

Two views were expressed by the witnesses and members of the Marriage Commission in explanation of the *tali* rite. The first was that it had nothing to do with what we understand by Hindu marriage, the substitute of which among the Nayars and Kshattriyas was (and is) the *sambandham*,* by which, following the *anuloma* principle, a man entered into a more or less permanent sexual relationship with a woman. The central feature

*It has been pointed out to me that the word "sambandham" occurs in none of the ballads of Malabar. It may be so, but it does not prove that the "clothe-giving" rite was not in existence during the age of the ballads.

of the *sambandham* ceremony is the presentation of bridal clothes to the woman by the bridegroom, which has its parallel among the Todas of the Nilgiris. The gift of the articles of dress by the man and its acceptance by the woman create the marital bond between them. What is done during the divorce among such castes of Malabar as have a formal ritual for it is the cutting into two of a piece of thread or cloth. These rituals with clothing as their core, and the comparative data from Toda culture, definitely indicate that the *sambandham* marriage is no new fangled matter, but is, on the other hand, an ancient trait of Malabar culture. Some members of the Malabar Marriage Commission understood this point and stressed it.

The second view, one that finds mention most often in anthropological literature, is that the *tali-kettu* is a nominal or sham marriage. According to Mr. L. K. A. Aiyar, the *tali-tier* is a vicarious husband, and the sham of a marriage with such a husband became a regular institution in Malabar, because the Nayers were a military caste whose military profession entailed considerable loss of eligible young men, and women consequently found it difficult to get husbands, before puberty. Two facts are ignored in this explanation, firstly that primitive warfare seldom involved the heavy carnage associated with modern warfare, and secondly, that pre-puberty marriage is foreign to the culture of the people of Malabar including the indigenous Brahmins.

Another writer has introduced a new explanation for the sham marriage. The *tali* ceremony was a device discovered during the troublesome days of the Mohammedan invasion of Malabar to make unmarried girls look like married women. According to this writer, the Mysoreans respected the honour of married women, while unmarried women were not spared. Apart from other inconsistencies, the existence of the *tali* rite before the 18th century seems to have been unnoticed in the formulation of this explanation.

Yet another school of arm-chair historians of Malabar society hold the opinion that some elements of a respectable

marriage rite including the tali were introduced by the Namputiri Brahmins in order that the Nayars and others who had only a primitive looking ceremony may have the joy of grander ceremonials.

The last among the proffered explanations is that the *talikettu* was the real marriage rite among the Nayars and other people, but at a certain undefined stage in the history of the country, the Namputiri Brahmins, among whom custom demanded that the younger members of a joint family should not marry within their own caste so long as they were juniors, but should enter into morganatic unions with Nayar women, exerted their powerful influence in such a manner that the original marriage with the tali rite was converted into a nominal marriage, and the women who were more or less like divorces could be made available to the Namputiris. *

Summarising the evidence then available I wrote in 1933 that the tali ceremony had strong resemblance to an initiatory rite. § This was the opinion also of Dr. Westermarck as recorded in *History of Human marriage*. But neither he nor I had factual objective evidence to prove our belief conclusively. My field work among the several castes of Malabar and Travancore, and among the tribes of Wynad enables me to review the position anew and in a fuller fashion. The initiation rite of the Kurichiyans of Wynad is most illuminating in this connection.

The Kurichiyas are a small tribe numbering about 7000 inhabiting the western half of the Wynad taluk and the Kannothe forest of Malabar district. According to their tradition they are Nayars who followed a Kshatriya leader who conquered Wynad. In their language, dress and general culture,

* Marriage among the Nayars was until recently morganatic whether the husband was a Nayar or a Namputiri Brahmin since in either case, the children did not inherit property or the rank of the father. It may be the matriliney of the Nayars rather than any peculiarity of their marriage rites that made Nayar Namputiri marriage practicable.

§ *Man.* London, 1933.

there is every indication that they are Malayalis. The ideal matrilineal joint families of ancient Malabar still survive among the Kurichiyans. Households with 40-60 members live in obedience to the strict authority of the mother's brother or Karanavan. In spite of its inherent weakness the matrilineal joint family system remains in tact among the Kurichiyas because of the very strong religious control over their social institutions. Their gods are consulted in every detail of their day to day activities. By nature Kurichiyas are simple honest and straight-forward, and I wonder if ethnographers anywhere will meet with a nicer people than they. Kurichiyian orthodoxy and honesty are a by-word among all the People familiar with Wynad. They have very punctilious notions of caste purity. They may not drink water from any one except Brahmins and the Nayars of Wynad. Tamil Brahmins and the Nayars of the plains are polluting to them. If any one touches a house of theirs, purification is possible only by burning it down. Unscrupulous men from the plains have taken advantage of the honesty and ignorance of the Kurichiyas who at present are economically in a miserable plight. *

I shall now proceed to a brief description of the girls' initiation rite among the Kurichiyas. Its name according to my informants is "*pandal-parru*" an expression which is very much like "*pandal-kalyanam*" used in North Malabar instead of "*tali-kettu-kalyanam*" of South Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Till this ceremony is undergone no girl is allowed to wear ornaments of silver or gold or the double length under-garment and the "upper cloth" covering the breast. It has to be performed before the girl menstruates for the first time. If a girl menstruates before the ceremony is performed a fine of about three rupees has to be paid to the goddess known as Karimpili Bhagavati. This goddess or rather her shaman ties the small gold ornament known to the Kurichiyans as *mūrtaponnu* round

* A fuller account of the sociology of the Kurichiyas will be published as a future number of the Madras Government Museum Bulletins.

the necks of the initiates, and therefore it is that she has to be paid the penalty for the violation of this rule of custom. The initiation of a fairly large group of girls*—always an odd number is the rule—is performed at the same time, as the feasts that follow it are the most expensive of all Kurichiyan festivities.

A day previous to the ceremony all the initiates have to abstain from fish and meat. In the afternoon the Kurichiyan ceremonialist assisted by a few others cuts with appropriate ceremonies a branch of *pala* tree (*Alstonia scholaris*) from the jungle and plants it at one corner of the shamiana erected in the pandal. At about midnight the girls are seated indoors on low stools each of which is marked with turmeric and chunam paste. When the girls sit on the stools reddish spots are imprinted on their loin clothes. Eldery relatives who are inside are shown the marks, and for the information of those sitting outside in the pandal, one of the women announces, "The girls have been menstruated." The last word is used as causative, and so I have translated it that way though it is un-English. The elders answer the announcement by a chorus of "oh". The initiates are secluded indoors till late next day when they are bathed in a neighbouring stream and brought home in procession. The goddess is invoked, and she appears through her shaman. One of the elders who knows the "law" addresses the following prayer to the goddess:

Oh! noble lady, these girls here are your children. We have given you offerings. Please come forward, cut the young cocoanut and sprinkle (the cocoanut milk on the girls), mark the six plus three designs (of sandal paste and turmeric). With the witness (i. e., the ceremonialist) you take them to the booth, and tie the auspicious gold ornament, and get the approval of the elders of the country, of the household, of the brothers of the girls and their wives. Complete the ceremony without our being involved in shame or loss of prestige. Let us have the

* The Coorgs also have group initiation ceremonies.

approval of the public assembled here. May you protect these children from diseases and other troubles, from cuts or thrusts." The shaman cuts a cocoanut and sprinkles the cocoanut water on the initiates to remove pollution from them, the ceremonialist marks the sandal paste designs on their body, and for the final ceremony they are removed to the booth. A cousin (mother's brother's son) of each of the initiates sits on her right, but he does not tie the tali. Then the shaman ties the ornament on one of the girls and the master of ceremonies does it for the rest of the initiates. The girls next pluck bananas from the bunches suspended from the beams of the booth and throw them right and left to be picked up by the people assembled. Quantities of betel leaves and arecanuts are distributed among the assembled guests.

The gold ornament that is ceremonially worn is a flimsy and thin bit of gold and does not last long. Very little notice is taken of it after the ceremony and there is no special sanctity attached to it. This is also what happens to it among many of the castes of North Malabar.

The marriage ceremony among the Kurichiyas may be either pre or post-puberty. In a pre-puberty marriage the bride and the bride-groom have to eat together ceremonially. Exchange of betel leaves and the gift of clothes is an essential part of the marriage ceremony in every case.

It needs no argument to show that the tying of the little gold ornament marks a change in the social status of the initiate from that of a girl to full membership of the feminine section of the community. The ceremony is essentially religious, and there is not in it the least suggestion that any special bond is created between the initiate on the one hand and the shaman or the master of ceremonies or the cousin on the other. There is an element of anticipation in the ritual in that physiological maturity is stimulated. If there is an eligible cousin who has made arrangements to marry her, the marriage ceremony takes place on the following day, but this is not of usual occurrence,

though I know of one or two Kurichiyas who have married their cross-cousins on the day following the *tāli* ceremony.

After this outline of the Kurichian rite, the observed data from the plains castes of Malabar may be given as succinctly as possible. Among the Namputiris of N. Malabar, the father of the bride ties the *tāli* a few minutes before the marriage ceremony, and the fact of his having done it is announced from indoors.

Among the Poduvals of N. Malabar, menstruation is mimicked as among the Kurichiyas, but the father ties the *tāli*. Usually among N. Malabar Tiyyas, the mother's brother's wife ties the *tāli*, but at Karivellore in N. Malabar where Tiyya customs survive in the purest form available for a modern observer, the barber ceremonialist decorates the initiating and the girl's father ties the *tāli*. Among the carpenters of the same locality the *tāli*-tier is the bridegroom himself. Among the Tiyyas or Iravas of the south an unrelated member of the caste or a cross-cousin ties the *tāli*, and a divorce ceremony is gone through immediately afterwards. Among the Tiyyas as well as the Nāyars there is dramatisation in the rituals of the adult duties of the woman. Among the Nāyars an *inangan* usually ties the *tāli*, and in south Malabar, there is a formal divorce ceremony with the cutting of the piece of cloth. In the case of poorer Nāyars and Izhavas who cannot afford the cost of the feast etc., the mother of the girl ties the *tāli* at the village temple. In some very rare cases the *tāli* tier, becomes the husband of the girl, but the cloth-giving ceremony has to be gone through.

Among the simplest as well as the most advanced among the peoples of Malabar, i. e., the Kurichiyas* and the Namputiris,

* I have assumed that the Kurichiyas represent the *tali* institution in a more primitive manner than the communities of the plains. If further work should prove this assumption to be wrong, my inferences from it would also be falsified.

we have undisputed evidence that the *tāli* signifies only a preliminary to marriage and that it has no direct relation to marriage proper. Among the intermediate castes, and often within the same caste we notice a variety of practices. If the *tāli* had anything to do with a real marriage at any time, it is inconceivable that a father would ever be substituted in the place of husband to tie the *tāli* for his daughter!

Let me now give the conclusion from the evidence so far collated. The investment of the *tāli* on a girl either by the father or other relative or a member of the caste was a primitive *rite de passage* among the people of Malabar and this essential rite underwent local changes according to prevailing circumstances. Another collateral inference is that the gift of clothing was the essence of the marriage rite in Malabar.

The modern tendency is for *tāli* ceremony to become the religious ceremony that it was in ancient days. Most people celebrate it in the temples.

The reasons for the misunderstanding of the nature of the *tāli* rite are many. The first of these was the belief held by many earlier writers that the marriage rites of the Tamils have come down unchanged from ancient times and the same were prevalent in Malabar till it degenerated into the mockery of a sham marriage. But it is well-known and accepted as an axiom that in most cultural matters Malabar represents an area of least change compared to Tamil country.* It is unreasonable to assume that in the matter of marriage alone, the Tamil country did not advance and change from a primitive state of affairs. The second reason appears to me to be the mistranslation

* No satisfactory reason except conservatism and isolation can be given for the survival of ancient traits in Malabar. Why should matriliney still flourish there? Why should the Malayali alone have a fore tuft? Why should the dress and ornaments sculptured in early Buddhist sculptures be still in vogue in 20th century Malabar?

of the expression *tāli-keṭṭu-kalyāṇam* as “*marriage by tying the tali.*” *Kalyanam* here was obviously meant to connote only an auspicious ceremony, not *marriage*. This mistranslation must have started to confuse earlier English writers. Otherwise L. K. A. Iyer would not have written that the Nayars have a first nominal marriage and then a real marriage! A ceremony which does not involve any sexual union or permanent or semi-permanent association of sexes cannot be regarded even nominally as marriage: it is only a dramatisation of marriage. A possible third reason was that when older anthropological writings popularised the fiction that matrilineal societies represented a survival of a pre-existing period of promiscuous sexual life, educated members of the matrilineal communities of Malabar were anxious to discover in the *tāli* rite the relic of a normal and acceptable form of marriage.

I referred earlier to the theory that the Nampūtiris interfered in Nāyar marriage rites and degenerated them into a shadow which is the present day *tāli* rite. There is no shred of historical evidence to support this contention. I have also shown that for the purpose of their morganatic marriage with the Nāyars, the matrilineal descent and inheritance and the matrilocal marriages of the latter community provided sufficient facilities. If, however, it is argued that they went to the extent of destroying the form of marriage of the Nāyars, then it should follow that their matriliney was also the result of Brahmin manipulation, for the Tamils who have been set up as our sociological starting point are patrilineal and patrilocal for purposes of marriage. Our theorists do not go so far, but are satisfied with their truncated logic which gives them some explanation for the *tāli* rite. For their morganatic sex associations, Nampūtiris would not have required more than one in a thousand of the women of the Nāyars. This is a very small fraction indeed; it is inconceivable that for the sake of such an inconsiderable number, the Nampūtiris should have been obliged to conspire and manipulate in a Machiavellian manner to modify and

undermine the matrimonial institutions of the Nāyars, who let it be remembered, were at no time in their history a pliant, subservient and mutely obedient mass of men to dance to the tune of a self-seeking sacerdotal class. And it is neither true nor fair to paint the Nampūtiri in such questionable colours to serve the academic purpose of superficial sociologists. It is also said that the Iravas and other numerous communities changed their marriage ceremonies to the modified Nayar pattern, just for the sake of imitating the latter. This, undoubtedly is straining the imitative instinct in man to an absurd degree.

According to the evidence collected from ballads of North Malabar, one writer concludes that this revolution took place about the middle of the seventeenth century. Why the Nampūtiri felt the need for the change at this particular epoch is left unexplained.

Some communities of South Malabar examine the horoscope of the *tāli-tier* and see if there is astrological compatibility between him and the girl. This is also what is done for the regular marriages among the Tamils and others. If the *tāli* rite were not the relic of a real marriage, why all this bother, asks the historical sociologist. These astrological and other preliminaries are observed only by a few aristocrats. The initiation rite is the most important ceremony that a girl undergoes, and it is but right that the most suitable person

* The ballads refer to a marriage of a hero's sister to a cross-cousin of theirs. It is said that the cross-cousin tied the *tali* and married her in the same *pandal* in which the *tali* rite took place. This is only an instance of rare cases of which I made mention earlier of the *tali-tier* marrying the initiate. The very fact that the folk song specially emphasises the coincidence of the initiation and marriage rite shows that it was not a common practice.

Another point to be borne in mind is that the terms used in folk songs have not all of them reference to the past epochs when the events described in them took place. They undergo considerable modifications and get accretions from the generations that have been singing them. It will be foolish if any one sought to interpret every expression in the folk-songs on the presumption that they are of the same age as the incidents sung of.

must be selected as the chief actor in it. I see in these grand preliminaries nothing but ceremonial hypertrophy. Most of those who observe them do not themselves know the meaning of the rituals they are performing, and therefore it is that the ceremonial accretions are sometimes illogical.

In some rare cases a woman observes death pollution when her *tāli*-tier dies. It is doubtful if this is an old practice. It has not been shown in these cases whether or not the man and the woman were related to each other as cross cousins. In the majority of the cultural sub-areas of Kerala, and the large majority of castes, no death pollution is observed either by the man or woman when the only tie between them is that created by the *tāli*-rite. To point out another illogicality, in the very localities where it is said that the woman observes death pollution on her *tāli*-tier's death, ceremonial divorce invariably follows the *tāli*-tying. Why should any relationship survive after the divorce ceremony to compel the observance of death pollution is beyond our understanding. Apart from this, nowhere is it said or reported that the man observes death pollution, when the female partner in the rite dies.

The next question is: Why should the *tāli* rite be regarded as an initiation rite in Malabar, while in the allied Tamil culture it is the most important part of the regular marriage rite even of the Tamil Brahmins? In Malabar, for Brahmins as well as non-Brahmins, post-puberty marriage is the rule, but the reverse is the ideal for the Tamils. Some telescoping of ceremonials becomes inevitable among them; the rites of initiation and marriage have to synchronise, and the husband invariably becomes the *tāli* tier. As in other cultural matters, so in marriage too, Malabar and not the Tamil country represents what might be called an archaic level. Several Tamil castes however retain forms of the *tāli* rite that are reminiscent of those of Malabar. Among the Nāttukottai Chettis, an elderly man is generally asked to tie the *tāli*; among the Kallars, the sister of the bridegroom does it; and among the Maravar Zamindars, some one representing the bridegroom. The *tāli*

among the Kallars is a necklet* of horse hair, and among some section of the Idayans a necklet made of fibres of the palmyra palm. I have little doubt that a careful investigation of the meaning of the *tāli* among the Tamils would be of real interest. How the *tāli* became a symbol of wifehood instead of womanhood is a process on which I am not able to throw much light. I may mention in passing that Kallar women have their ear lobes enlarged just as old-fashioned women of Malabar do. Primitive fashions and rites seem to go together! Why should the *tali* rite be a group rite, celebrated at the same time for a number of girls of the large extended families? Even Maharajahs and rich landlords have it for groups of girls, which shows expense is not the only consideration. The approaching nubility of a group of girls is made a social occasion; to put it differently the probable purpose of the rite was making the community aware of the existence of a group of girls of a new generation. This was more necessary in Malabar where village communities did not live in close-knit villages, but in scattered households.

A reference to further fantastic theories of Nāyar marriage will make this paper too long. In this welter of guess work we shall never know what was the form of Nāyar marriage before the sixteenth century. There might be a faint hint here, a suggestion there, but I do not think it will be possible for any one to say with factual evidence, "It was this way, and these are the changes that took place." In the absence of reliable historical data, historical anthropology which, as it is currently understood, is 99 per cent imagination and 1 per cent or less of factual hints, can be nothing more than an academic pastime of very little use to the present generation of Anthropologists, but positively dangerous and confusing for workers of the future who will of necessity have less of direct evidence than

* The *Mangalyasutra* is a thread, but the *Tali* is definitely an ornament. In describing the ornaments of the shamaness—a virgin—of the goddess Aiyai (goddess of Victory), worshipped by the Maravars, the author of *silapadikaram* says: 'Her *tali* was a necklace made of the white teeth plucked from a strong limbed tiger.....' Dikshitar, page 181.

ourselves. I have shown in this paper that a clear knowledge of a few items of sociological realities of Malabar can throw more light on the nature of the *tāli*-rite than tons of arm-chair reconstruction, though, on account of the inherent weakness of the historical method, I can only say that my analysis brings the issue nearer reality than the numerous theories spun about the *tāli* rite during the last quarter of a century.

Coming to the comparative material available from neighbouring areas, the Todas have an initiation ceremony in which the initiate and her male partner remain together for a while covered by a single blanket. This is followed by another rite in which a strong man deflowers the girl. This must take place before the girl attains puberty, and it involves considerable loss of kudos if this ceremony were not performed in time (Rivers, "Todas", p. 503). The Todas have no ceremony that corresponds to the *tāli* rite.¹ I have unconfirmed information that the *tāli* rituals among some of the higher castes include ceremonials that show a semblance at least of defloration.² But this information requires to be verified. There is, however, among the Nāyars no trace of the fear of hymeneal blood or anything to correspond to the Toda belief that the non-performance of defloration prior to puberty will cause harm to the maternal uncle of the girl. Comparative data do not carry us far, but it again supports the contention made here that the *tāli*-tying is an initiation rite.

1. The Todas, like the Coorgs, are the neighbours of the Malayalis and have several points of similarity to the latter. The Toda *Velichapadu* speaks Malayalam during his trance! Methodologically valid comparisons can therefore be made on the ground of geographical and cultural nearness.

2. Duarte Barbosa mentions both of the *tāli* tying rite and of the practice of "the mother begging some young men to deflower the girl, for among themselves they hold it an unclean thing and almost a disgrace to deflower women." Whether the simulatin of the sex act during the *tāli* rituals is an imitation of the rites of the Brahmins, or whether it is a survival of a defloration ceremony is a moot problem.

GRAMMAR IN LĪLĀTILAKAM

BY

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.

The grammatical portion of the fourteenth-century treatise, Līlātilakam, would, if properly evaluated, serve as an excellent observation-post from which one can view backwards and forwards into the linguistic terrain of Old Malayalam. A few years ago, I attempted to assess the value of the grammatical material of this work for a study of the older stages of Malayalam, by interpreting the data in terms of modern Linguistics and comparing them with the evidence furnished by the literature and inscriptions of contemporary (or neighbouring) periods. I have now revised and enlarged this essay of mine, which will shortly appear in book form. Some of the new portions incorporated in the revised edition of my essay are given below.

Silpa I, sūtra 1, commentary.

(1) "Though Sanskrit appears mingled with Tamil and with other languages, the സംഞ്ഞ "മണിപ്രവാളം" is not given to any of these; this സംഞ്ഞ is in currency as a നിരൂപലക്ഷണം, only for the commingling of Malayalam and Sanskrit."

While it is quite true to say that the സംഞ്ഞ "മണിപ്രവാളം" belongs *par excellence* to the Kerala type, in view of the extraordinary development which this *genre* has attained in the West Coast, it cannot be said that the term itself was not known or current in Tamil from a fairly early period.

The eleventh century Tamil Grammar, വീരപാഴിയം, observes in the 40th sūtra of അലങ്കാരപ്പുലം:-

"ഇക്കടയെ വടവെഴുത്തത്തിൽ വിരവിത്തു-ഇക്കടയെക്കെ നക്കടയെതുമിലാ മണിപ്പിറവാളം."

“The composition in which non-Tamil Sanskrit letters (sounds) are introduced, is of the mixed type. This is മണിപ്രവാളം in which എതുകൈ does not exist at all.”

“വടവെഴുത്തു” here envisages non-Tamil Sanskrit sounds which were usually represented with ഗ്രന്ഥാക്ഷര symbols in Tamil. Further, the reference to the absence of the എതുകൈ in മണിപ്രവാളം compositions is significant.

For Tamil ചെമ്പുര, തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ permitted only two types of Sanskrit loans:— (i) Sanskrit words that could be represented unaltered in Tamil with Tamil symbols, and (ii) adaptations of Sanskrit words containing unique Sanskrit sounds, according to certain definite rules of change. Neither തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ nor the Tamil grammatical tradition of later centuries contemplates the use in Tamil poetic composition (or in literature, generally speaking) of the non-Tamil sounds of Sanskrit.

But a large body of religious *prose* commentaries in which Sanskrit words containing non-Tamil sounds (represented with ഗ്രന്ഥാക്ഷര symbols) were used, appeared to have cropped up in the Tamil country during the post-Rāmañuja period after about the middle of the 12th century.

വീരമോഴിയം probably refers to earlier Jaina specimens of similar മണിപ്രവാളം prose commentaries and religious treatises, through the സൂത്ര mentioned above.

A few prominent Vaiṣṇavite commentaries of the post-Rāmañuja period are ആരായിരപ്പടി (by തിരുക്കുന്ദരകൈപ്പിരാൻ പിള്ളാൻ), പന്നിരായിരപ്പടി (by മണവാളച്ചിയർ), ഇടുമുപ്പത്താരായിരം (by വടക്കുത്തിരുവീതിപ്പിള്ളെ) and the commentaries by പെരിയവാച്ചാൻ പിള്ളെ.

I give below one or two specimen passages from ആരായിരപ്പടി ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്ന in which long Sanskrit compounds, adapted with Tamil endings, are common, and rare ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃത forms are also met with.

‘അനാശ്രിതരേത്തന്നെയെന്നും ഉത്കൃഷ്ടരേയാകിലും അവർകളുടെയെ ജ്ഞാനകളക്കുഗോപനായ്, അനന്യഭക്തികളായിരുപ്പാക്കു പൂരമസുലഭനായ്, താദൃശഭക്തിഹീനനായിരുകൾച്ചെയ്തേ എനക്കയത്നസിദ്ധഭോഗ്യനായ്.....’

“നിത്യനിർദ്ദേഷനിരതിശയകല്യാണദിവ്യധാമത്തിന്” പണ്ണം പ്രേമമൈത എൻ പക്കലിലേ പണ്ണിക്കൊണ്ടു, സൂചിവിദ്യഭൂഷണായുധഭൂഷിതമായ” നിരതിശയസൗന്ദര്യോദികല്യാണഗുണവിശിഷ്ടമായ”.....

While as a general rule only Tamil endings are met with for Sanskrit forms, Sanskrit forms with Sanskrit endings are also rarely met with:-

സൂചാത്മനാ അസംഭാവിതമാന.....

സ്വേനൈവ രൂപേണ.....

ദിനേ ദിനേ.....

....യേനകേനാപിപ്രകാരേണ സക്ഷാത്വാ പരമ്പരയാവാ എന്നോടു സംബന്ധ മുദ്രൈയാർകളെല്ലാതും ഭവദൈകഭോഗനാർകൾ.

അയതേന നാൻ ചെറേൻ

നരനാരായണസ്വരൂപേണ അവതരിത്തവനെ.....

(2) Though thus the മണിപ്രവാള style exists in certain Tam. prose compositions, the following fundamental differences between the മണിപ്രവാള style of Tamil and that of Malayālam have to be noted:—

(a) The മണിപ്രവാള style appears in Tamil *only* in prose treatises or commentaries. തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ's definition of “ചെയ്യൽ” cannot apply to them in as much as they use tatsamas of all kinds of Sanskrit words in which the non-Tamil sounds are represented through ഗ്രന്ഥാക്ഷര symbols,—a practice which has not the sanction of തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ or of Tamil grammatical tradition.

In Malayālam, however, the dominance of the influence of Sanskrit has been such that a system of ആയു ഏഴത്തു was evolved, and non-Tamil Sanskrit sounds were freely used in Malayālam poetic and prose literature alike (whether the poetic compositions were composed in Sanskrit metres or in native metres).

Thus the മണിപ്രവാള form was assimilated in Malayalam literature, while in Tamil it was held strictly outside Tamil “ചെയ്യുവോ”.

b) Not only were Sanskrit words containing non-Tamil sounds freely used in Malayalam, but the presence of ശൃംഗാരരൂപ forms (i. e. Sanskrit nominal forms with Sanskrit declensional endings and Sanskrit verbs with Sanskrit conjugational endings) was postulated as a *sine qua non* of the മണിപ്രവാള type of composition.

For Tamil, though rare ശൃംഗാരരൂപ forms occur, they do not appear to have been intimately woven into the texture of മണിപ്രവാള compositions.

Contrast, in this respect, Mal. മണിപ്രവാള compositions like ഉണ്ണനീലീസന്ദേശം (written in Sanskrit metres) in which passages with ശൃംഗാരരൂപ forms blended with native ones are so common, or even കണ്ണശ്ശരാമായണം (written in native metres) in which also passages like the following are met with:

ശൃംഗാരരൂപം മമ ഭായുരം കണ്ടീരോ....

...നിത്യസുഖംപെറരാൽ മററുള്ള നിമേഷസുഖമാദരസേഷ്യ നരാനാം സകന്തി വിടുംപോൽ....

c) As a result of the assimilation of the മണിപ്രവാള type of composition into Mal. literature, other stylistic and rhetorical features also came to be regarded as essentials of Mal. മണിപ്രവാള compositions.

These differences explain the reason why the commentary on ലീലാതിലകം makes the observation: “സാ പുനഃ കേരളഭാഷാസംസ്കൃതയോഗേ ഏവ നിരൂപ്യ വർത്തമാനാ സമുപലഭ്യതേ.”

I 1.

In the course of the discussion of the question of the possibility of the “occurrence of Tamil words in Malayalam മണിപ്രവാള compositions”, the commentary adumbrates an argument which is later countered. The argument itself runs thus:-

“The [words of the] language of a country appear mingled with those of neighbouring languages. Hence, in the Tamil grammatical system laid down by Agastya and others, some among the twenty-four neighbouring speeches are described as **ദിഗ്ഭാഷാ** existing in Tamil. The rule is laid down thus: “**ഇയറ്ചൊരിരിച്ചൊറിച്ചൈച്ചൊൽ വടചൊലെൻറനെത്തൈ ചെച്ചുളീട്ടച്ചൊല്ലേ**” Hence, Tamil words might occur in Malayalam as **ദിഗ്ഭാഷാ**”.

This portion calls for a number of comments.

(1) The **സൂത്രം** cited here is the first **സൂത്രം** of **എച്ചവിയൽ** in **ചൊല്ലു തികരണം** of **തൊൽകാപ്പിയം**. The **സൂത്രം** provides for different types of words for the composition of **ചെയ്യൽ**:— **ഇയറ്ചൊൽ** (native words with meanings unimpaired in different parts of Tamil നാടു), **തിരിചൊൽ** (the type in which one word may have different meanings, and the type in which the same meaning may be denoted by different words), **തിച്ചൈച്ചൊൽ** (regional words) and **വടചൊൽ** (Indo-āryan words).

An examination of the **തൊൽകാപ്പിയം** rules explaining these types (see below) would show that **തിച്ചൈച്ചൊൽ** meant ‘dialectal words’ and **വടചൊൽ** ‘borrowals of Indo-āryan words’.

The compound **ദിഗ്ഭാഷാ** of the **ലീലാതിലകം** commentary is intended to convey the idea of the Tamil term **തിച്ചൈച്ചൊൽ**; but (as will be seen later) the expression **ദിഗ്ഭാഷാ** used by **ലീലാതിലകം** conveys a much more comprehensive meaning than ‘dialectal words’, and certainly includes the idea of ‘(words of) a neighbouring speech’.

(2) In order to understand the reference in the **ലീലാതിലകം** commentary to the speeches of the *twenty-four* regions surrounding the Tamil country (“**പരിതോഭേശചതുർവിംശതിഭാഷാസു**”), a brief survey of the **സൂത്രം** of **തൊൽകാപ്പിയം** and of the old Tamil commentaries is necessary.

The two relevant **സൂത്രം** of **തൊൽകാപ്പിയം** are those defining **ഇയറ്ചൊൽ** and **തിച്ചൈച്ചൊൽ**.

I translate them literally below:

“Words which are in consonance with usage in ചെന്തമിഴ് land and which maintain their meanings unimpaired (വശമൈ) belong to the ഇയറുചൊൽ type”.

“Words which have their own significations in the twelve regions where ചെന്തമിഴ് is spoken, constitute the തിചൈച്ചൊൽ type”.

Though തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ makes neither here nor elsewhere any distinction between ചെന്തമിഴ് and കൊടുന്തമിഴ്, and though the meaning of ചെന്തമിഴ്ചേർത്ത in the phrase “ചെന്തമിഴ്ചേർത്ത പന്നിരു നിലത്തു” need not necessarily mean or imply “adjoining to or separate from ചെന്തമിഴ് territory”, the commentarians ഇളമ്പുരണർ (impliedly) and ചേനാവരൈയർ (expressly) do make a distinction between ചെന്തമിഴ് land and കൊടുന്തമിഴ് tracts, demarcate the frontiers of the former, and enumerate a number of place-names as constituting the latter.

തെയ്വച്ചിലൈയാർ, another commentator, advances arguments to show that such a distinction between ചെന്തമിഴ്നാടു and കൊടുന്തമിഴ്നാടു is not justified. He cites in support of his view the പായിരം of തൊൽകാപ്പിയം which mentions വേങ്കടം as the northern boundary of തമിഴ്കൂറുനല്ലുലകം, and കമരി (a river said to have disappeared in the process of a pre-historic land-submergence) as the southern boundary,

തെയ്വച്ചിലൈയാർ further says that those who would interpret “ചെന്തമിഴ്ചേർത്ത” as “outside ചെന്തമിഴ് territory” would consider the പന്നിരുനിലം to be the following (and not the twelve കൊടുന്തമിഴ് tracts mentioned by ഇളമ്പുരണർ and ചേനാവരൈയർ):— പഴന്തീപം, കൊല്ലം, കൂപകം, ചിങ്കളം, കൊങ്കന്നം, തുളുവം, കടകം, കൻറകം, കരുന്ദം, വടുക്, തെലികം and കലികം.

Yet another commentator, നച്ചിനാർക്കിനിയർ, distinguishes ചെന്തമിഴ്നാടു from കൊടുന്തമിഴ്നാടു, but envisages *twenty-four* tracts as the possible sources of തിചൈച്ചൊൽ: the twelve tracts of കൊടുന്തമിഴ്നാടു (mentioned by ഇളമ്പുരണർ and ചേനാവരൈയർ)

and the *other* twelve tracts (mentioned by തെയ്വച്ചിലൈയാർ towards the end of his commentary on the sūtra relating to തിചൈച്ചൊൽ).

When the commentary on ലീലാതിലകം speaks of *twenty-four* neighbouring speeches, it adverts to a view which is reflected in നച്ചിനാർക്കിനിയർ's commentary.¹

(3) A strictly rigorous interpretation of തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ's definitions of ഇയറൊം and തിചൈച്ചൊൽ shows that the term 'തിചൈച്ചൊൽ' meant "provincialism" or "dialectal word," and, this meaning is more in fitting with the literal signification of തിചൈ (Sanskrit *ഭിശം*).

ഇളന്യുരണർ and ചേനാവരെയർ, through their demarcation of ചെന്തമിഴ്നാടു from കൊടുന്തമിഴ്നാടു, seems to have imported into the interpretation of the തൊൽകാപ്പിയം rules a degree of linguistic separation which perhaps was true of their own days but not of the days of തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ.

നച്ചിനാർക്കിനിയർ (When he speaks of *twenty-four* regions) and നന്തൽ (with its reference to 12 regions of കൊടുന്തമിഴ് land and the 17 other tracts) evidently gave a very wide meaning to the term തിചൈച്ചൊൽ and included in it the idea of "words of neighbouring speeches".

നച്ചിനാർക്കിനിയർ's forced explanation of "ചെന്തമിഴ്ചേർത്ത പന്നിരനിലത്തും" as "ചെന്തമിഴ്നാട്ടെച്ചുഴ്ത്ത പന്നിരണ്ടനിലത്തും. പന്നിരണ്ടെയും പുറഞ്ചുഴ്ത്ത പന്നിരണ്ടനിലത്തും" is hardly loyal to the spirit of the തൊൽകാപ്പിയം rule.

The reference to the *twenty-four* regions and the equation of *ഭിശ്ഭാഷാ* to പയ്യന്തദേശഭാഷാ show that the ലീലാതിലകം commentary also used the term *ഭിശ്ഭാഷാ* in a very wide sense "(words of a neighbouring speech.)"

1. The grammar നന്തൽ speaks of the twelve (കൊടുന്തമിഴ്) regions and, besides, കൻപതിറാറിഞ്ചിനിറാമിഴ്ചെഴിനിലം "(the eighteen lands from which Tamil has to be excluded)".

I. 1.

The argument that Mal. മണിപ്രവാള compositions may have Tamil words in them is countered by the ലീലാതിലകം commentary in the following terms:-

“One language cannot enter another; if it did so, there would be an end of all linguistic fixity or definiteness. What is described in the Tamil grammatical system as ദിഗ്ഭാഷാ is ദിഗ്ഭാഷാസമുദ്രഭാഷാ. A language can certainly have ഭാഷാന്തരസമുദ്രഭാഷാ in it.

The employment of the word ദിഗ്ഭാഷാ (in such contexts) is not primary, but only secondary (ഔപചാരിക) on account of the സാമുദ്ര്യ (mentioned above.)”

The position taken up by the commentary seems to be that when once the borrowals are made, they become the property of the borrowing language, and thereafter സാമുദ്ര്യ alone connects it with the foreign speech.

I, 1

The commentary singles out a number of features distinguishing Mal. from Tamil. I discuss below some of the illustrations that I had not dealt with in the first edition of my “Grammar in Lilātilakam.”

1. Mal. വേർ'.....Tam. ചെയർ.

The Mal. word shows vocalic contraction medially, as in ചെയൽ > ചേൽ. It may be noted that colloquial Tamil has also വേർ.

1. Tamil colloquials have this form from a very early period. The 35th സ്കന്ധ of the 13th century Tam. grammar നേമിനാഥം already adverts to the change of ചെയൽ to വേർ.

The same സ്കന്ധ also refers to the change of ചൊഴതു to ചൊതു, കടു to കാടു, യാണെ etc. to ആണെ etc.

2. Mal. ഇതരം—Tamil ഇതഴ്.

For the change of ʒ' to ɔ, cf. Mal. അപ്പോര from അപ്പോഴ് (ഇ). The use of ɔ' for ʒ' in ഇതരം is characteristic of colloquial Tamil also.

3. Mal. ഉണ്ണിന്റേറാർ —Tamil ഉണ്ണാനിൻറനർ.

ഉണ്ണിന്റേറാർ is the Old Mal. present tense third person plural finite. Such forms with final ഞാർ for the finite occur numerously in Old Mal. texts.

The present tense ending ഇൻറ— is directly “inherited” by Mal. from the parent stage. Cf. വാഴിൻറ in a 9th century west coast inscription [TAS, II, p. 50.]

Middle Tamil had, apart from the type of ഉൺകിന്റേറാർ (related to the Mal. type), other types with the “affixes” ആനിൻറ—, ആകിടന്റ— (both mentioned in വീരമോഴിയം, the former alone in നന്നൂൽ). These types did not strike root in Mal. The *cliche* ചൊല്ലാനിൻറ ആണ്ടു in west coast inscriptions and in some old texts contains this ending.

4. Mal. ഉൺവർ —Tamil ഉൺവർ.

Mal. in its earliest stages (when it was struggling to free itself from its swaddling clothes) does show ഉൺവർ, കാൺവതു, എൺവതു; but by the period of ലീലാതിലകം, the use of forms with മ' appears to have become general for the future tense forms of ഉണ്—, കാൺ—എൻ—and തിൻ—.

5. Mal. വരുവർ —Tamil വരുവാർ.

The short vowel of the last syllable of Mal. is contrasted with the corresponding long vowel of Tamil. Of course, Tamil has both വരുവാർ and വരുവർ, while Old Mal. texts, whenever they use future finite forms with personal endings, have only the short vowel. This is true of old texts like കൌടലീയം ഭാഷാ, ദൂതവാക്യം and ഉണ്ണിനീലീസന്ദേശം.

6. Mal. കൊറവർ—Tamil കൊൺമർ.

Though both are future third person plural forms and though Tamil has both കൊറുവർ and കൊണ്ടർ, Mal. has only the former in the period of ലീലാതിലകം—For കൊണ്ടർ in a very early west coast inscription, cf. TAS, VIII, p. 41.

There is another Old Tamil type: കൊണ്ടാർ, which in Middle Tamil becomes very rare. In Malayalam, it is absent—This Old Tamil type always modifies finites [cf. the rule “മാർ വിനെ ഞൊടുമുടിമേ” of നന്നൂൽ.]

7. Mal. കൂവി (it cried, shouted)—Tamil കൂയിറ.

Mal. താവി (it spread)—Tamil തായിറ.

Here the contrast is not only in respect of the third person neuter singular ending which is present in Tamil but absent in the Mal. forms, but also in respect of the structure of the bases.

കൂയിറ and തായിറ are, strictly speaking, Old Tamil forms based upon കൂ- (to cry) and താ- (to spread). Old Tam. texts show other forms, like the participles കൂയ് (later കൂവി), തായ് (later താവി) and the present future കൂളം (later കൂവം).

From forms like കൂളം (pronounced കൂവം with a glide-developed sound), bases like കൂവ് and similarly താവ് – appear to have been “isolated” in later stages. Mal. has only these “developed” bases.

8. Mal. കനകശൃംഗം—Tamil കനകശായ് (O! woman with the heavy ear-rings!)

The forms are vocative. In Tamil, the final ഐ of the compound കനകശൈ “woman with heavy ear-rings” is changed to-ആയ് in the vocative, according to the തൊൽ കാപ്പിയം rule: “ഐ ആയ് ആകും” as in നകായ് (the vocative of നകൈ). This type of vocatives is conspicuous by its absence in Malayalam.

1, 7.

Had the alveolar group-ൻ്റ changed into the blade-nasal -ന്റ-in the period of ലീലാതിലകം?

The terms in which the commentary refers to the sound-group ṛ while demonstrating the uniqueness of this and other Tamil - Malayalam sounds do not contemplate the change of ṛ to the blade-dental- ṛ . The author's mind is well applied here to the problem of sound-differences. He refers to ṛ as a unique Tam.-Mal. non-Sanskritic sound; and he stresses that ṛ is different from ṛ , just as ṛ is different from ṛ , ṛ is different from ṛ , and so on. Is it possible that the author who had such a subtle ear for sound-differences would have failed to register the change of ṛ to ṛ , if indeed it had been accepted universally in Kerala at this time? It would be absurd to suppose that the author "wrote" ṛ and "evaluated" it as ṛ .

There are a few illustrations (with ṛ from ṛ) in the printed text of Mr. Attur Krishna Pisharodi; but in the absence of information regarding the date of the ms. on which the printed text is based, no inference can safely be drawn from these few instances.

So far as rock inscriptions of the 9 th to the 14 th centuries are concerned, I have come across only one instance of ṛ from ṛ : -നാടുവാഴന്ന [TAS, V, p. 174 ff; 12 th century], where വാഴന്ന is a present relative participle (< വാഴിന്ന), as the context shows. Other instances are rare, and even these occur in documents written on cadjan leaves or copper plates, the contemporaneity of which with the dates mentioned therein cannot be relied on.

All this does not mean that the change may not have started much earlier (than the 14 th century) in the colloquials and popular dialects, though learned men (like the author of the ലീലാതിലകം commentary) may have conservatively stuck on to ṛ (both in symbol and in sound-value).

I, 11

In the discussion of the common features of Tam. ചെമ്പുര and Mal. ചാട്ടു, a number of interesting observations are made by ലീലാതിലകം.

(1) തര, താനവ, താമ, ഉരകചായി, ആനന്ത occurring in a verse cited as an illustration for പാട്ടു, are described as ആരിയച്ചിതൈവ. The forms are derived respectively from Sanskrit ധര, ദാനവഃ, ധാമൻ, ഉരഗശായിൻ, ആനന്ദഃ.

The term ആരിയച്ചിതൈവ is used by the commentators of തൊൽകാപ്പിയം to explain the expression ചിതൈന്തന employed by തൊൽകാപ്പിയം for adaptations from Indo-aryan, in the rule:

ചിതൈന്തന വരിനം ഇയൈന്തന വരൈയാർ.

(2) ചിരതരം occurring in the same verse is cited as an example of a Sanskrit loan written in symbols common to Sanskrit and Tamil-Mal.

This is envisaged by the തൊൽകാപ്പിയം rule:—

വടചൊറുകിളവി വടവെഴുത്തൊരിള

യെഴുത്തൊട്ട പുണർത്ത ചൊല്ലാകന്തേ.

നന്തൽ adverts to such words as words written in ചൊതു വെഴുത്തു.

(3) Another observation refers to nine types of changes mentioned in Tamil grammars, and cites തര (for ധര) and അനന്തര പു (for അനന്തപുര) as illustrating respectively two of these changes (viz. shortening and lengthening).

തൊൽകാപ്പിയം refers to these in two rules: the 7th സൂത്ര of എച്ചവിയൽ (“അന്നാറ’ ചൊല്ലുത്തൊട്ടക്കങ്കാലെ ...), and the 51st സൂത്ര of എച്ചവിയൽ: (കുറൈച്ചൊറുകിളവി കുറൈക്കം വഴി അറിത്തൽ).

These are referred to as ചെയ്യുര വികാരം in നന്തൽ:

“വലിത്തൻമെലിത്തനീട്ടൽ കുറുകൽ

വിരിത്തൽ തൊകുത്തലും വരും ചെയ്യുര വേണ്ടഴി;”

and

ഒരു ചൊഴി മൂവഴിക്കുറൈച്ചെച്ചെ നന്തേ.

The ലീലാതീലകം commentary refers to these changes again in the 4th ശീല as changes peculiar to Tamil ചെയ്യൂ and Mal. പാട്ടു, and mentions particularly one type viz., അന്ത്യലോപവികാരം, as in നീൽ for നീലം.

(4) Forms like അളത്താ, പിളത്താ (with ന്നു instead of ന്നു) in Mal. പാട്ടു are due to the resemblance, in a large measure, of forms of Mal. പാട്ടു to Tamil forms”.

This gives the reason why in texts like രാമചരിതം the older groups ക്കു, ഞ്നു, ന്നു exist side by side with ഞ്നു, ഞ്നു and ന്നു.

The change of ക്കു to ഞ്നു, ഞ്നു to ഞ്നു and ന്നു to ന്നു had materialized already in the language of the ത്രൈവർണിക's, though the “low castes” continued to use forms like വന്നാൻ, തേങ്കാ, മാങ്കാ.

I, 11

It is significant that in the commentary on the നൃത relating to പാട്ടു, the rules that regulate the use of Indo-aryan adaptations in Tamil poetry and those relating to changes in forms of Tamil ചെയ്യൂ are mentioned. All this shows that what was called Malayalam പാട്ടു strictly followed the poetic conventions and stylistic rules of Tamil poetry.

II, 3

The commentary is certain that forms like വന്നാൻ, നമക്ക, വേണ്ട are ഭാഷാന്തരഭവ forms i. e. those which are ‘developments’ in Mal.; but there is hesitancy about the exact originals. The suggestion is first made that Mal. വന്നാൻ, etc. may be the ‘അപഭ്രംശ’ of Kannaḍa ബന്ദന etc.; then the alternative suggestion of Tamil forms being originals is made.

The suggestion that the Mal. forms may be later than those of Kannaḍa is made on the ground that Paraśurāma created Kerala at a time when the mainland already existed !

II, 7

In the course of the enumeration and discussion of unique Tamil-Mal. sounds, a നൃത of അഗസ്ത്യ is cited.

“എകര ഒകര ആസ്തൃ ഴകര റകര നകരം തമിഴ്, പൊതുമരേ.”

This അഗസ്ത്യ സൂത്ര cannot be located by me in any of the extant printed collections of പേരകത്തിയത്തിരട്ടു. Possibly, different versions of the grammatical aphorisms attributed to അഗസ്ത്യ were current in Tamil land, and ലീലാതിലകം has quoted one such rule here.

II, 7.

The citation of the അഗസ്ത്യ സൂത്ര is followed immediately by the observation (made by the ലീലാതിലകം commentary) that since the form “മരേ” is used by അഗസ്ത്യ in his സൂത്ര, the sound ൊ should also be presumed to have been considered by that grammar as a unique Dravidian (non-Sanskritic) sound.

It has to be noted here that the Tamil grammatical tradition, from the time of തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ down till to-day, does not recognise any distinction between the sound-character of short ൊ and that of long ൊ, both of which are considered as alveolar plosives. This tradition started perhaps in the period of തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ when the value of short ൊ still had the value of an alveolar plosive, like ൊ.

In later periods, the alveolar plosive value of ൊ seems to have changed to that of an *r*-trill. In Middle Tamil inscriptions, the sounds ൊ and ൊ appear so much interchanged as to suggest that by this time ൊ had acquired the value of a trill. This trill-value is given to ൊ not only in colloquial speech to-day but also in the evaluation of short ൊ when old texts are read.

The Tamil *grammatical tradition* however, still continues to ignore this change in the value of ൊ.

This old tradition is absent in Malayalam, where from the earliest known times, short ൊ had the value of a palato-cerebral trill and ൊ that of a long alveolar surd.

From the point of view of ലീലാതിലകം, therefore, there is need to distinguish the character of ൊ from that of ൊ.

III, 1.

The commentary expressly points out that the final-ക of Mal. words like പോ, അയ്യോ is a long sound and that the use of the short sound is not proper, though sometimes (in the colloquials) the short value is given.

Now these observations of the commentary are, I think, also applicable to the final long -ക of many Mal. types. To-day, there appears to be no fixity or rule regarding the length of final -ക in Mal. Even educated persons indiscriminately use short and long -ക in final positions of Mal. words.

I would suggest the adoption of a set of rules like the following :

a) Short -ക should be retained in those types where in origin it was short, except when stress requires lengthening. The chief types where final ക was short in origin are (i) the Mal. accusatives, (ii) Mal. infinitives like വളരെ, ഏറെ, പോലെ, etc., (iii) words like നാളെ, പീറെ; and (iv) the sixth case forms like എന്റെ പക്ഷികളുടെ, etc.

b) Wherever the old long -ക still denotes emphasis, the length should be retained, as in തന്നെ (in ഞാൻ തന്നെ), ഒക്കെ വേ, മുഴുവനെ. ആരുമേ, പലേ, where the long -ക corresponds to the തേറം ക of Tamil.

c) In other instances, where final -ക denoting emphasis (തേറം ക of Tamil) has now lost its original force and become a mere indicator (in popular conception) of the category to which the form belongs, the short ക may be used, as in അതെ (originally അതേ), the negative participle type of ചെയ്യാതെ, the "permissive" of the type of ചെയ്യട്ടെ, etc.

d) Collocations like കാട്ടിലേ ആന were isolated as such from contexts where -ക of കാട്ടിലേ appeared as a terminative expletive in locative forms governing finites. Such an expletive

-ഏ, tacked on to locatives and also to the third case ending ആൽ, are common in കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ and ചെറുശ്ശേരി ഭാരതം.

But this expletive - ഏ was itself the “faded” representative of a still older emphasis - denoting - ഏ attached to locatives when the semantic stress fell on these locatives.

In view of the fading of the original ‘തോരം’ force, a short value may be agreed upon for the qualificatory particles.

e) The following types should retain their length in view of the emotional stress associated with -ഏ:-

i. Restrictive -ഏ corresponding to പിരിനിലെ -ഏ of Tamil, as in അയാളേ വന്നുളളി.

ii. Interrogative ഏ, as in അല്ലേ, ഇല്ലേ, കൂടെ (കൂടാ + ഏ), വേണ്ടേ (വേണ്ടാ + ഏ).

iii. Vocative -ഏ, as in രാമനേ, മകളേ, etc.

iv. The -ഏ at the end of negatives, as in വരല്ലേ, ചെയ്യരുതേ, dialectal പോകരുതേ [prohibitive.]

v. Interjectional -ഏ, as in അയ്യേ.

vi. The augment -ഏ, as in ആരേകാൽ, etc.

III, 19.

The സൂത്ര postulates the ലോപ of final മ° in instances like വട്ടപ്പലക, etc.

The commentary refers to the ലോപ of the initial പ etc., of പലക, etc.

Strictly speaking, then, the instances കരിപ്പവില്ലൻ (“he with the bow of sugarcane” the god കാമ), പിരപ്പുകാരൻ (the rattan dealer) have no place here. The ലോപ in these instances refers to the മ° of the മെൻറാടൻ group of കരിമ്പു and പിരമ്പു, a change that is provided for in Tamil grammars.

The Old Mal. text, രാമചരിതം, has instances like കരക്കുവീരൻ, ഇരിപ്പെഴുക്.

Modern Mal. still has ചെപ്പേട്ട, കറുവാണിഭം, വേപ്പില, കുരുത്തോല.

III, 21.

The commentary disapproves of the ണ arising from the junction of ഴ and ന് (dental), in instances like വാണാര from വാഴ്നാര, on the ground that the Tamil grammars do not mention it. Alternatively, it seeks to justify the change as a special Mal. usage.

This change does not appear to have been an Old Tamil one. ഞാൻകാപ്പിയം does not refer to it; nor do \$aṅgam texts show forms other than വാഴ്നാര.

But the Middle Tamil grammar, വീരചോഴിയം, expressly sanctions the change (for external സന്ധി), in the 18th സ്കന്ധ of സന്ധിപ്പടലം: — “നവുരിൻ മുനഴിയു പിൻമിക്കണവ്വാം”.

Middle Tamil texts like തേവാരം and നാലായിരപ്രബന്ധം show forms like വാണാര (for വാഴ്നാര). Middle Tamil inscriptions have instances like കീണോക്കിയ (for കീഴ്നോക്കിയ). പെരുമാരുതിരുമൊഴി has വാണൻ for വാഴ്നൻ where ന് is dental.

So, the change in external സന്ധി is not an exclusively Mal. one.

But in internal സന്ധി, as in വീണ്ണ-, വാണ്ണ-, മകീണ്ണ-, the change seems to be special to Mal.

III, 22.

The സ്കന്ധ states that the ഉ- sound appearing after- വ് (before words following, with consonantal initials) is അലംബതിക; and the illustration തേവുകല്ല is given.

The need for a rule like this in Mal. arises this way.

Old Tamil (as well as the Tamil grammatical tradition) recognized only a **കറകരം** after - **വ്** in words like **കനവ്, പവവ്, കതവ്**.

But already from the period of Old Tamil, this **കറകരം** behaved before vowels following like **കറകരം**, in being elided.

This practice is referred to both by **വീരചോഴിയം** [“**ആവി വന്താവ് പാവിയ കറകരത്തിൻ ചിതൈവം പകർത്തരേ**”] and by **നന്ദൂർ** [“**കറകരം അറവ് ഓരോവഴി**”]

In Mal. from the earliest known periods, the sound had only a **കറകരം** value. This peculiarity is given formal recognition to in this **സൂത്രം**

III, 23.

Here again, the Mal. use of the “enunciative” in words like **തോലു** and **കല്ലു** is recognized. Though Tamil colloquials embodied the enunciative in the colloquials at least from the Middle Tam. period, the Tamil grammatical tradition does not recognize it.

III, 29.

Towards the end of the commentary here, the view is expressed that when Sanskrit words and Mal. words meet in **സന്ധി** (as in **സമാസ**'s and sequences), the **സന്ധി** rules of Mal. (and not those of Sanskrit) should be followed. While **ചരുകല, ആനശ്ശാസ്രം, ചെരികസ്സാരം** are admissible, instances like **ഇന്ദ്രോർനിം, ദോഷ്യാശ്ചിലർ, രമ്യാശ്ചിലർ, ചൊല്ലിനംസ്തത്ര, നന്തംഗ്യാസ്തത്ര വന്** should be strictly avoided. Where Sanskrit words meet, Sanskrit rules should, of course, be followed.

EQUIVALENTS OF THE ENGLISH PERFECT IN
TAMIL AND MALAYALAM,
ACCORDING TO CERTAIN EUROPEAN GRAMMARIANS

PERCY MACQUEEN, I. C. S., (RD.)

1. European grammarians have failed to devise an intelligible rule for rendering the various forms of the English perfect into Tamil and Malayalam, nor have they elucidated the exact meaning of the verbs which are used to 'strengthen' the various simple tense forms in those languages. In particular they fall short in their explanation of the exact force of the participle when used with the verbs (ഇര) iru and (ഇരിക്ക) irikka, the equivalents of the verb 'to be.' This confusion creates a serious, and perhaps the chief, stumbling-block in the way of a foreigner who is seeking to master these languages. The writer of this paper is a student and not a scholar of Tamil and Malayalam and his object is to state the problem, leaving it to others better qualified than himself to find the solution. If it is urged that his criticism is mainly destructive, it may be replied that destructive, is often a necessary preliminary to constructive criticism.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED.

- O. Concise Oxford English Dictionary, ed. 1911.
- N. Nesfield-English Grammar, ed. 1914.
- C. Caldwell-Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, ed. 1875.
- A. Arden-A Progressive Grammar of Common Tamil ed. 1910.
- CL. Clayton-An Introduction to Spoken Tamil, ed. 1939.
- F. Frohnmeyer-A Progressive Grammar of the Malayalam Language, ed 1913.

Note:—(1) 0,609, (2) N. 177, 178, 179, (3) C. 377, (4) 379, (5) 410 (6) A. 148, 149, (7) 149, (8) CL. 146, (9) A. 115, (10) F. 53, (11) 151, (12) 107, (13) 105, (14) 159, (15) 79, (16) 65, 66.

[Note:—The reference numbers relate to the authorities listed in the paper. The Tamil examples are printed in Malayalam characters to suit the requirements of the press.]

According to the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 'the perfect "denotes a completed event or action viewed in relation to the present"'. This is really a definition of the present perfect, for an event may be viewed in relation not only to present time, but also to time past or future. Nesfield² defines the present, past and future perfects separately. He says that the present may include an action in the past that is still continuing, as in, 'I have lived there for ten years'; an action that has just been performed, as 'The lamp has gone out'; or an event in the more distant past, as in, 'The British Empire has succeeded to the Mogul'. It may be convenient to refer to these three forms of the perfect as the 'continuous,' 'immediate' and 'remote' perfect respectively.

3. Now whenever we make any statement, ask a question or issue an order, the action of the verb is referred to a position in time in one of the three divisions—past, present or future. I would call this assumed position in time the 'time-postulate'. Suppose, for example, we call our servant and ask, 'Raman, where have you been?' the time-postulate is the present. As the question refers to a time prior to the time-postulate, we employ the present perfect of the verb. Raman replies, 'I have been to the bazaar'. We then ask, 'Did you see Krishnan there?' The time-postulate has now shifted to the past. Raman replies, 'Yes. He had been buying brinjals.' His statement refers to a time previous to the time-postulate and he therefore employs the past perfect. or pluperfect. The time-postulate may similarly shift to the future, 'I shall have finished the work by tomorrow,' In ordinary conversation the time-postulate frequently shifts from one of the three positions to another. The characteristic of the perfect is that it describes an action performed previous to the time-postulate, but which is viewed in relation to it.

4. The mechanism of the English perfect consists of the verb 'to have' used with a past participle. The verb 'to have' literally means 'to hold' or 'to possess,' but when used to form a perfect it is merely a grammatical symbol indicating by its

tense the position of the time-postulate, while the participle which is used with it, being in the past, shows that the action described was one that occurred previous to the time-postulate.

5. The first and greatest European authority on the Dravidian languages is Bishop Caldwell, whose exposition of the perfect has given a direction to the minds of later grammarians. He considers that most of the Dravidian³ tenses are formed from participial forms of the verb; that 'in ordinary colloquial Tamil there is but one participle, that of the past tense;' and that 'in Malayalam.....there is a verbal participle of the future tense as well as of the past'. It would be better to speak of a 'past form' rather than of a 'past tense.' For Caldwell⁴ himself admits, later on, that the Dravidian verbal participles are indeclinable and indeterminate. "One of the chief peculiarities," he says, "of these participles is that they have a continuative force.....In every sentence there is but one finite verb which is the last word in the sentence.....and all the verbs which express subordinate actions or circumstances, whether antecedent or contemporaneous, assume an indeterminate, continuative character.....so that the sense (and more or less the time also) waits in suspense for the authoritative decision of the final governing verb". So we see that the characteristics of the participle are that it has a continuative sense and that it is indeterminate in time, a fact which distinguishes it sharply from the English participles, which are definitely past or present. Caldwell⁵ states that the compound tenses are formed "by suffixing the various tenses of the substantive verb to the verbal participles of active verbs. Thus 'doing I was' will represent the imperfect (also 'doing, I came'); 'doing—keeping' (i. e, keeping a doing) 'I was,' a more continuative imperfect; 'having done I am,' the perfect; 'having done I was,' the pluperfect; having done I shall be,' the future perfect". Our difficulty here is to understand how the Tamil and Malayalam, which possess neither a participle which is absolutely past in time nor a verb 'to have,' can express a meaning corresponding to the English perfect, which is constructed with a participle specifically past in time and a verb 'to have' used here as a grammatical symbol.

6. Arden⁶ approaches the difficulty by saying that, "A perfect tense, a pluperfect tense and a future perfect tense are formed by prefixing the verbal participle of any verb to the present, past and future tenses of (அரு), iru, 'to be'." But why 'a' perfect and not 'the' perfect? Does Arden distinguish between different types of the perfect in English and, if so, to which of these types does his Tamil 'perfect' correspond? He⁷ further complicates the matter by adding that the participle with the past tense of (அரு), iru "sometimes has the force not of a pluperfect, but of an imperfect past tense;" in other words, that the same form may have either a perfect or an imperfect significance, which is scarcely credible. While Arden tells us of a single form in Tamil which may have two different meanings in English, Clayton, in a later book,⁸ tells us of a single form—the perfect—in English which may have two different forms in Tamil, one the simple past and one the participle with (அரு), iru. As neither authority attempts to explain when these alternative forms are used, our minds are left in confusion. All we can conclude is that there is no ground for the facile assumption that the participle followed by (அரு), iru, is equivalent to the English perfect.

7. In the following examples I have endeavoured to illustrate the difficulties which face the student. In grappling with them I have, indeed, received valuable help from Sri Barnabas Joseph, a teacher of colloquial Tamil and a man of good intelligence, having an excellent practical knowledge of English. But I do not think he would lay claim to being a scholar. The language of his instruction was the colloquial Tamil of the Madura district, which, to avoid irrelevant controversy, I reproduce here in the language of prose. Until I began to question him, I do not think Joseph had ever realised the difficulties presented to an Englishman by the treatment of the English perfect in the standard grammars. I have reproduced his distinctions of meaning so far as I have been able to grasp them, but have hardly endeavoured to formulate any general rules of interpretation.

8. The difficulty to an Englishman is a two-fold difficulty of translation, first how to render in Tamil the different forms

of the English perfect and secondly how to translate into English a participle of a verb used with the auxiliary (ഇരു) iru. Let us take the first aspect of the problem, the translation of English into Tamil. Nesfield gives three different forms of the present perfect, and we may begin with the 'continuous' perfect. This refers to an action which has taken place in past time but has also continued or been constantly repeated up to the present, as in the following examples,

I have told you many times.

നാൻ ഉന്നിടത്തിൽ അതികത്തടവൈ ശൊല്ലിയിരുകിറേൻ.

nān unniṭattil atikattaṭavei śolliyirukki'rēn.

How many years have you been in government service?

എത്തനൈ വരൂഷം നീ സർക്കാർ ഉത്തേയാകത്തിൽ ഇരുന്നിരുകിറായ്?

ettaneī varuṣam nī sarkkār uttyōkattil iruntirukkiṛāy?

9. Next let us consider the immediate perfect, which refers to an action which occurs just before the time-postulate. Examples of this are,

His father has just come.

അവനുടൈയെ തകപ്പൻ ഇപ്പോളു താൻ ശെത്തുപ്പോയ് വിട്ടാർ.

avanuṭeīya takappan ippōtu tān śettuppōy viṭṭār.

A letter has just come.

ഒരു കായിതം ഇപ്പോളു താൻ വതു വിട്ടതു.

oru kāyitam ippōtu tān vantu vittatu.

This suggests that if an action was performed just prior to the time-postulate, the Tamil does not employ the auxiliary (ഇരു), iru, but uses, in certain cases, a strengthened past tense.

10. Thirdly, we may take examples of the remote perfect, which refers to an action completed an appreciable time before the time-postulate, as in,

Have you heard?

നീ കേൾവിപ്പട്ടായ്?

nī keḷvippattāyā?

I have bought rice.

അരിശി വാങ്കിനേൻ.

arisi vānginēn.

I have done as you commanded

നിർ ആക്കിയാപിത്ത ചിരകാരം ശെട്ടേൻ.

nir ākkiyāpitta pirakāram šeytēn.

Here we have the English remote perfect rendered into Tamil by a simple preterite. Nevertheless in the following examples it is rendered by a participle with (ഇരു) iru

The Germans have crossed the Rhine.

ജർമൻക്കാരകൾ രയിനു ആരൈക്കടന്തിരുകിറകൾ.

germankkārarkaḷ rayinu āṛēikkaṭantirukkirarkaḷ.

He has sent this man to me.

അവൻ ഇവനെ അനുപ്പിയിരുകിറാൻ.

avan ivanei anuppiyirukkiran,

11. Now looking at the matter from the Tamil point of view what is the difference in meaning between,

പിള്ളെപ്പോയിട്ടുതു,

piḷḷei pōyviṭṭatu.

and

പിള്ളെ പോയിരുകിറതു

piḷḷei pōyirukkiratu;

or between

എന്നമാവതു കണ്ടുപിടിത്തീകളാ?

ennamāvatu kaṇḍupittirukkiriṅgoḷā?

and

എന്നമാവതു കണ്ടുപിടിത്തിരുകിറീകളാ?

ennamāvatu kaṇḍupdiṭṭirukkiriṅgaḷā ?

or between

പുലി മാട്ടെ കടിത്തതു

puli maṭṭei kkaṭittatu

പുലി മാട്ടെ കടിത്തിരത്തതു

puli mattei kkatitturantatu

പുലിമാട്ടെ ക്കടിത്തു വിട്ടതു

puli mattei kkatittu vittatu

and

പുലി മാട്ടെ ക്കടിത്തിരുന്തിരുകിരതു

puli mattei kkatittiruntirukkiratu,

It would appear (but for some reason unintelligible to me) that പോയിരുകിരതു (pōyirukkiratu) means that the child has gone but is coming back again: പോയിവിട്ടതു (pōyvittatu), that it has gone away not to return. കണ്ടുപിടിത്തീകളാ, (kaṇḍuppitittingala) means 'have you found out anything (at all)' കണ്ടുപിടിത്തിരുകിരീകളാ, kaṇḍuppitittirukkiringala means 'have you found out the real culprit'? In the last four sentences I must leave it to wiser heads than mine to say in what way the tiger bit the bullock. The explanations which I have received appears to me altogether too fanciful. ¹⁰

Another obscure usage is the following. In the course of a narrative in the past, in which the principle verbs are all in the past preterite or imperfect, we suddenly come on a participle with ഇര (iru) though the time referred to has not shifted from the time-postulate of the narrative. Thus, in describing incidents which occurred in a riot, I have found the form.

for the crowd was so great

....അവളവു ചെറിയതായിരുന്നിരുകിരതു

avvalavu periyatāyiruntirukkiratu.

12. If now we pass to the Malayalam we are faced with difficulties of a similar kind. Frohnmeyer is here our mentor. His analysis of the language is exceedingly painstaking and unlike the other European grammarians he speaks of the perfect without diffidence. He says, "The perfect ¹⁰ is formed by joining the Auxiliary verb ഇരിക്ക, (irikka) "to sit," "remain," "be at a place" to the past tense (sic) of the verb, so that ഇരിക്ക (irikka) is used just like the Auxiliary "have".....in English". It were well if the matter rested there. But later he produces another perfect, that in ഇട്ടുണ്ടു ¹¹ (ittunttu) കാത്തിട്ടുണ്ടു,

orttiṭṭuṇḍu, is as much as ഓർത്തിരിക്കുന്നു (orttirikkunnu), with the corresponding negative ഇട്ടില്ല,¹² iṭṭilla. Unfortunately, he illustrates that latter by the example,

Did not Martha say?

മാർത്ത പറഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ലയോ? ¹³

Martta paraññiṭṭillayō?

in which the verb is in the simple past and not the perfect. Later he produces still another perfect. “പോയി¹⁴ (pōyi), he says. “produces (like) ഇരിക്കുന്നു, (irikkunnu) and ഇട്ടുണ്ടു (iṭṭuṇḍu), a kind of perfect with different shades of meaning: (a) അതു നിശ്ചയിച്ചുപോയി, atu niścayiccupōyi, = this has been decided (and shall not be put in question again), (b) നായരെ കൊത്തിക്കൊന്നുപോയി, nāyare kotti konnu pōyi, I stabbed and (unfortunately “happened,”) killed that Nair. ഞാൻ തെറ്റിപ്പോയി, (ñān ter’r’ipōyi), I (unfortunately) erred”. We are bound to remark of the two latter examples that they are (unfortunately) not perfects at all, but preterites. We find then that Frohnmeyer gives three different Malayalam equivalents of the English perfect, though he supports them with some very doubtful examples and gives us little or no guidance as to which form we should select. In fact, to his three equivalents of the English perfect we must add a fourth, no less than the simple past, as in the following example from Frohnmeyer ¹⁵ himself,

He has gone to repair the hedge.

അവൻ ആ വേലി നന്നാക്കുവാനായിട്ടു പോയി

avan ā vēli nannākkuvānāyitṭu pōyi,

or the following from a traditional ballad,

I have said my say

പറയേണ്ടതൊക്കെ പറഞ്ഞു ഞാനും

par’ayēṇḍatokke paraññu ñānum.

13. Looking from the Malayalam towards the English we are challenged to explain how such doublets as the following differ in meaning, ചെയ്തു (ṣeytu) and ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നു (ṣeytirikkunnu). Frohnmeyer ¹⁶himself is guilty of presenting without distinction of meaning the following, as an equivalent of the English immediate perfect,

I have made a mistake

ഞാൻ തെറ്റിപ്പോയിരിക്കുന്നു

ñān ter'r'ippóyirikkunnu

ഞാൻ തപ്പു ചെയ്തു

ñān tappu ceytu

14. We find then that in Tamil, and still more in Malayalam, the grammarians give us alternative methods of rendering the English perfect, some of which are in fact no other than the past tense, simple or strengthened. They give us no enlightenment as to which of these forms we should select. I have a strong suspicion that, as neither of these languages possesses the grammatical machinery of the English perfect, so neither of them is able to produce its exact meaning. In other words, then the most striking thing about the perfect in Tamil and Malayalam is that they have no perfect. The solution may possibly lie in a fuller understanding of the participle, together with a detailed analysis of the verbs (ഇരു) iru, and (ഇരിക്ക) irikka. Perhaps in contrast to the English verb 'to be', whose primary meaning is 'to exist', these verbs imply continuous action and sometimes an element of doubt. What we require is to eschew the vagueness of direction qualified by such words as 'sometimes,' 'often,' 'generally,' and to lay down an infallible rule for rendering the English perfect into Tamil and Malayalam and, per contra, for translating accurately those forms in which vernacular participles are employed in preference to simple tenses. Many a time my requests to Tamil and Malayalam speakers for a criterion by which to distinguish between such forms have been met by the reply that differing forms have no difference in meaning. I cannot believe that either language is so lacking in precision as this would imply. If there is a difference to the ear of a Tamil or a Malayali there must surely be a difference also to the mind. To master the language a European must fully grasp these differences. I do not know of any book which has faced up to the problem and to which he can turn for guidance.

UDDANTA SASTRI

(Continued from last Issue)

sa kila vidhivadupāsītāttirthādadhigatasakalavidyo didṛkṣuḥ
digantarānyāndhrakalingakarṇāṭacolakeralānavatirṇaḥ
majjanmahānadiṣu paśyan devatāsthānāni sevamānassajjanāna-
bhinandannantarvāṇinidameva tāmracūḍakroḍanagara-
māḍhaukata I

And, at the close of each act, he gives in the colophon the following:—

Uddaṇḍam rangānāthaḥ sutamalabhata yam rangadevi
tathāmbā I

He was well versed in the various Hindu *Sāstrās*, and after his education, he visited various centres, and ultimately reached Calicut, probably in search of patronage, being attracted by the glory of Vikrama's court. It was Cennos Narayanan Nampūti-ripāṭ who introduced him to Vikrama,³ and this he did in the following verse:

prakriḍatkārtavīryarajunabhujavidhṛtonmuktasomodbha-
vāmbhasambhārābhogaāambhaprasāmanapaṭurvāgum-
bhagambhīrimaśśrī I
tuṇḍīrakṣonibhāgāttava khalu viṣayam hiṇḍito'ddaṇḍasūri
soyam te vikramakṣmāvāra na kimugata śśrotriyāḥ
śrotradeśam II

and Uddaṇḍa made his obeisance to the Zamorin in the following words:

Uddaṇḍaḥ paraḍaṇḍabbairava bhavadyātrāsu jaitraśrīyo-
heturketuratītya sūryasaraṇim gacchan nivāryastvayā I
nocettatpuṭasampuṭodaralāsacchārdūlamudrādravas-
sārangsm śaṣibimbameṣyati tulām tvadpreyasīnām mukhaiḥ II

3. This is the local tradition, and this is also found recorded in the HSLK.

The first of these verses truly reflects the poet's greatness, and the Zamorin was very much pleased with him. The statement, attributed to Parameśvara and occurring in the *Introduction* to his *Mallikāmāruta* clearly gives us an idea of the range and extent of Uddaṇḍa's scholarship:

kathitamapyevam mīmāmsācakravartinā maharṣiputreṇa
parameśvareṇa:

vede sādārabudhirudhatatare tarke param karkaṣaḥ
śāstre śāntamatiḥ kalasu kuśalaḥ kāvyeṣu bhavyodayaḥ I
ślaghyaḥ satkavitāsu ṣaṭsvapi paṭurbhāṣāsu sa tvam kṣitau
sarvoddāṇḍa kavipraṇḍad adasē kasmāi na vismeratām II

Our traditions would have it that Uddaṇḍa lived at the court of Vikrama for well over a decade⁵ as the premier scholar and poet, winning renown and cultivating the friendship of the eminent sons of Kerala, particularly the members of the Payyūr Bhāṭṭa Mana and Cennos Nampūtiripaṭ. Apparently, he must

4. Notice his wide range of scholarship. He was well-versed in the *Vedas* and in *Nyaya* and other *Sastras*. He was an adept in all the fine arts and was a rising poet of great promise. He was also proficient in six languages, possibly all the Dravidian languages and Persian, which was the *lingua franca* of India at the time. It may be mentioned that in this eulogy greater stress is laid upon his particular poetic gifts—an aspect that is also emphasised by popular tradition

5. This is purely a matter of speculation. It is said that Malayali scholars were much upset by the continued successes of Uddanda at the *Vikrama Sadas*; hence they got a scholar made of the calibre of Uddanda to meet him in literary combat. This must necessarily mean ten to fifteen years. Vide section following.

have left Calicut only after the death of his great patron Vikrama;⁶ and it was from his home at Latapura that he wrote his *Kokilasandeśa*.⁷ One of the interesting festivals he must have beheld while in Kerala was the *Mamamkam* festival, as is mentioned in this *Sandēśa*.⁸ During his stay in Kerala, he must have visited various parts of the country and made friends with the poets and scholars in those areas.⁹ The northern-most limit of

6. Otherwise there was no need for him to return home to Latapura. As a matter of fact tradition has little or nothing to tell us regarding the contact of Uddanda and Kakkasseri. Evidently, therefore, Vikrama might have passed away soon after Kakkasseri's coming up.

7. This aspect is clear from the opening section of the *sandesa*. Compare for instance :

saudhe tunge saha dayitayakopi sankriḍamanah	
prapa svapam paramapuruṣaḥ ṣeṣabhoge sriyeva	I
citra daivi gatiyimasau śailajamaṇḍitayam	
kañcyam kampataḥbhuvi taya nanvito' budhyate sma	II

8. Compare the following:

yasmin vismapakabhujabalaprakramam vikramakṣma-	
bandhuḥ sindhupratibhaṭacamūcakravikrantalokaḥ	I
nandadeśacalitamanso vṛndasanandadatta-	
ślaghyo maghotsavampi tiṣṭhate duṣṭhahanta (90)	II

sardham kantairmilitalalitam keralinam kadambhe	
matpreyasyaḥ priyasakha mahamaghasevagatayaḥ	I
payam payam mukhaparimalamodanam yatra mattaḥ	
prayodyapi bhramarakalabha naiva jighranti padmam (73)	II

This is an interesting verse and it suggests that the *sandesa* was sent not long after the celebration of the *Mahamagham*. The date of this may be put down to 1467, or thereabouts and this would then be the date of the great scholar.

9. Besides the members of the *Vikrama Sadas*, his acquaintances in Kerala are (i) Sankare Warier of the court of Kolattiri, (ii) Svati, princess of the Purali kingdom, (iii) Karunakara Pisharoti of Mukkola, (iv) Nanappa

his migrations, so far as we could make out, was the court of Kolattiri,¹⁰ and the southern-most limit, Cennamangalm,¹¹ very near Mahodayapuram, the modern Cranganore. This information is preserved for us in some floating verses, ascribed to this great literary hero, and this we shall here notice.

The first thing that strikes the student of Uddaṅṭa is his great *audhatyā*, and this is well revealed in the verse that runs as follows:

anārādhyā kālīmanāsvādya viṭim	
ṛte mantraśaktim vinā granthacauryam	I
prapañcaprasidham prabandham prabandhum	
viriñciprapañce madanyaḥ kaviḥ kaḥ ¹²	II

Pisharoti of Trkkandiyur Pisharam and lastly (v) Sri Devi of Cennamangalam. There is one more whose identity is not known; he is one Sankara Rama Bhusuṛa, possibly to be identified as a member of the Tirumumbu family. The last two of these are mentioned in the miscellaneous collection of verses, while the first two are mentioned in the *Sandesa*, while there is only a single floating verse associating him with Nanappa Pisharoti.

10. Compare for instance the reference to Svati in the *Sandesa*:
 keliyānakvṇitarāśanā komalābhyām padābhyām I
 ālihastārpitakaratalā tatra cedāgatā syād
 svātī uāme kṣitipatisutā sevitum devamasyāḥ
 svairālāpaiḥ tava pika girām kāpi sikṣādharitī II

11. It is to this place that the messenger of love is to proceed. Notice also his reference to Sri Devi of Cennamangalam.

12. This is an interesting verse, as it refers to the peculiar ways in which the gift of the muse came to many. In the second *pada* the reference is evidently to Kakkasserī Bhattatīri. We have no means of deciding who the plagiarist is, that is mentioned here. The first *pada* may have reference to Sankara of Kolattiri, because according to one tradition, he is supposed to have become a poet by eating certain plantain fruits in the *Bhagavathi* temple to which he was attached.

palāyadhvam palāyadhvam	
re re duṣkavikuñjarâḥ	I
vēdântavanasañcârî	
krâmatyuddaṇḍakesari ¹³	II

These verses reveal that the poet was quite conscious of his own greatness. On one occasion he is reported to have visited the famous shrine of Mukkola, called in Samskrit *Muktisthala* ¹⁴, and, as is usual with him, began a hymn of praise in the following form:

sambharitabhūrikṛpamambaśubhamangam	
śumbhatu cirantanmidam tava madantaḥ	I

As ill-luck would have it, the great lyric poet could not proceed further, and as he stood wondering how to complete it, an old man, who was then worshipping in the temple, completed it in the following form:

jambharipukumbhivarakumbhayuḡaḡambha	
sthambhikucakumbhaparirambhaparaśambhuh	II

Naturally. Uddaṇḍa was taken aback by the new poet, and so enquired who he was, when he said that he was a Karuṇākara, who may be identified with the commentator of the *Vṛttaratnākara*. ¹⁵ On the occasion, he visited the Taḷi temple, or according

13. This verse would show that there were at this time some second rate poets.

14. This place is held in great veneration. Here lies interred the mortal remains of Meppattur Narayana Bhattatiri, the great *Bhakta* philosopher and scholar poet of Kerala.

15. The old man here mentioned is said to have been a *Marar*, the class of *Ambalavasis* who supply the instrumental music, and it is also held that he was identical with the author of the commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara*. This view is generally accepted and set forth by Messrs. P. V. Krishna Warier (Vide *Mathrubumi* W: No. 41 page 9ff), Mahakavi Ullur S. Parame-swara Iyer and Vatakkumkur. This position is untenable. For, the commentator is a Pisharhti, and, if he is to be identified with the scholar whom

to Mr. P. V. Krishna Warriar, the Trichur temple,¹⁶ and sang a song of three *padas*, and then inquiringly looked at the Nampūtiris engaged in their daily rituals in the *Maṇḍapa* of the temple, when one of them volunteered the fourth *pada*:

vīṇalasanmaṇi khalaya namostu tasmai
vīṇaghṛṇajinavate ṛṇine ṛṇaya I
ardhoyamiśvaranamskṛtaye katham syad
asyottaroktimavidannapi kīdṛśassyad II

According to one tradition, this is the first verse he composed after reaching Kerala, and sang it to test the scholarship of the Nampūtiris, and the Nampūtiri who completed it was none other than Cennos Nampūtiripaṭṭ¹⁷ This is the beginning of their friendship.

On another occasion he reached Urakam; he was tired, but he could not get any food, and then he sang the following verse:

kentaḥ kapalī kaṭhinaḥ pita te
meneti matustava nāmadheyām I
kathannu bhadre valayālāyaste
vadānyatā māḍṛṣi bobhavitu II

From Ūrakam he proceeded to Irinjalakuda, when he sang the following hymn:

gurvimmāṇikkaśodham dadhadadhimakuṭam vāma-
dordaṇḍaśumbha-
ddurvârârīndraśankhastaditarakarayossadgadâksasṛ
gaḍhyaḥ I
sarvâtītaprabhâvaḥ parilasitavapuḥ padmamalasaahasrai-
ravyadavyajadivyakatirihāsataṭam sangamadhīśvaro' naḥ II

Uddanda met at Mukkola, then the latter must also be a Pisharoti (See Ch. IX following for further details about the commentator.) This Karunakara we identify as one of the *Gurus* of Vikrama himself: see the chapter on *Vikrama*.

16. Vide *Matrubhumi* Weekly No. 41: p. 9 ff.

17. Mr. Warriar would have it that the poet was Punam: vide *ibid*.

This has become a very popular verse and is even to-day sung by a large number of devotees; possibly this is the most popular hymn commonly used by the people. In another temple he was greatly attracted by the sweet music of the *Iḍakka*—a type of instrumental music in common use in our temples—and in tune with that music he sang a song:

ṅṛtyaddhūrjaṭi karagataḍamaruka ḍamu ḍamu
 paṭuravaparipanthiṇyaḥ
 kalpakṣmāruhavikasitakusumajamadhurimasaha-
 cariṇyaḥ I
 manthakṣmadharavimathitajalanidhi ghamu ghamu
 ghanaravamadamanthiṇyaḥ
 śailabdhiśvara nṛpavara vidadhatu budhasukhamayi
 tava vacasam śreṇyaḥ II

From the concluding *pada* of the song it would be clear that this verse must have been sung either in the temple at Tali or in other important temple belonging to the Zamorin. Can it be Tṛpparangot temple?

Uddaṇḍa had no love for mediocre writers, and this aspect is made clear by the following verse:

ekadvyakṣarakaṣṭipīṣṭighaṭanasanjatagarvodhataḥ
 kaṇṭhamatrakuvindakaḥ kavayitum sajjanti lajjamucaḥ I
 svarganargalanirgalatsurasaritpathaḥ prapatapratha-
 pratyakhyanapaṭiyasopi vacasa jihreti jihvamama. II

Similarly, he could not also put up with those who really had no scholarship:

udathamadapittaladviradarajagaṇḍasthala-
 vidaraṇavinodanakṣapitavasaraḥ kesaraḥ I
 kathannu kalahakramam vitanute pare taṭavi-
 puranakuṇapaśanaprakatarave pherave II

He had also no love lost for Malayalam poetry, and in this respect he is not much worse than the present-day Tamilian scholar. He has recorded his opinion of Malayalam poetry in the following verse:

bhaṣakavinivahoyam doṣakaravadvibhati bhuvanatale I
 prayena vṛttahīnaḥ sūryaloke nirastagoprasaraḥ II

This is an interesting verse, particularly from the historical point of view. It suggests that at the time of this poet the most popular Malayali poetry was in the Dravidian metre: possibly here we may have a reference to the *Kṛṣṇagāthā* and *Cheruṣṣeri Bharatam*. Can it be that the Malayalis took to the writing of Malayalam poetry in Samskritic metre through the influence of this great scholar? This looks a plausible suggestion, especially when it is also remembered that the first efflorescence of Malayalam poetry in this direction manifested itself in the production of *campu* in Malayalam, headed by the famous *Ramayana campu* of Punam and followed not later by the *Raia-ratnavaliya*, and by the three *Campu* of *Narayaniya*, *Cellārñuthodaya* and *Tenkailanathodaya* of Nilakanṭha.¹⁸ While we have to say that Uddanḍa's contempt of Malayalam poetry was borne of his scholarship in Samskrit,¹⁹ he was certainly not incapable of appreciating Malayali poets—an aspect which is clearly revealed in the unqualified encomium he heaped upon the *Campukara*, Punan Namputiri, the master Malayalam poet of the century; compare for instance:

adhikeralamagragirah kavayaḥ kavayantu na tan
 vinuma I
 pulakotgamakari vacaḥ prasaram punameva punaḥ
 punarastumahe II

18. This subject is set forth in the last chapter. The court of Vikrama had its counterpart at the court of king Rama Varma of Cochin, where flourished, according to our inductions, not merely Balakavi, but also the authors of the *Rajaratnavaliya*, *Bhasanaishdhācampu* & c.,

19. This a general truism even today. Eminent Samskrits do not attach much importance to Malayalam poetry a dislike possibly arising from the fact that they do not get much originality in vernacular poems. As a result of this, it is seldom found that the same individual is both a Samskrit and Malayalam poet, though of course there are some honourable exceptions, such for instances Unnayi Warier, if he is also the authoer of the hymn of praise, *Bhaktisamvardhini* and Kunjan Nambiar, if his identity with Rama Panivada is acceptable,—speculations yet to be proved.

A more eloquent tribute cannot be paid by any writer—a tribute that is gloriously upheld by succeeding generations of poets and critics in Kerala. And even to-day he stands unrivalled as a poet.

Uddaṇḍa did not keep to himself but freely mixed with his Nampūtiri friends, and the following verse he composed, when he visited the famous *Vaiyyākaraṇa* family of Kūtallūr.²⁰

svasmin veśmani pūrṇaveśmavibhave pūjyān
samārādhayan
 preyasyā guṇapūrṇayā gunavatā putrena mitrena ca I
 sardham pravṛṣi keraleşu nivasan bhaktyā samākaraṇayan
 līlām rāghavakṛṣṇayoḥ kṣapayate kālam sa dhanyo janaḥ II

It seems he was invited to stay on and teach the youngsters of the family, when he is reported to have delivered himself as follows:

vācā vākyapadapramānapadavisancārasampūtayā
 sannaddā pratimallagallamakutikuttākadhātijuṣa I
 sātopam vītan kathannu ramate sāhityamudrārase
 prauḍhasrīrasikāya bālavanitāsangaḥ katham rocate II

This is a very interesting verse, and this expresses more than anything else, the scholar's self-consciousness. Tradition would have it that the great *Vaiyyākaraṇa* scholar of the family asked him if he had studied the *Padamañjari*, and in reply he is reported to have asked him to get a scribe to take down the text, offering to repeat it from memory.

He was also a constant visitor to Payyūr Bhaṭṭa Mana, and on one occasion he happened to reach there, when the members of the family were having a *Kañji* feast. He joined the party,

20. This family occupies the same position in the field of *Vyakarana* as Payyur Bhatta Mana occupied in the field of *Mimamsa*. It is a family with long tradition of *Vyakarana* studies, an aspect that is noticed in the writer's paper on '*Sastras Practical and Theoretical*' published in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.

being repaid by the Malayalis in the honoured place which they assign him amongst the Samskritists of Kerala.

The *Sandēśa* is also historically important in that it helps us to gain some valuable glimpses of the history of the period, and we may here set forth the salient features of the same. Flying down from the north to the south, the first of the kingdoms that the *Kōkila* visits is the kingdom of Purali kings, and the object of attraction there is the daughter of the king (? the princess), named ²⁴*Svati*, about whom the author has written a lyric in about forty verses. In the kingdom of Kolattiri he makes honourable mention of śamkara and other poets. ²⁵ At Calicut he describes the city as rolling in wealth and luxury; the atmosphere of piety and learning is replaced by a life of ease and enjoyment, occasionally whetted by martial spirit. It is curious, however, that there should be no reference at all to his great patron Vikrama and of his incomparable *Sadas* nor to the *Talittānam*. If this lack of reference would mean anything, it means that Vikrama was dead, and with his death also died the famous *Vikrama Sadas*. This lack of reference also proves what one individual could do for learning. After Calicut, Vettat is mentioned, but no king; it is described as the abode of *āsikas* and *Vaidikās*; and then Tirunāvāya is mentioned. The author still remembers with pleasure the *Māmāmkam* festival ²⁶ which he might have visited with his beloved, which festival we identify with the festival celebrated (? by Vikrama the Great) in 1467—68 A. D. The *Kōkila* then visits Alṅcēri Tamprākkal and the Mukkola temple and last Payyūr Bhāṭṭa Mana, where the old scholarly glories still continue. From Payyūr Bhāṭṭa Mana, the *Kōkila* reaches Trichur, but Guruvayūr is omitted.

24. Compare verse 41 of the *Kokilasandesa*

ṛṣtvā devam parisarajuṣam śambare bālakṛṣṇam
pāmudrāsakha tilakitam dinmukham bhuṣayantam
kolanelāvanasurabhilān yahi yātra prathante
ślāghātītaprahitavacasāṣṣankarādyāh kavīndraḥ

25. Vide note 6 ante.

26. The reference to Uddanda's quarrel with Balakavi which is noticed in a later chapter also suggests this idea

Can it be that this shrine came into prominence only after Mepattur and his *Nārāyaniya*? It may not be improbable. After Trichur, he flies over Ūrakam, Iriñjalakuda and Cranganore or Mahodayapuram. It is curious that the work makes no reference at all to the king of Cochin. One reason for this lack of reference may be found in the fact that in this work there is no reference to any king at all, not even to Vikrama himself. The Cochin court, however, had its scholars, and even these are not noticed by Uddaṇḍa.²⁷ A possible reason may be found in the rivalry between the two courts. Another reason may be found in the fact that the capital of Cochin had already been shifted to Cochin, which the messenger does not visit. In any case, the poet could have made some reference to Cochin and her kings, when passing through Trichur which was then, as it has always been, one of the most important towns of the king of Cochin.²⁸ If further Uddaṇḍa may be assumed to have married a woman from Chennamangalam, than it becomes all the more interesting why the king of Cochin should not have been mentioned. For, there at Chennamangalam he must have come into contact with Paliat Achan, who was one of the prominent nobles of the Cochin court. Even assuming that this lack of reference to the king of Cochin is a minor affair, there yet remains the question, why Uddaṇḍa should have fixed up his heroine at Chennamangalam, even if the assumption that he had married a woman there might be true. The only possible explanation for this will be to assume that that the Zamorin had conquered the whole area up to Cranganore, but for this assumption there is *no evidence* at all. On the other hand, the available evidence would prove that the activities of the Zamorin were not actively directed southwards at this period.²⁸

27. Vine note 2 *ante*.

28. My esteemed friend Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon tells me that there is a tradition which would have it that Cennos Narayanan Namputiripat had married a lady from Chennamangalam, possibly from the family of Paliyam, who must certainly have been a very influential subject of the Perumpatappu Muppi, though not his minister. This might probably account for Uddanda's partiality for Chennamangalam. All the same, there is still the question why the favoured courtiers of Vikrama should have come down so far southwards for which adequate explanation is still to be found out.

Here I am tempted to theorise. It might possibly be that the great Vikrama himself might have married from Chennamangalam, possibly from the family of the Paliat Achan, so that he might get the support of this nobleman in his schemes against Cochin. The lady returned to Chennamangalam after her husband's death, and in this *Sandēsa* we may see Uddaṇḍa paying his respects to his master's consort. Or, it might possibly be that the two kingdoms were at this time friendly rivals in the arts of peace. Only on one of these counts can we give a satisfactory explanation for Uddaṇḍa's contact with Chennamangalam. This then becomes a fit subject for further research. It may be noticed here that, since leaving Payyūr Bhāṭṭa Mana. Uddaṇḍa's references are very meagre, which suggest that his acquaintance with the tract south of Kunnamkulam was meagre and cursory, though his description of Chennamangalam is rich and full.

Before we conclude, we shall briefly refer to the collection of verses, which we ascribe to Uddaṇḍa and which is found preserved in the manuscript bundle kept in the Maharaja's Grantha Library, Trippunithura, numbered 123 and labelled *Stotra*. The manuscript contains over a hundred leaves $8\frac{1}{2}'$ by $\frac{3}{8}'$. The script and the condition of the manuscript show that it is a very old manuscript, over three hundred years old, according to one estimate.

The collection contains a series of unconnected verses, some of them having the same subject, without, however, any internal connection. Almost midway through the manuscript there is one verse glorifying Manavikrama, the Zamorin of Calicut, while in the latter half there are over forty verses highly lyrical in character, singing the glories of the daughter of the king of the Purali (? a princess of the family) named Svāti, so called, probably because she was born on that constellation. This same lady figures in the *Kōkila Sandēsa* as the sole object of description at that king's court. These two specific references as well as the diction and style of the poems show that Uddaṇḍa was the author of this collection. If the view is

acceptable—and we believe it is—then we have in this bundle unearthed a fairly large volume of poetry belonging to the great literary hero. Some of the more important verses are set forth in *Appendix B*.

Among the objects eulogised in the collection are first temples, the more important being *Tṛccambaram*, *Cellūr*, *Taḷi*, *Mukkola*, &c. Among personalities there is, as we have already mentioned, *Mānavikrama*. However, the most brilliant figure in this list is one *Śankarārāma*, a Brahmin. Born of a high and noble family and well-educated in all the Hindu *Sāstrās*, he figures as an eminent patron and benefactor. This gentleman was probably a member of the family of *Nampūtiris*, called *Tirumumbu*. But the poet's greatest theme is the lovely and cultured *Svāti* princess of *Purali*, whose graces and accomplishments offer a highly poetic theme for the poet. This is followed by the equally brilliant description of another lady, called by the name *Śri Devi* who belongs to *Jayantamangalam*, but unfortunately both the beginning and end of this section are missing. It would not, however, be a too far-fetched idea to connect this *Śri Devi* with the heroine of the *Kōkila Sandēsa*, for the latter also had her abode at *Jayantamangalam*. From this it will be clear that the two Malayāli women who arrested the attention of *Uddaṇḍa* and compelled his respect and homage hailed from the northernmost and southernmost parts of the area to which was confined the poet's itinerary. Is this a mere coincidence or is there anything more than a coincidence? No answer is possible in the present state of our knowledge.

The verses comprising this collection contain some of the very best poems of *Uddaṇḍa*. Rare scholarship, facile expression, sweet poetic conception and the general grace of style and diction – these *Uddaṇḍa* has revealed in a higher degree in these poems than in his drama and probably even in his *Sandēsa*. Here undoubtedly are displayed his Iyrical qualities in a very remarkable degree: here *Uddaṇḍa* shines as the sweetest lyrist of the century.

We have in the preceding given a brief account of the veteran scholar who is but imperfectly known to the outside world. He is well-known in Kerala as a great poet, but more for his extra-ordinary scholarship in almost every branch of Samskrit learning—*Vedānta*, *Mīmāṃsā* and *Vyākaraṇa*. Discerning critics hold that he was the greatest *Vaiyyākaraṇa* of the day, who had earned the unqualified encomium from Maḥarṣi and his son Parameśvara, redoubtful champions and custodians of both the systems of *Mīmāṃsā*, from Kūṭallūr (Narayana ?) Nampūtiripāt, the great *Vaiyyākaraṇa* scholar, from Cennos Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiripād, the greatest exponent of *Tāntric* and *Āgamic* texts our land ever produced; in short from every scholar and poet with whom he came into contact, the only exception being Tṛkkaṇḍiyūr Nānappa Piṣaroti. He was in short a *Sarvatantrasvatantra* and was the most outstanding figure at Vikrama's court—the prize scholar at the annual *Festival of Letters* held at Calicut during the latter half of the fifteenth century. And our local tradition holds him in great honour and respect.

MODERN TAMIL PROSE.

[BY M. S. RAMANUJAM, M. A.]

Advent of the European Missionaries

The advent of the European missionaries into Tamilnād in the 17th century marks a landmark in the history of Tamil Prose. They were only too familiar with the technique of prose in their vernacular. As missionaries, intent on the propagation of the gospel, they were forced to learn the language of the land. Besides, using the acquired proficiency to their best advantage, there were not a few among them, whose heart and soul fell in love with the language. One such was Constantius Beschi. A scholar in his own language, he was fairly proficient in Tamil. To instruct the native Catechists he was forced to write some books of Tamil Prose, and they have a special interest to students of Tamil Literature. In spite of his many limitations his Tamil prose must be marked out for their bearing on the development of Tamil prose art. It is necessary to remember that what little prose we have, before that of Beschi, was not meant to be prose as such, as art. It is admitted that Fr. Beschi, a foreigner, could not have mastered Tamil idioms, the soul of language. Necessarily to suit his immediate purpose of propagation, he developed a declamatory style, which is neither uniform in structure, nor very pleasing to the ear. His violations of the structure and disturbances of the mellow music of idioms seem quite inexcusable. His is an example of how grammar without mastery over the idioms could lead to jazz symphony. A stinging satire on the 'mutts' is a delightful contribution, but there again his thoughts and expressions always struggle for harmony. It is noticeable that Tamil prose was struggling through to reach a balanced movement.

Śivagñāna Munivar, who outlived Fr. Beschi by about 20 years, was responsible for a kind of prose, which was the model

of later-day monastic writing and controversial sallies. He too was a missionary of the scholastic type. He could be seen at his best when he is in the ring. He relished dialectics, wordy battles. A keen intellect and a masterly mind, that worked through the labyrinth of details, with a surprisingly punctilious logic, his style gained grace and movement. Steeped in the scholarship of ages, his style was bound to be as terse as his thoughts. Terseness, superimposed by a over-refined classicism, seldom interests the less fortunate, and it is not to be wondered at that few read him but the learned. And, again, he could not completely cut himself asunder from the traditional style, which was too sacred to be treated with indifference. His prose style was a development, which was not purblind to the historical accidents, which should make the foot-rule different from that of the western import. With all the reverence for the hoary past, he had taken a long-range view of Tamil prose, and this by itself constituted a departure, slight but significant. In so far he was striking a new-path, he was a genius. His oriental imagination found a good complement in abstract thinking. Here again we are face to face with a style which feels its way to a more free and mellow perfection. It is a strange coincidence that Fr. Beschi had begun a new era of Tamil prose development, with the canons of west in his mind, while his younger contemporary Sivagnana Munivar was injecting an independent vigour into the new art. This is an important land-mark, because the closer contact of the West and the East almost began at this age. This presaged to a degree the shape of things to come.

Flush of Dawn.

Though it might be said that Sivagnāna Munivar had been responsible for a certain kind of prose-style which is vivacious in its own way, it is rather apocryphal that he considered it an art, equal in rank to poetry. True poetry in Tamil was at a premium, enjoying advantage over her sister-art. But this was not deliberate. That was the consequence of historical developments. Tamil prose, as art, was admitted only at the dawn of the 9th century. Only from then on, could it be said that

the art of prose developed. This was undertaken by Sri Thandavaraya Mudaliar, a pandit of the Madras Presidency College and Sri. Veerasami Chettiar. Sri Mudaliar's *Panchatantiram* (1826) was a translation from Maratti, but his translation was done in delightful prose which is worth careful study by students of Tamil prose art. It was completely a new path, and his style effected a change in the complexion of Tamil prose.¹ It is deservedly popular for its simplicity of style and lucidity of expression. He pressed into service the pickled proverbs, and the effect is generally very happy. Irony and humour too showed their first tendrils. His successor, Mr. Chettiar (1876)² had been responsible for *Vinotha Rasa Manjari* which is equally popular with people of either sex. There is little originality in the subject matter, but his method and manner of expression are distinguishing. He shows a better sense of artistry and taste, and its distinction is simplicity shaded with extreme lucidity and noble freedom,—a lucidity and freedom that have a rhythm. Really Tamil prose had come out of its corners into the broad wayside green, ready for a march, a bold march; it is a period of 'extended curiosity and enfranchised imagination.'

Another good representative of the Renaissance period, who gave a fillip to the development of prose, was Sri Arumuga Navalar of Jaffna. A scholar of considerable note and importance, he continued the tradition of *Vinotha Rasa Manjari*. His contribution to the development of prose had not been negligible. It is rather surprising that a mind, like that of Navalar, saturated with the traditions of the measured cadence of the commentators and the stately march of Sivaganana Munivar's dialectics, could have turned away into the open, with a manner of writing which is justly famous for its sonorous simplicity, a style combining the virtues of homeliness and picturesqueness, a model of an undulated, sturdy,

1. Caldwell: *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Language*: Introduction p. 150.

2. *Kalaimugal*; Madras: Vol II: Pp. 1203—1206.

popular style. They do betray the texture of Baconian crispness, but it is idle fancy to dogmatize on it. It is never fair to over-rate the influence of Dr. Percival on him. How the author of Tamil Bible, which had to be thrice or more recast and rearranged, to be at least seemingly perfect in style, could have made himself appreciably felt on him a master of style? It was a spontaneous growth, actuated by expediency and a consideration for human weakness, rather an appreciation of human taste. A missionary like Fr. Beschi, he wanted to reach the lowest, and hence the solid simplicity of his style. His ripe scholarship of Sanskrit and English was pressed into service to better advantage to Tamil prose which gave his writings the stamp of elegance, method and balance. The art of prose was gaining in momentum, and Navalar's proved quite pleasant.

It did not stop there. It was given to a Tamil Christian, whose views were comprehensive and cosmopolitan, to go farther with it,—Mr. Vedanayakam Pillai, a District Munsiff of Mayavaram. His passion for Tamil was great. His knowledge of English and his possession of a fresh and rich mind helped in furthering the progress of the art. He too kept up the simple movements of grace and sonority which served as a source of inspiration to later day novelists of the early 20th century, such as Messrs. B Rajamier and Madaviah, the authors of 'Kamalam-bal' and 'Padmavati'. Mr. Rajamier's style gains picturesqueness, while Mr. Vedanayakam Pillai's swells with silent grace.

The Dawn.

We are at the dawn. The moving waters of slender prose began meandering into new turns with the opening of the 20th century. Many were the factors at work. The new dawn marked the beginning of a new period of activity in all departments of life. Tamil Renaissance was peeping in with blossoming buds.

Rightly had it been remarked that literature is the autobiography of a nation. Literature is influenced by the prevalen

conditions and in turn influences the vital growth of thought. Hence history in its true sense is not an isolated concept, isolated from the currents of other humanistic arts. It is a delightful complement.

The 20th century is said to be an era of revolution in all departments of life. The seed sown in the early 19th century spurt out in the 20th, and especially India was caught in the vortex of a violent but imperceptible, mental struggle. The impact of the two cultures, apparently irreconcilable, brought in its train a new cargo of sympathy and appreciation. Added to it, the birth of self-determination among the people had a profound influence on the progress of mental development. A new blend of life and language was tried, and this was hardly a task to be achieved over night. Thus the ball was set rolling.

We have had occasion to reason out the absence of Tamil prose, as such, on a previous occasion. Western political concepts opened new vistas of thought, and what struck ardent students of literature was lack of Tamil prose art. Though few, they were not without their literary worth. Prose as art had just come to be realised, thanks to the European scholars. People swarmed to the fruitful soil of prose to garner a rich harvest. It is to be noted that it was a stage of transition. The struggle that began in the 18th century was still continued; restraint and licence alternated. The conflict between the two orders, the old and the new, went on with equal vigour. Ears that were almost always attuned to the mellow music of poetic cadence were forced into submission to the prose rhythm, which at first should have given rise to extreme pangs. But what it should lose in music must be made up in richness and art.

The haunting music of words in a poem had the magical power, that was rather hard for the orthodox progressives to resist. Prose rhythm was comparatively unknown. Even if they were not unaware of them, they were sufficiently indifferent to them. In judging the works written at this period, they

should be set and viewed on a correct background. True, they were over-refined in their style. But for purposes of historical evaluation, we should not give free scope for our 'homoeopathy of critical science' nor embark on a 'premature methodisation'. History limits their growth, and tradition smiles to be respected. Mr. V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri of Madura wrote a style, which was respected, more for his labour of love than for any high excellence. He was too pedantic. But between the flaunting, flowery style of the commentators' tradition and the new vogue of Navalur, Mudaliar, Chettiar school, he wanted to effect a compromise. He was decoyed into a mode of expression which was old enough, but betrayed a freshness of outlook. His prose was sturdy and solid. Hence his power and deriving force were lost on the current of events. Let it be said that the struggle for prose was still apparent.

The Licentiate in Literature.

From Sastri to Bharati was a change from the massive Moghul architecture to the modern Bengalee painting. Virtues they have both, but solidity only the former. They have virtues of varying kind and degree. Bharati was a creature of circumstances. The many contradictions in his theory and practice should be explained only as a deep conflict between head and heart. Bharati was predominantly a poet of national awakening, and it is idle to probe into him for any detached piece of pure literature of absolute worth; its value is but relative for a student of literature. But we are more concerned with his prose than his poetic outbursts. Regarding form and style, what is true of his poetry is true of his prose as well. He might have, to a degree, succeeded in creating an interest in us for his prose, which is justly popular for its structural simplicity and direct appeal, occasionally lapsing into moments of sarcasms and sallies. His prose has imagery and poetry, but remains indifferent to prose-structure and rhythm, which may be considered vital. The besetting sin of his imagination was to run riot. He had been a rebel, and let it be said of him that he relished being called a rebel. A rebel either in society or in sober

literature is a negative force against any restraint, however wholesome. He 'does not find freedom in obedience to law'. In his exuberance to be free, he turns easily a licentiate. What destroys good art is an indifference to verified notions of decency and decorum. Bharati, to an extent, was a successful rebel, but he was prepared to go to the logical extreme. Emotional beings are hard to be made respectors of law, and they are either willing sycophants or daring decanters. The golden mean rarely exists for them.

When such extreme heat or cold is the rule of conduct, both of life and language, logic has little force. Bharati's professed indifference to system was probably due as much to a lack of deep reading as to romantic impatience of restraint. The broken constructions and structural lapses are due, not a little, to the above reasons. Besides, Bharati was never prepared to concede language anything more than what a workable medium deserved. To put it otherwise, he had art in ideas, but not art in expression. We seek the blend in him in vain. His art was unilateral.

(To be continued).

TWO VAṬṬELUTHŪ INSCRIPTIONS IN THE IRĀNIKKAḶAM TEMPLE

BY

V. K. R. MENON M. A. M.SC.,

AND

V. N. D. NAMBIAR, B. A., B. L., M. L. C.

The IrānikkaḶam Temple is situated on the western border of the Mukundapuram Taluk, adjoining the backwaters. The temple was destroyed during the Mysore Invasions in 1789 A. D. and has only been partly repaired. The two beautiful bronze *Dvārapalās* kept in the State Museum, it is said, originally belonged to the Śiva shrine of the temple. The deity installed is *Umāmaheśvara*. Bronze images of Śiva, Pārṇvati and Subrahmanya are seated on a granite pedestal. It is fortunate that these bronzes have escaped destruction, particularly because bronze images of Śiva, it is pointed out, are very rarely found.

IrānikaḶam is one of the 64 *grāmams* into which Kerala is traditionally believed to have been originally divided, and the temple was probably the *Grāmakṣetra*.

The two inscriptions published below, are neatly incised on two dressed granite slabs about 30" × 16" and 45" × 18" respectively. They have created a lot of local interest, and many speculations have been made as to their probable contents. They are deciphered and published now for the first time. Both of them are undated, nor do they contain any reference to any ruler or to any important historical incident. On the other hand they relate to lands, dedicated to the temple, and to the management thereof.

The script of the first inscription belongs to the 9th century. The letter *-po-* is characteristic. This inscription

records a land settlement at the instance of Cuvākara Nārāyaṇan of Nenmaṇi Maṅgalam. Kaṇṭan Tayan, belonging to the same family, figures as a witness in the Avathiputhur inscription of Kō Kōtai Iravi, already published in this series.

In the second inscription the first two lines consist of a verse, written in the *Grantha* script. The inscription records that the properties belonging to the Cērākeśvaram temple and the two temples of Irānikkaḷam, also called Girijāgrahāram and Tiruvallavaḷ, also called Sri Vallabhatam Grāmams were amalgamated and put under the joint responsibility of the respective authorities. The script is probably a century later than that of the first inscription.

Both the slabs are now lying in an exposed condition and deserve a place in the museum.

Inscription No 1.

1. സ്വസ്തിശ്രീമദരാജാവിനക്കും ചെറിയ മലക്കുടിമരയാക (ക) മൂം ||
2. അയീരാണിക്കളത്തു പരടൈയാരും ഉഴരാറും അവിരോത
3. ത്താറു കൂടിത്തിരുവാരാതനെക്കിട്ട ചേരിക്കലാവതു ||
4. തെന്നരെയറു പള്ളിപ്പുറമു, അമണിലമു, ഇരെയനി
5. ലമു, ഉഴരിടൈമണ്ണും, ചത്തനപള്ളിയും മുട്ടമു
6. ചെരുമ്പാറാക്കരൈപ്പോകമു, കൂടായിനിപ്പെരുനിലമു, ചി
7. ന്നാലയുരും, ചെൺകാലുരും || ഇച്ചേരിക്കാൽ ചെൻറ അതരം ചെ
8. യുമവകരും, തന്നെ ഉപനിച്ചോതിച്ചു ഉപാത്തിയായനെയും തന്ത
9. യെയുകൊൻറ തായൈക്കളത്തിരും വൈച്ചോര
10. വിതു || താനും പരടൈയും പേരാറു || ഉഴര കും അ
11. രം || സ്വാമിക്കൈമ്പതു ചൊന്നും പട്ടുവിതു || ച
12. വകരക്കു അനുപന്തയൈയുമവകുഴുമപ്പി
13. നെയയേതു ചുപ്പരിച്ചു [വ്യവസ്ഥ] ചെയുവിച്ചേൻ നെ
14. ന്മലിമകളത്തു ചുവകര നാരായണൻ സ്വസ്തി.

Inscription No. 2.

- 1. [സ്വസ്തി ശ്രീ വല്ലഭാടഗിരിജാഗ്രഹാരയോരത്തമചിജഗണാ
ധിവാസ
- 2. യോ, (ഃസ) സംസ്ഥിതോ [ഃതൗ] ഹരിഹരൗ സമാധ്യതൗ(?)രാമ
താഭുവനമോന്യ) * ശേഷതഃ] ‡
- 3. കുംപത്തുരം വിയാഴന്നിറക വിരിച്ചിക ഞായിററ
- 4. തിരുവല്ലവാഴ് ഉരം, അയിരാണിക്കളത്തുരം ഇരണ്ട
- 5. കിരാമത്തിറ പൊതുവാളും അവിരോതത്താൽ കൂട്ടുംകൂടി മുക്കാൽ
വട്ട
- 6. ത്തിരുതുചെയ്ത കാരിയമാവതു || തിരുവല്ലവാഴ് മുക്കാൽവട്ട
- 7. മും, അയിരാണിക്കളത്തു മുക്കാൽ വട്ടമുഞ്ചരാകേ[ശ്യാ]മും ഇ
- 8. നൂൻറ മുക്കാൽവട്ടമും മുക്കാവട്ടം മൂൻറിനക്കളള ചേരിക്കലും
- 9. അരുത്തമും, വിക്ഷമ്മാനമും, അവമാനമും എവ്വുകൈപ്പട്ടതും ന
- 10. മക്കാക്കുമെൻറ [ഏകഗ്രാമ] ബെയ്തതു ഒൻറൊൻറിറകു വി
രോതമുള്ള
- 11. പൊഴുതുകേട്ട ഉശരാളൻറമേറ അട്ടൈയും പാരായെയ്ചെൻറ
ചുകതുക്കുപ്പടക്കവൻ || ഇ
- 12. പ്പരിച ചെയാതവൻ ഇരണ്ട കിരാമത്തിനും അതികാരമുകെട്ട
ഉശരകത്തു
- 13. കുടി ഇരുക്കവും പെറാൻ || ഇവനു തുണൈ പരെയും ഉശരാളനും
ഇവനൊടൊക്കും || ഇതിനു
- 14. ക്കൈമൈച്ച കച്ചുമാവതു || കൈതവാരത്തിനക്കങ്കാരെക്കാറകും
അമൈച്ചക
- 15. ചുമേകച്ചും.

* രക്ഷതാംഭുവനമപ്യ— K. R. P.

‡ The portions within Square brackets are in Grandha script.

B.
TRIPRAYAR INSCRIPTION.

[BY A. GOVINDA WARRIAR, B.A., & B. L.]

The following epigraph was copied by me from the Triprayar Śrīrāmasvāmi Temple, managed by the Cochin State Devasvam Department. It is incised on two slabs on the base to the southern side of the entrance of the *Srikoil*. The stones are said to have been slightly damaged by fire. The writing on the first slab is more or less well preserved, but that on the second is damaged in several places.

The inscription records a meeting of the *Ūr* (assembly) and *Potuvāl* of Tiruppuraiyār in connection with the endowment for food-offering and burning a perpetual lamp, ordered by Caṅkaran Kunrappōlan of Murukanāṭṭu. Incidentally, mention is made of a *Kīliṭṭu*, demised by Kaṅṅan Cuvaran the *Potuvāl* and lands set apart for *agrams* by Ciṅṅan, the *Ūrālan* of Netumpuraiyūr. The record rounds up with the usual prohibition of obstructions to the conduct of the charities by the *ūrālar*. They were to yield up their landed properties to the temple, pay a fine of 21 *Kalaññus* of gold and to leave the place after incurring the penalty for having disregarded the regulations of the assembly of *Mūlikkaḷam*.

The name of the village appears to have undergone little or no alteration with the lapse of time. It is located on the inland waterway connecting Chowghat with Cranganur and Cochin, which at this place is called Triprayar or the *ār* or river of the Porayan, the Cera Sovereign.

The *Vatteluttu* characters are similar to those of the Goda Ravi inscriptions of the tenth century A. C.

Slab I.

1. സ്വസ്തിശ്രീ. തിരുവപ്പുരയൊർ ഉരതമ വൊതുവാളുണ്കൂടി മുര...
2. കനാട് മന്ദിരമുഖംകുൻറവചൊഴൻ ചമൈമഞ്ചിതത തി...

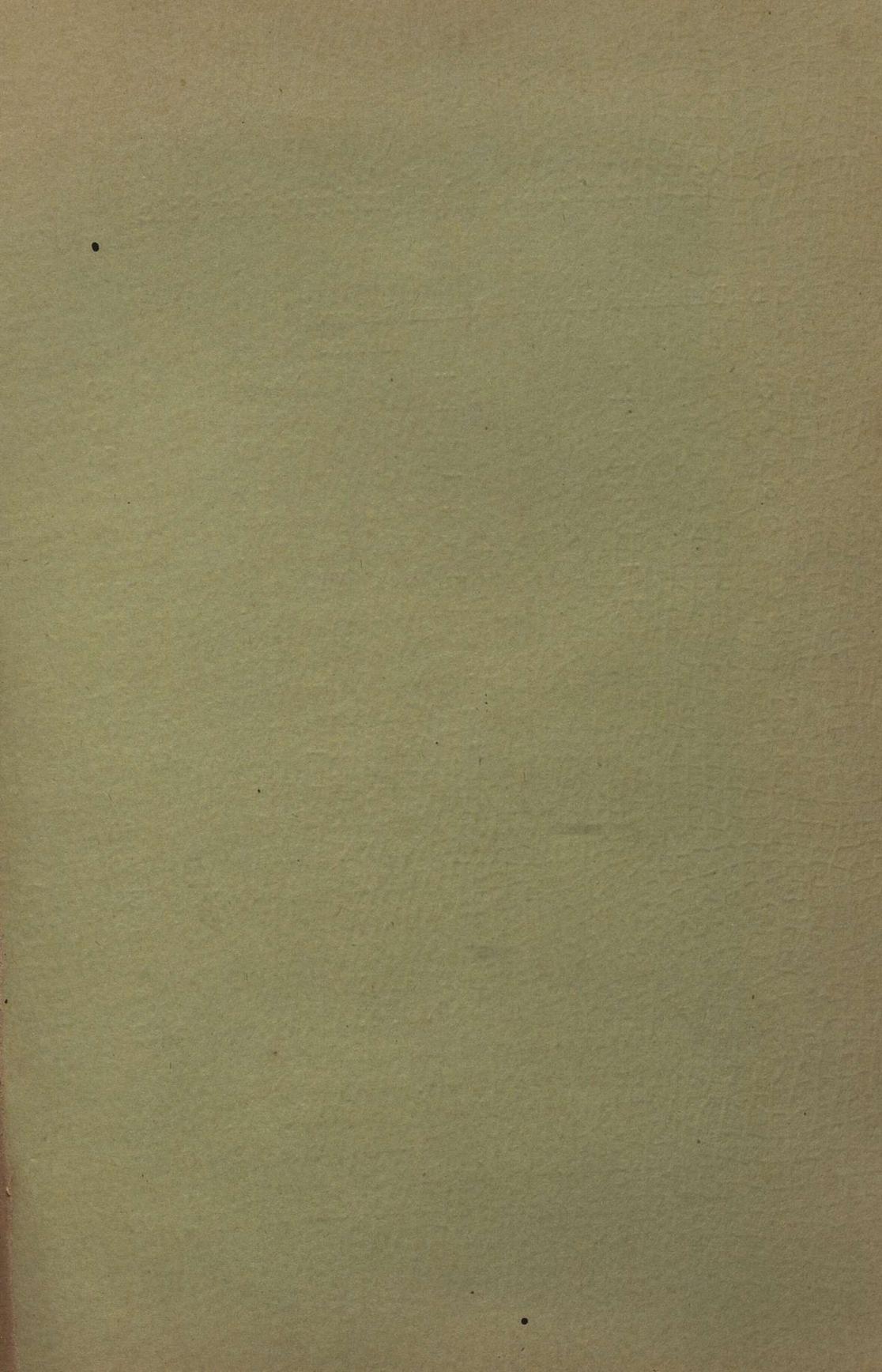
- 3. [രിനെയ്വെതക്-] കച്ഛമാവതു്. അകനാഴിച്ഛെലവു മുരുക-
- 4. നാട്ഛ മങ്ക്രങ്ക്രൻഛെഴൻ അമൈച്ഛ നൻഛ [വി]
- 5. ഉക്ക നിവെച്ഛമുച്ഛ ചൊതുവാളായിനകണ്ണഞ്ചു [വര]
- 6. ന് അമൈതത് കീഴീട്ടുച്ഛ നെട്ടുപുരൈയൂർ ഉരളൻ
- 7. ചിങ്ങ്ങ് അക്കീരമാനഛെന്നിനു അമൈതത് പൂമി ന-
- 8. റാ മൈ യു മറാഴി. [-യു-]. നൻഛവിളക്ക [മെരിക്ക കടവിയർ. അ] കനാഴി-

Slab II.

- 9. മച്ഛെലവുച്ഛ പുക്ക വിലക്കപുൻ ദേവർ വക ചൊരളു് നിക്കളു [മെ] യ്ഛപു മുരളൻ
- 10. [തെ] വർക്കിടൈയിട്ടുന്കട്ഛ കോയിൻകിരപത് ഞെൻറ കഴൈഞ്ചു [ചൊ]
- 11. ന് വട്ഛ മുഴികുളച്ഛച്ഛെഴന്തെയു പിഴൈതത് ഉർവീടക്കടവർ-

3754





Publications of the Institute for Sale

1	Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research	Institute No. I	1	12
2	...	No. II	0	50
3	...	No. III	1	50
4	...	No. IV	1	50
5	...	Vol. V--Pt. i	1	50
6	...	Vol. V--Pt. ii	1	50
7	...	Vol. VI --Pt. i	1	50
8	...	Vol, VI--Pt. ii	1	50
9	...	Vol. VII--Pt. i	1	50
10	...	Vol. VII--Pt. ii	1	50
11	...	Vol. VIII--Pt. i	1	50
12	...	Vol. VIII--Pt. ii	1	50
13	...	Vol. IX--Pt. i	1	50
14	...	Vol. IX--Pt. ii	1	50
15	...	Vol. X--Pt. i	1	50
16	...	Vol. X - Pt. ii	1	50
17	...	Vol. XI--Pt. i only	1	50
18	...	Vol. XII	1	50
19	...	Vol. XIII	1	50
20	...	Vol. XIV	1	50
21	...	Vol. XV	1	50
22	The Rama Varma Research Institute Series			
	No. I--The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology			
	By L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar (in India) Rs.		5	00
	(Outside India) £		0	62
23	Folk Plays & Dances of Kerala			
	By M. D. Raghavan, (Retired)		2	00

Indic Digital Archive Foundation

BULLETIN
OF THE
RAMA VARMA
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

954 BUL

VOL. IX PART II