

BULLETIN
OF THE
RAMA VARMA
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

954 BUL

VOL. V PART I

BULLETIN
OF THE
Rama Varma
Research Institute

J568

VOL. V PART I



1974

REPRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
THE KERALA SAHITYA AKADEMI, TRICHUR.

Bulletin of the Rama Varma
Research Institute

Vol. V Part I

November 1974

Printed at

954

BOL

B. B. Press, Viyyur, Trichur-10

Published by

The Kerala Sahitya Akademi, Trichur-1

Price Rs. 1-50

SHORT HISTORY OF THE RAMA VRAMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND ITS BULLETIN

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

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 According to the scheme approved by the Government the object of the institute was to collect books, journals and unpublished manuscripts on the History of South India in general and of Kerala in particular to afford facilities for carrying on research work on the ancient History of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

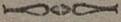
The Institute grew up steadily enhancing its reputation among scholars. In 1944 at the instance of the then Diwan of Cochin Sir George T. Boag, an Advisory Committee for Archaeology was set up, and with a view to maintain closer contact between the members of the Institute and the Archaeological Department,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

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

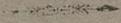
Rama Varma Institute depending on Government Grant. At that time, some institutions came forward to take up this society, but in 1958, it was transferred to the Kerala Sahitya Akademi.

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

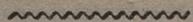
Secretary,
Kerala Sahitya Akademi.



CONTENTS.



	Page
BHASA AND THE MAHABHARATA AND KRSNA PLAYS OF THE TRIVANDRUM SERIES.	1
<i>By the late Professor Dr. M. Winternitz.</i>	
KATHAKALI: A UNIQUE DRAMATIC ART.	16
<i>By M. Mukunda Raja, Secretary, Kerala Kalamandalam.</i>	
A PRIMER OF MALAYALAM PHONOLOGY.	29
<i>By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M. A., B. L.</i>	
NAMMALVAR AND HIS DATE.	46
<i>By K. G. Sessa Iyer, Rtd. High Court Judge, Trivandrum.</i>	
CHRONOLOGY OF THE COCHIN RAJAS DURING THE PORTUGESE PERIOD.	56
<i>By V. K. Raghunandhana Menon, B. A., M. Sc., (London).</i>	
AMERICAN RESEARCH IN INDIA.	62
<i>By M. B. Emeneau.</i>	
EXTRACTS FROM JOURNALS.	64
EDITORIAL NOTES	70
THE LATE PROFESSOR DR. WINTERNITZ.	71
<i>By P. Anujan Achan,</i>	



THE BULLETIN
OF THE
SRI RAMA VARMA RESERCH INSTITUTE.

BHĀSA AND THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND
KṚṢṆA PLAYS OF THE TRIVANDRUM SERIES.
BY PROFESSOR M. WINTERNITZ.

When I last wrote on the Bhāsa problem,¹ I still adhered to the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati śāstrī's hypothesis that the thirteen anonymous Trivandrum plays were the work of the poet Bhāsa. But I emphasized the word "hypothesis" already at that time, pointing out that there were *no direct proofs* for the authorship of Bhāsa for these plays.² Much has been written on this vexed problem of Sanskrit literature since then, and I believe that most scholars are now inclined to give up the idea that we are in the happy possession of the principal works of the great Bhāsa who was famous already at the time of Kālidāsa, while some scholars would only admit that Svapnavāsavadatta and Pratijñāyugaṇḍharāyaṇa are, if not the original works, yet recensions of Bhāsa's plays adapted for the Kerala stage.

One of the chief arguments in favour of Bhāsa's authorship was that the thirteen plays have so much in common, that they must have one and the same author. "A mere glance through the dramas is enough to prove", says Mr. D. R. Mankad,³ that all these dramas have one author." Even opponents of the Bhāsa theory have made use of this argument. After enumerating all the features which the plays have in common with regard to imagery, ideas, vocabulary and

1. Some Problems of Indian Literature, Calcutta 1925, p. 110 ff.
2. l c. pp. 125 ff., 129 f.
3. Annals Bhandarkar Inst. 9, 1927-28, p. 333 f.

expression, dramatic devices and situations, etc., Mr. C. R. Devadhar⁴ gives reasons for his opinion that "Cārudatta" is nothing but a "crude abridgement" of Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika* made for stage-performance, and concludes: If "Cārudatta" is proved to be the work of a later poet, the other twelve plays also cannot be the works of Bhāsa. Mr. Devadhar should not have said at the beginning of his paper that "no systematic attempt has yet been made to prove the common authorship of the entire group of plays", for—apart from Gaṇapati Śāstri's endeavours⁵ and my own attempts in this direction,⁶ Dr. V. S. Sukthankar has given a systematic concordance of the dramas showing their agreements in entire stanzas, entire pādas of verses, longer prose passages, short passages, set phrases and rare words and echoes of thought.⁷ Dr. Sukthankar was cautious enough to say at the beginning of his paper that the recurrent and parallel passages "do not suffice to establish the common authorship", but "that the ascription of common authorship has to be justified and proved rigorously in the case of each drama separately." And he pertinently adds: "Only intensive study of the diction and idiosyncracies of the dramas, taken individually, will enable us to pronounce an authoritative opinion on the question"

Little has been done in this direction hitherto. I am afraid, scholars (including myself) have always been looking too much for similarities between the thirteen plays, failing to see the great differences which exist between them. We need only compare the *Prakaraṇas Svapnavāsavadatta*, *Pratijñāyugandarrāyaṇa*, *Avimārika*, and the *Cārudatta* fragment on the one hand, and the *Mahābhārata*, *Kṛṣṇa* and *Rāma* plays on the other hand in order to see how much these two groups differ from one another in diction style, and their whole character.

Let us, however, for the present, only compare the dramas based on the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Kṛṣṇa* legend, which from

4. *Annals Bhand Inst.* 7, 1925-26, p. 29 ff.

5. In the Introduction to his edition of *Svapnavāsavadatta*, and "Bhāsa's Plays", Trivandrum 1925.

6. Some problems of Indian literature p. 115 ff.

7. *Annals Bhand Inst.* 4, 1923, 167 ff.

their subject matter should be expected to form a uniform group that must be ascribed to one and the same author.

Apart from the subject matter, these plays agree also in this, that they all show the strongest Brahmanical and Vaiṣṇava tendencies. Brahmanical rites and ceremonies are introduced, and on every possible occasion the exalted position of the Brāhmins is emphasized. The Pañcarātra begins with the description of a great sacrifice which is not mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and was clearly only invented by the author, in order to describe the pageant of a grand Brahmanical ceremony. Here we also find such sentences as: "The sacred fire suffers not the common fire beside it, as a twice-born man would not have a Sūdra on his side" (1, 6), or, "Pouring his whole wealth into the lap of the Brāhmins, a king should leave his bow only to his sons" (1, 24). Bhīṣma (in 1, 25) insists on his being inferior to Droṇa, saying: "Thou art a Brāhman, we are born of a warrior's family." In Act II, young Abhimanyu refuses to greet King Virāṭa, but bows at once to the Brahman Bhagavat (Yudhiṣṭhira in disguise). In Madhyama (v. 9) also Ghaṭotkaca says: "I know, always and everywhere indeed are the Brāhmins most worthy of honour on earth". In the prologue of the Madhyama, the Sūtradhara, on hearing the call behind the scene "*bhos tāta*", says: "No doubt, it is a Brāhman. as he says "*bhoḥ*", thus showing his knowledge of the Śāstra.⁸ In the same play (after v. 40) Bhīma, pretending to sacrifice his life for that of the young Brāhman, says: "I am born of a warrior's family, most worthy of honour is a Brāhman. therefore I wish to redeem with my own body that of a Brāhman." The whole of the *Karṇabhāra* is intended to show that the wish of a Brāhman must always be fulfilled. In the *Bālacarita* again, the chamberlain (in Act II) protests that he has never told a lie, whereupon King Kāṁsa assures him: "Nay, even the untrue word of a Brāhman I hold to be true."

All these plays are also full of devotion to Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, and never is there any doubt left about Kṛṣṇa being absolutely identical with the Great God. *Dūtavākya* and *Bālacarita* are nothing but religious, devotional plays for

8. See Viṣṇusmṛti 28. 17; Manu II, 124; Mahābhārata III, 188, 39.

pious Viṣṇu worshippers. But even in the Ūrubhaṅga, which centres on the heroic death of Duryodhana, and in which Kṛṣṇa⁹ plays the ignoble part of the instigator of Bhīma's dishonest fight, he is yet no other than the great god Viṣṇu, and Duryodhana himself excuses Bhīma's deed by declaring that Viṣṇu himself had entered into Bhīma's mace to hand him (Duryodhana) over to Death.¹⁰ And in verse 60) Aśvatthāman boasts that he will take up the fight with Kṛṣṇa "riding on Garuḍa's back, with his four terrible arms, and with his bow and disc raised", that is, with the god Viṣṇu

The Mahābhārata plays have also this in common that they all show their close connexion with the Epic by the great number of verses, leaving only very little occasion for prose dialogue, and that Prakrit is used only very sparingly in them. In the *Dūtavākya* no Prākṛit at all occurs, as no women appear on the scene. In the other one-act dramas only the ladies, in the Ūrubhaṅga the little boy Durjaya also, speak a few Prākṛit sentences. In the Karṇabhāra, curiously enough, the god Indra in the disguise of the begging Brāhman speaks Prākṛit. In the Pañcarātra only the cowherds at the beginning of Act II speak Prākṛit. In the same act Brhannalā (Arjuna in disguise) greets King Virāta in Prākṛit with "*jedu bhattā*". The king bids him to give an account of the battle, Arjuna-Brhannalā begins with "*suṇādu bhattā*", but is interrupted by the King who says: "It was a mighty affair, speak Sanskrit," whereupon Sanskrit only is spoken. The *Bālacarita* is quite different: prose dialogue occupies much space, and a great deal of Prākṛit is spoken.

-
9. In the Mahābhārata, Kṛṣṇa only tells Arjuna that Bhīma will not be able to conquer Duryodhana in the honest fight, whereupon *Arjuna* strikes his own thigh in order to give Bhīma the sign for dishonestly smashing Duryodhana's thighs. The poet evidently made this alteration, in order to make Duryodhana's cruel death still more to appear as having come about by the will of God.
 10. It is quite arbitrary, when A. C. Woolner and Laksman Sarup (Thirteen Trivandrum Plays attributed to Bhāsa, Translated, 1931, II, p. 51 f, suggest that this passage is "a later addition".

The Dūtavākya and the Bālacarita have the scene in common where Garuḍa and the weapons of Kṛṣṇa are personified and appear on the stage in a similar manner. The Madhyama Vyāyoga has its title from Bhīma being called "the middle one" of the Paṇḍava brothers. In the Ūrubhaṅga (p. 92, and in the Pañcarātra (II, v. 66) Bhīma is also referred to as "the middle one". Both in Madhyama v. 42, and in Pañcarātra II, v. 55, Bhīma says that his two arms are his weapons.

I may add that all the Mahābhārata dramas show an intimate knowledge of the whole of the Epic, not only of the episodes which happen to be treated in them. At the same time, their author or authors take the greatest liberty with the stories as handed down in the Epic, freely changing them and inventing new incidents.

So much for the main points which the dramas have in common. Yet when we come to examine the individual plays separately with regard to their style, metrics, literary merits, and general character, we are surprised to find differences which make it very doubtful, that even the Mahābhārata dramas only are works of one and the same author.

Let us compare only the five one-act plays, Madhyama, Dūtagaḥotkaca, Dūtavākya, Karṇabhāra, and Ūrubhaṅga. What a difference between the Ūrubhaṅga and the other four plays! There has been some discussion on the question whether the Ūrubhaṅga is a tragedy or not. Dr. Sukthankar¹¹ has said that the Ūrubhaṅga "is not a tragedy in one act, but a detached intermediate act of some drama." Mr. A. D. Pusalker,¹² on the contrary, assures us that "Ūrubhaṅga is a tragedy viewed from Aristotle's point or that of Hegel." H. Weller¹³ has shown in a lengthy treatise that this is not the case, as from the Hindu outlook the play has not a tragic, but a happy end, for Duryodhana goes to heaven, satisfied at having fulfilled his warrior's duty, and having received death as a gift, as it were, from God (Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu). But I should

11. Journal Bombay Br. R. A. S. 1925, p. 143.

12. Journal of the University of Bombay II, Part VI, May 1934, p. 184.

13. Eine indische Tragodie? Stuttgart 1933.

not go so far as to say, as A. B. Keith¹⁴ does, that Duryodhana "is not the hero of the piece", but that it is "the depicting of the deplorable fate of an enemy of Kṛṣṇa", and that therefore its conclusion "is happy, not tragic" for the worshipper of Kṛṣṇa". A. M. Meerwarth¹⁵ would see in the three pieces Dūtavākya, Dūtaghaṭotkaca, and Urubhaṅga "a tragical trilogy" or "A Tragedy of Pride", with Duryodhana as the central figure. I cannot accept this, because the two other pieces are so different from, and so inferior to, Urubhaṅga in style and diction, that I could not ascribe them to one author.

If Urubhaṅga is not a "tragedy" in the western technical sense of the term, it certainly comes very near to it. According to the terminology of the Nāṭyaśāstra, we might best describe it, as already Gaṇapati Śāstrī has done, as an Utsṛṣṭikāṅka,¹⁶ in which the *karuṇarasa* is said to be the abiding sentiment. At any rate, it will be difficult to find in Sanskrit literature another drama, in which the pathetic sentiment has found a more beautiful expression than in the Ūrubhaṅga. It is, of course, possible that it is only "a detached intermediate act of some drama", but this is by no means a necessary conjecture. Ūrubhaṅga makes, far more than any one of the other one-act plays, the impression of a poetical work that is complete in itself. I agree with Meerwarth when he says that the dramatic power with which the piece concludes has no parallel in any one of the twelve other dramas. Though it is only in one act, the prologue is longer than in the other plays, and

-
14. The Sanskrit Drama, Oxford 1924, pp. 106, 878. I certainly do not believe that any adorer of Viṣṇu would "regard with relish the fate of the enemy of that god, the evil Duryodhana", l. c. 354. Not "the evil Duryodhana", but the brave warrior is the hero of the Ūrubhaṅga.
15. "The Dramas of Bhāsa", in Journal As. Soc. of Bengal. N. S., 13, 1917, p. 274 f.
16. This is generally taken to mean an "Isolated Act" (Keith, Sanskrit Drama, p. 347 f.) But why *utsṛṣṭika*, and not *utsṛṣṭa*? Could it not be meant for *vāṣṭotsṛṣṭikāṅka*, "a one-act piece causing discharge (of tears)"?

with the interlude (praveśaka), in which three heralds (bhaṭa)¹⁷ give a vivid description of the battle-field and the club fight, we have in this one act a real drama, while the other four one-act plays are not much more than sketches or loose fragments.

The style of the Ūrubhaṅga is the highly developed Kāvya style, with long compounds not only in the verses but also in the prose. The language reminds us more of Bhavabhūti, than of the author of the Svapnavāsavadatta, and the heavy śārdūlavikrīḍita metre is more frequently used than in any of the other plays. Among the 6th verses are only 12 ślokas, the rest being in artificial metres, of which 21 are śārdūlavikrīḍita. Compare with this the Pañcarātra, in which there are 76 ślokas among 155 verses, the Madhyama with 33 ślokas among 51, the Dūtavākya with 23 ślokas among 56, the Dūtaghaṭokaca with 22 ślokas among 52, and the Bālacarita with 37 ślokas among 103 verses. Only the *Karṇabhāra* differs, where we find only 4 ślokas among 25 verses (the other metres being: 6 Vasantatilaka, 6 Mālinī, 4 Vaṁśabīla, 2 Śārdūlastha vikrīḍita, 2 Upajāti, 1 Praharsīṇī).

But apart from the metres, there is nothing in this short piece which can be compared with the Ūrubhaṅga either in language, or in style, or in the depicting of Karṇa's character. The Karṇa of the Mahābhārata is a far more interesting figure, than that of our one act play which seems to serve no other purpose but that of illustrating the greatness of the Brāhmins. For this purpose the story of the Mahābhārata, how Karṇa deprives himself of his body armour and ear-rings with which he was born, because he can not refuse a Brāhmin any gift he may wish for (Mahabh. III 310; has been dramatized and incidentally Karṇa tells the story how he was cursed by Rāma Jamadagnya for falsely giving himself out to be a Brahmin (Mahābh. VIII, 42). In order to make Karṇa appear still more as a pious man, he does not demand the neverfailing spear from Indra (as in Mahābh. III, 310), but he only receives it reluctantly, not as the gift of the god, but "at a Brāhmin's bidding."

-
17. Similarly the fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa is described in the Abhiṣeka, Act VI, by *three* Vidyādharas, and the sacrifice at the beginning of Pañcarātra by *three* Brāhmins

A pious Brahmanical play is also the *Madhyama-Vyāyoga*. As a stage-play, however, this is one of the best of the five one-act plays. Though based on the episode of the Mahābhārata (I, 157-164) of the giant Baka and the Brahman family, the fable has been freely invented by the author who introduced Ghatotkaca, the son of the giantess Hidimbā, who has been ordered by his mother to bring her a human being for her breakfast. In order to fulfil this command, he comes upon the Brāhman family, consisting of father, mother, and three sons, one of whom he needs must capture. The vivid description of the grotesque figure of the giant Ghatotkaca, half man half demon, Ghatotkaca's dilemma between the duty towards the Brāhman and the duty towards his mother, the noble contest between the five members of the Brāhman family as to who is to sacrifice his or her life, the "middle one", that is the second son, being finally decided upon to be handed over to the giant, the latter calling the "middle one", whereupon Bhīma, the "middle one" of the Pāṇḍavas, makes his appearance, which leads to the fight between father and son with an ample show of magic powers on both sides, and finally the meeting of Hidimbā with her husband Bhīma, and the happy end: all these are moments of great stage-effect. So far this one-act drama might be the work of a good dramatist, but though some of the verses are in good Kāvya style, style and language are on the whole much simpler than in the Urubhaṅga, so that it seems difficult to ascribe the two plays to one author.

The *Dūtaghatotkaca* makes quite the impression of patch work. The greater part of the one-act play is concerned with the tragic death of young Abhimanyu, which is related by a herald, and raises great fears in old King Dhṛtarāṣṭra who foresees that Abhimanyu's death will be the beginning of the entire destruction of his whole family. To this pathetic part is tacked on the fable of Ghatotkaca's message which is found in the Mahābhārata, but is by no means a happy invention of the author, as it is entirely unmotivated. It seems to be only invented for the spectacular purpose of bringing the grotesque figure of the giant on the stage more or less as a braggart. The message of Kṛṣṇa which he brings in the final verse (taking the place of the bhāratavākya) is quite out of place. Surely, we cannot credit the author of Urubhaṅga with the composition of this patch work.

The *Dūtavākya* also is no more than a rather naive spectacular piece for pious Viṣṇu worshippers. The ways in which Kṛṣṇa appears as the messenger of the Pāṇdavas and at every moment shows himself to be the great god Viṣṇu, may be very edifying and even amusing for worshippers of the god, but certainly is not artistic. I doubt if a good Sanskrit poet would write *sarvarājñah* (v. 9), or a compound like *nārimṛdūni* (in the sense of *nārīvacanamṛdūni*) *vacanāni*, or indulge in such a poor quibble as *sajjayakarṇa karṇau* (v. 13).

An original invention of the author is the first scene, in which Duryodhana alone appears holding conversation with persons not appearing on the stage, as in a *Bhāṇa*, and his description of a painting in which Draupadī's ill-treatment has been depicted.

The *Dūtavākya* is not so sketchy as the *Dūtaghaṭkaca*, but it is quite possible, as has been suggested, that it is only a fragment, one act taken from some longer *Mahābhārata* drama.

One complete *Mahābhārata* drama is the *Pañcarātra*, in which the story of the *Virāṭaparvan* has been dramatized in three acts. The epic story has been not only much condensed in the play, but the author has also taken the greatest liberties with it, without improving the story. The mildness and forgiveness of Yudhiṣṭhira is too much exaggerated, to say the least, when King Virāṭa, not knowing that he is speaking to Yudhiṣṭhira himself, says that he would not forgive the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra as Yudhiṣṭhira would, and thereupon Yudhiṣṭhira is so extremely delighted that he declares: "The couch of leaves on the ground, the loss of the kingdom, the insulting of Draupadī, our having to live in disguise, today all that is commendable, since my mildness is recognized (Act II, v. 10)". Uttara, Virāṭa's son, is not much of a hero in the *Mahābhārata* either, but it is funny, when in our play this prince in the midst of battle occupies himself with writing down the deeds of the warriors in a book, and Virāṭa on hearing of it, finds that his son was engaged in a commendable occupation (Act II, p. 32). At any rate, these are features which do not seem to come from the pen of an old author: The style also is sometimes very artificial: for instance, Act I, v. 8, where *bālasnehena* is used with the double meaning of "fresh butter", and "love of the child", or Act I, v. 10, where it is described how five snakes, frightened by the fire, are

coming forth from the holes of an ant-hill, just as the five senses issue at once from the body of a person who has just died.

Like most of these plays, the Pañcarātra also has many merits as a stage-play. The appearance of the Pāṇḍavas in disguise at Virāta's court gives occasion to many an effectful scene. The happy invention of the poet is the capture of Abhimanyu by Bhīṣma which leads to a very dramatic scene between father and son.

A complete drama in five acts is the *Bālacarita*. This piece is distinguished from all the other plays by the most simple language. The Sanskrit is so plain and clear that it might be recommended as a first reading to very beginners in Sanskrit. It certainly represents a type of drama which is quite different from all the other plays in this series. Doubtless it is a religious play, devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu, reminding us of the mediaeval mysteries in Europe. At the same time it is a perfect stage-play, in which the wonderful deeds of the boy Kṛṣṇa are either reported in short, vivid dialogues, or actually represented at the stage, even such scenes which according to the rules of the Nāṭyaśāstra should never be acted in an open scene, such as the fight with the bull-demon Ariṣṭa in Act III, and the killing of the wrestlers Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika, and of Kāṁsa himself in Act V. The sentiments of heroism and wonder (*vīra* and *adbhutarasa*) find here most perfect expression. Besides the miracles which are well-known from the Purāṇas and the Harivaṁśa, there are some miraculous incidents which are either invented by the author of the play, or taken over from popular traditions, such as we find embodied in so late a work as the Prem-Sagar, with which our play agrees in a few cases. But the introduction of Nārada at the opening and at the end of the play is certainly the invention of the poet. And so is the extremely dramatic interlude at the beginning of Act II, where Curse, personified as a Caṇḍāla, with his retinue of Caṇḍāla maidens clad in black, are hovering about Kāṁsa in his sleeping chamber. This scene alone which hardly has any parallel in the dramatic literature of India would prove the *Bālacarita* to be the work of some good dramatist. But for that very reason I cannot believe that the same poet is also responsible for such inferior productions as some of the one-act plays mentioned above. On the other hand, it is so different

in style and language from the Ūrubhaṅga, that it is difficult to believe that these two plays which have merits of their own, can have one and the same author.

Thus we see that these seven dramas have, on the one hand, much in common, while on the other hand they show great differences, when we come to examine them in detail. The solution of this problem would be comparatively simple, if we could follow Messrs. A. Krishna Pisharoti and K. Rama Pisharoti¹⁸ who would see in all the thirteen Trivandrum plays nothing but "the result of compilation and adaptation, undertaken to meet the large demands made by the flourishing stage of Kerala" by the Cākyārs, the professional actors of the Kerala country. I have already stated elsewhere¹⁹ why I cannot accept the description of these plays as "compilations", even though they may be "adaptations" for the stage. Plays like Ūrubhaṅga, Pañcarātra and Bālacarita, to say nothing of such works as the Svapnavāsavadatta and Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa, or Avimāraka, are original works, and cannot by any stretch of the term be designated as "compilations."

Prof. Otto Stein²⁰ has already raised doubts as to how far the Cākyārs were literary men who were capable of recasting classical dramas by shortening them and working them up into stage-plays. Relying mainly on A. Meerwarth's account of the Kathakaḷis,²¹ Prof. Stein would not credit the Cākyārs with any literary activity. But according to Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti²² the Cākyārs were literary men and even scholars. He tells us that in the Prabandhamkūttu the Cākyār recites a verse from the Prabandham, then acts it, and then proceeds to expound it, and that in this kind of Kūttu which is more of a narrative character, as well as in

18. "Bhāsa's Works—are they genuine?" Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, III, 1, p. 107 ff. Also A. Krishna Pisharoti, *Bhāsa's works, a Criticism*, Trivandrum 1925.

19. In my Preface to *Bhagavadajjukīyam* edited by P. Anujan Achan, *Jayantamangalam* 1925, p. VII.

20. *Indologica Pragensia* I, 1929, p. 21 ff.

21. In *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 209, 1926, pp. 193—284.

22. *Acting in Kerala*, *Quart. J. of Mythic-Society* 1922.

the *Kūḍiyāṭṭam* which is more of a theatrical representation, and in which the *Cākyār* is allowed great freedom of criticism of the morals of society, and even of the ruling King, the *Cākyār* "must be a sound critical scholar."

Mr. Pisharoti, when speaking of *Kūttu* and *Pāṭakam* which "have enriched the Sanskrit literature by the contribution of thirty or forty works of great literary excellence," refers to the Prabandham of the *Campū* kind, and to the works of Meppathūr Nārāyaṇa Bhattatiri, the famous author of the "Nārāyaṇīya" and numerous other works, especially on grammar and *Mīmāṃsā*, who lived in the second half of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, and who was a great scholar and writer, but certainly not a *Cākyār*. Elsewhere Mr. Pisharoti refers to a tradition according to which Nārāyaṇa was a friend of a certain Iravi *Cākyār*. In a conversation with the great writer the *Cākyār* expressly states that the actor had only to act whatever the poet gave him, and was not responsible for any faults of the poet. "Thenceforward Bhattatiri and Iravi *Cākyār* were close comrades and the scholar's best Prabandhams were written for his actor friend."²³ Though this Iravi *Cākyār* is said to be identical with Ravinartaka, the author of the *Cāṇakyakathā* (published in the Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 6), the tradition itself seems to draw a line between actor and poet.

Again, Mr. Pisharoti tells us that works of the Kathakali and Tuḷḷal types have enriched Malayalam, not Sanskrit, literature. So even Mr. Pisharoti's account does not make it clear what exacty the literary activities of the *Cākyār*s were with regard to such plays as those ascribed to Bhāsa, and if his theory that *Cākyār*s were responsible for the "compilation and adaptation" of the Trivandrum plays is based on any real facts.

We are indebted to Messrs. Pisharoti and the Malabar scholars for a great deal of information about the histrionic art of Malabar. We have had very enthusiastic descriptions of the Kathakali, "the hoary, purely indigenous, pantomimic

art of Malabar", as one writer describes it.²⁴ But from all accounts it appears that the Kathakali is a pantomime, a dumb show, and the actors have to learn an elaborate system of gestures (*Mudrās*), and to undergo a rigorous course of physical training. "The song and verse that briefly narrate the story played are not meant for the audience," we are told,²⁵ "but only for the actors who carefully translate them into language of pictorial gesture." It is difficult to imagine that the same trained actors and masters in the art of gesticulation, were at the same time literary men and even Sanskrit scholars, well versed in the art of *Kāvya* and *Alaṅkāra*, such as the supposed "compilers" of the Trivandrum plays would have had to be.

When Mr. Krishna Pisharoti says that "the tradition among the cultured men of Kerala is also on the side of this conclusion", we should like to know what sort of "tradition" this is, and if it is not a mere "opinion".

I have before me three lists of the plays said to be acted by the *Cākyārs* until recently or even today, one by K. Rama Pisharoti,²⁶ one by A. Krishna Pisharoti,²⁷ and one by V. Venkatarāma Śarmā Śāstrī.²⁸ They agree in including in their

24. N. K. Venkateswar, quoted in *Modern Review*, June 1932, p. 687. See also the detailed description of the Kathakali, with Diagrams of hand Poses in *Kathakali, Trivandrum 1930*, by Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore State, and the same author's "The Art of Kathakali," 1933, also the richly illustrated article of Rajendra Shankar in *Modern Review*, Mar. 1935, 354 ff., H. Shrinivas in *Mod. Rev.*, August 1936, p. 207, C. S. Srinivasachari in *Ind. Hist. Quart.* 9, 1933, 967 f., and T. K. Krishna Menon, *Dravidian Culture and its diffusion*, Madras University Extension Lecture 1933, p. 8.

25. Venkateswar, l. c.

26. *Ind. Hist. Quart.* 1, 1925, 338 f.

27. *Bhasa's Works* 1925, p. 38 ff.

28. *Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies* IV, 2, 1926, p. 295 f. K. N. Sitram in *Journal Roy. As. Soc.* 1924, p. 231 Mentions: *Nāgānanda*, *Cārudatta*, *Vikramorvaśīya*, *Mrcchakatika*, *Svapnavāsavadatta* as the plays which are produced by the *Cākyārs*.

lists: Harṣa's Nāgānanda, Śaktibhadra's Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, Kulaśekhara Varman's Subhadrādhanañjaya and Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa, Nīlakaṇṭha's Kalyāṇasaugandhika, and Bhagavadajjukiya, none of which can be called "compilations", and besides single acts from the Trivandrum dramas, Krishna Pisharoti had also Dūtavākya and Dūtaghatotkaca.²⁹ The two Pisharotis also mention Vicchinnābhīṣeka, attributed to Bhāskara Ravi Varma Perumal;³⁰ Rama Pisharoti has, besides, Mattavilāsa, Śrīkr̥ṣṇacarita, and Mahānāṭka.

We are grateful to Messrs. Pisharoti and all the other writers who have drawn our attention to the history of the Kerala theatre, and given us so much information about the indigenous dramatic and histrionic arts of the Kerala country. But not everything has become clear about these performances. Therefore we want still more information. We should like to know how such plays as, for instance, the Balacarita with its numerous miraculous incidents are actually produced on the stage, what is left to the imagination of the spectators, and what is really represented. Moreover, we should like to know how such plays, as the Nāgānanda, Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa, etc., which have been edited in good editions, are handled by the Cākyārs, and how far Kālidāsa's plays are produced on the stage,³¹ "what liberties this school of actors took with the text of other plays already known to us in standard

29. "Cārudatta" is not found in these lists, but manuscripts of it are found with the Cākyārs (Pisharoti, Ind. Hist. Quart. 1, 339. S. Kuppaswami Sastri (Introduction to Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi, p. 9) says that in the Āṭṭaparakāram only eight of the Trivandrum plays are mentioned.

30. But "Vicchinnābhīṣeka" is also said to be the title of first act of Pratimānātaka, acted separately. See K. G. Sankar in Asutosh Mem. Vol., Part II, p. 42. K. R. Pisharoti, Ind. Hist. Quart. 1, 1925, p. 335 gives Vicchinnābhīṣeka as another title of Pratimā.

31. Sometimes we are told that Kālidāsa has been pushed in the background in Malabar, sometimes we hear of Śākuntala and Vikramorvaśīya being still produced. At any rate, there are MSS. of these plays in Malabar.

recensions", from which we could conclude how they handled the texts of the dramas which have been attributed to Bhāsa.³²

We have heard of the discovery of the important dramaturgical works *Āṭṭaparakāra* and *Kramadīpikā* with which the dramas acted are closely connected, and "which are valuable as sources for the history of the growth and development of the Sanskrit theatre in Kerala,"³³ but so far we have been waiting in vain for editions and translations of these works.

Last not least, we are much hampered in all our investigations of the Bhāsa problem by the lack of reliable critical editions of the dramas in question. Mr. K. R. Pisharoti³⁴ has said, more than ten years ago, that "a sufficient large number of copies is available here, and there is scope for a critical edition." For this critical edition we are still waiting.

Let me, then, conclude with an appeal to our friends and colleagues in the country of Malabar, to provide us with the necessary materials for the solution of an important problem of the history of Sanskrit literature, which they alone and nobody else can give us.

32. E. A. Johnston in *Ind. Ant.* 62, 1933, p. 95 ff.

33. Pisharoti in *Bulletin of School of Or. Studies*, III, 1, p. 112. See also P. Anujan Achan, *Bhagavadajjukīyam*, Introduction, p. XVI f.

34. *Ind. Hist Quart.* 1, 1925, p. 332. A. Krishna Pisharoty, *Bhasa's Works* p. 40 also says: "Collections of such dramas are not after all so very rare in Kerala. Many old families, and Chakkiyar families in particular, possess manuscripts of some or most of those named above."

KATHAKALI : A UNIQUE DRAMATIC ART.

BY M. MUKUNDA RAJA.

Kathakali is a complex art constituting three fine arts—*Abhinaya* (acting), *Nritya* (dancing) and *Gīta* (music). It is a pantomime in which the actors do not speak or sing, but interpret their ideas and emotions through a highly sensitive medium of appropriate gestures, picturesque hand-poses, and vivid facial expressions perfectly intelligible even to the uninitiated. Indeed, such an elaborately codified system of a dumb yet eloquent kind of expression is the unique distinction of Kathakali and one of the richest and strangest things which Kērala can show the world.

The origin of this art is an oft-debated question. Scholars and critics are divided in their opinions in the matter of fixing the date. Heresay has it that a Zamorin Raja of Calicut organised a sort of religious play called *Kṛṣṇanāṭam* which, becoming rather popular, attracted the attention of a Raja of Kottārakkara in Travancore. Thereupon it appears that he requested the Zamorin to send the troupe to his Court, but that the latter, moved by some political ill-feeling and jealousy, refused the request. And the Chief of Kottārakkara seems to have retaliated by organising another kind of popular amusement called *Rāmanāṭtam*, which has subsequently come to be known as *Kathakali*. So runs the story. But *Kṛṣṇanāṭtam*, as has been clearly hinted by the author himself in some words in the final verse of the play, was created in the Kali year 1736612, i. e., in 1653 A. D. And the author of *Rāmanāṭtam* appears to have lived, according to the researches conducted by the best-informed scholars, not in the 17th century when *Kṛṣṇanāṭtam* came into being, but at the end of the fifteenth, and might, perhaps, have written *Rāmanāṭtam* between the years 1483 and 1491 A. D. while he was ruler of the province. But this fixes only the date of *Rāmanāṭtam*, not the date of the origin of Kathakali. *Rāmanāṭtam* is certainly the oldest Kathakali literature—extent, but that is all. Kathakali itself may have been far more ancient than that. The meticulous elaboration of the whole architecture of the art, the fastidious finish and high perfection which it has attained

in its own way, could not have been the result of merely two or three centuries of development. Kathakali must be, as Mr. G. Venkitachalam has put it, "the heritage of a race, as old as itself."

There is another ancient form of histrionics called *Kūḍiyāttam* still prevalent in many of the temples of Kērala. Here also we find a gesture-language used as in Kathakali, but it is not always the same as in Kathakali. It differs in certain details. Some are of opinion that Kathakali must have had its origin from *Kūḍiyāttam*. But this can hardly be the case. It will be less hazardous to say that both may have had connection with each other in olden times. *Kūḍiyāttam* too, is a highly developed form of histrionics, and is based fundamentally on Bharata's *Nāṭya Sāstra*, just as Kathakali is. But Kathakali is also a dance-art, which *Kūḍiyāttam* is not. Kathakali is far more graceful and artistic too. Comparing the antiquity of the two arts, it is difficult to decide which exactly could have had the older origin.

Yakṣa Gana is another form of popular dramatic entertainment which formerly was prevalent, of course under different names in the linguistic areas of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and also Malayālam. Now it survives only in South Canara and in the Palaghat Taluk of British Malabar. The Terukkūttu or Street play of Tamil Nāḍ may be perhaps an offshoot of this. In Kannada the show is popularly known as *Bayilāttam* or open-air play. And in the Palaghat Taluk of Malabar, as far as it has any vogue at all, it goes by the names of *Kamsanātakam* and *Mīnakṣinātakam*. These appear to be only degenerate imitations of the ancient Kathakali, neither so perfect nor profound, but varieties, in short, of dance and drama that appeal to the ordinary masses. Their resemblance to Kathakali consists only in the strangeness of their make-up and dress, the robust manliness of their dances, leaning more towards the *Tāṇḍava* than to the *Lasya* type, and the general atmosphere of war and bloodshed, love and lust, which, above everything, prevails. Their difference with Kathakali consists chiefly in their acceptance of *Vacika-bhinaya* or spoken histrionics also, which certainly is a concession in favour of current and popular realism. The *Yakṣa Gana* of South Canara is said to have, at the farthest, an antiquity of three hundred years, and certainly belongs to the same family as Kathakali. Which exactly is the

older of the two, and how far it is so, is still a matter a waiting decision.

Kathakali used to be very popular in Kērala until quite recent times. The days were not far off when almost every aristocratic family of Kērala had a troupe of Kathakali players under its name and patronage—when every man of culture was so to say, a connoisseur of Kathakali. Then the influx of western education among the youth brought about a change in the conditions. Civilised noses began to sniff at the old aroma of this art, and dainty palates dared not know its taste. Now-a-days again, however, there is an improvement in the situation, a change of heart in the attitude of the intelligentsia, a tendency to revive and refresh the old beauties of our glorious artistic past, which is largely due to the gifted efforts of Vallattōl, the great poet of the present day Kērala. Five years ago he instituted an Arts Academy called *Kēralakalāmaṇḍulam*, the object of which was the regeneration of the dying indigenous arts of the country. To revive Kathakali and reform it in accordance with the spirit of the modern times, keeping in tact its basic principles, is among the first and foremost items of the programme of this institution. Systematic training in Kathakali is now being given to students under its guidance, and, as far as available, the best exponents of the art have been employed as teachers. Thanks to the constructive work that is being assiduously done by this institution, there seems to be a really remarkable improvement in the attitude of the so-called educated men towards Kathakali.

The literature of Kathakali does not date farther back than the end of the fifteenth century at the most, and is written in comparatively modern Malayālam. The earliest Kathakali composition extant appears to have been written by the Raja of Koṭṭārakkara in Travancore already spoken of. His story is that of the Rāmāyana. The whole play takes eight nights to be performed fully. After that, many poets other than the Raja of Koṭṭārakkara have written Kathakali plays, which are still being staged before popular audiences. Their plots are invariably taken from Hindu religious mythology—from the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, and the Mahābhāgavata. Their form has resemblance to Jayadev's *Gitagōvindam* of Bengal. All the dialogues are set to music, intended to be sung, not by the actors but by vocal musicians specially trained for the

purpose. In between the various scenes Sanskrit slokas are sung or recited behind the curtains, either explanatory of the scenes to be represented just afterwards, or descriptive of certain incidents that may not be shown on the stage. Sometimes a device called *daṇḍaka* is also resorted to. It is something like a musical prologue, sung behind the curtain, partly with keeping of the time or *tāla*, and partly without it like *ālāpana*. The dialogues are all composed in a sort of highly Sanskritised Malayāḷam language, while the verses sung behind the curtain are for the most part in the purest Sanskrit. The language of these Kathakaḷi plays is characteristic in every way of the beginnings of the modern Malayāḷam vernacular. Their literary worth is also unquestionably great, considering the importance in the annals of Malayāḷam literature.

The characters in Kathakaḷi are mythological, with the divine or the demoniacal element—the Sātvika, the rājasa or the tāmasa aspect—predominating in each. The convention of their make-up and costumes is largely based on this, and not on any of the principles of modern dramatic realities. It contains a vast field for deep study. Realists, of course, sneer at it, calling it unnatural and improbable. The best answer to these criticisms may be given in the words of Poet Vaḷḷattōḷ himself: "Where an art has been developed to a high degree of perfection, it cannot be said to be natural in the sense in which these critics use the word. Music as we have it from the great musicians, music as an art, it copies from nature. It has been evolved by man from out of his own mind. So is poetry. In the course of centuries of culture an art develops conventions which in some cases are highly symbolical and for that reason suited to the expression of aesthetic emotion. It is not known how the characters mentioned in our ancient epic stories clothed themselves. All we can do is to establish a significant convention which would serve the end of art with adequacy."

The male characters in Kathakaḷi are thoroughly classified with reference to their get up, as *pacca kattittāḍi*, and so on. In *pacca* the face of the actor is painted green. This is to indicate the sāthvika characters, for green is the colour with a good omen. Most of the gods and many of the kings and heroes of this earth appear in Kathakaḷi as *pacca*. The green paint is applied on the face within a slightly protruding white border-ridge, extending from ear to ear

along the sides and bottom of the countenance. This is called *cutṭi*, and is made of rice-paste mixed with lime. The lips are painted red, and the eyes and eyebrows are lined black. The head-dress is called *Kirīṭam* or *Kēśabhāram*. It is of rather elaborate construction, a series of domes rising one above the other, the topmost one ending in a cone with a rounded tip, and the whole thing, being fixed to a large white circular disc, also well decorated. Among the *pacca* characters, a few like *Kṛṣṇa* and *Rāma* have a different sort of head-dress of a smaller and lighter sort, a kind of cone-shaped crown set with quivering silver beads all over, the summit of which is adorned with peacock feathers. This is called *muti*. The costumes of the *pacca* characters consist of short red bodices coming down to the waist, and ribbon habiliments which, gracefully bulging out towards the bottom, facilitate to a wonderful degree the easy evolutions and swift mazes of the dance. Some of these characters such as *Kṛṣṇa*, *Rāma* etc., have black bodices.

In *katti* a red twist is painted as moustache against a green background on the face, bordered with a white *cutti* as in *pacca*. There are two white knobs attached to the face—one on the forehead and another on the nose. *Katti* is a typical *rajasa* character. All the great *asura* kings like *Rāvaṇa* and *Kaṁsa*—the representatives of worldly power, pride, and ambition appear in *kathakaḷi* as *katti*. The lips and eyes etc., are painted as in *pacca*. There are, however, some red patches and designs on the forehead. The head-dress is similar to that of *pacca*. The costumes too are, more or less similar.

Tāḍi means beard, and the characters so called have such a name because of the emphasis of their beards. Thus we have the red *tāḍi*, the white *tāḍi*, and the black *tāḍi*, in accordance with the colour of the beard. All the lower *Asuras* and *Rākṣasas*—the meanest among men and the most beastly in the moral plane—appear in *Kathakaḷi* as the red *tāḍi*, a *tāmasa* type of character. The face has black designs in many places, making it look all the more terrible in expression. The lips are painted black. Two white knobs are attached—one on the forehead, another on the nose—just as in *katti*. There are two or three layers of *cutti*, too, as border to the facial make-up. The red coat worn by the red *tāḍi* resembles animal skin. The head-dress in this case is bigger than that of *katti* and *pacca*, and is called *kutticcāmaram*.

Mythological monkeys of a morally higher class, like Hanumān and Vivida, appear in kathakali as the white tāḍi. They wear a white hairy coat, and have a white trimmed beard. The face is painted red with black and white designs on the forehead, the cheeks, and the chin. Eyes as well as lips are darkened. There is also usual cutti, as boundary to the face. The head dress is of a special shape. It is like a flat circular hat, with a peaked dome structure in the centre. The flat concentric extension, round the dome in the middle, has rows of shining silver beads dangling in the bottom.

The barbaric hunters of the forest, belonging almost to a subhuman species are dressed up in Kathakali as the black tāḍi. Their face and beard and coat are all of black colour, but they too have a white cutti on the face. The devils come as Kari, dressed up wholly in black fantastic costumes. Their faces are painted black, with crimson crescent-like decorations on the cheeks, and they wear a peculiar sort of head-dress resembling a huge boilerhat, the top of which is stuffed with peacock feathers. All these characters belong to the Tāmasa type of beings.

Women characters, always impersonated by men, paint their faces in yellowish flesh-colour. The eyes are darkened and the eye-brows are carefully and delicately pencilled. The lips are red. The head is covered with coloured silk, the breast with a bodice and ornaments. The ear-rings of women are smaller and finer than those worn by others.

Rishis, Brahmins, messengers of kings, servants, etc., paint their faces like the women characters. The Rishis wear a conical mukuta as head-dress, the Brahmins ordinary white cloth bordered with lace, and the others a red-coloured cloth turban. All these characters are bare-bodied down to the waist. The Rishis smear their bodies with holy ashes.

In moments of excitement, the Katti, the Tāḍi, and the Kari characters allow some kind of noise to escape them, whereas the Pacca and the women characters, and also the Rishis, Brāhmins, etc., bear every storm of feeling in calm and unruffled silence.

From the above mentioned facts we find that Kathakali is very elaborate in its system of make-up and costumes. The significance, too, is not far to seek. Since the characters in

Kathakali are all epic, the question of their get-up cannot be settled on a realistic basis. Imaginary conceptions are therefore employed which suit the purposes of art. Since the characters are varied and numerous, the conventions adopted have also to be varied and numerous, even in the minutest details. And however complex and artificial the system may be, the effect of it is simple as well as direct,—simple in its analysis of character, and direct in its appeal.

The Kathakali theatre is simplicity incarnate. No stage is constructed nor are there any scenic arrangements. The theatre consists of a pandal or shed with a sufficiently high roof in an open maidan. The curtain consists of a big thick piece of coloured cloth with some artistic design in the centre and a decorated border. And it is never hung up, but held at the ends by two men standing on the two sides. The auditorium consists of ordinary mats strewn on the floor while a huge bell-metal oil-lamp, shedding cool light, solves the problem of lighting the theatre. The towering tremulous flame of this lamp brings into emphatic relief every shade of feeling flitting across the faces of the actors.

The absence of scenic arrangement may appear, at first sight, to be naive and primitive. But those who have the vision to see deeper will be amazed at the soundness and value of the principles underlying it. Kathakali staunchly adheres to the old Hindu tradition of an attention, above all, to inner depth, and a consequent philosophic indifference to superficial excellence. The art of Kathakali is far from being devoid of picturesque decorations. But the curtain on which these things are painted is neither cloth nor canvas, but the imagination of the audience. The actor's Abhinaya supplies the colour and form, and also the genius which combines them in a permanent embrace.

The orchestra in Kathakali is composed of two musicians, one keeping the time with a resounding gong called Chengala, and the other with a pair of clanking cymbals called Elattalam—a Ceṇḍa player and a Maddalam player. Ceṇḍa is a cylindrical drum with a loud and powerful sound, and Maddalam has the appearance of a big mridaṅgam. The former is not played while women characters are acting.

Usually in Kēraḷa, when a play is intended to be performed on a particular night, the fact is announced at sunset by the sounding of drums, cymbals, and gongs. This is called

Kēlikoṭṭu. The actors then go to the green-room to begin their facial make-up. At about 8-30 or 9 P. M. an item called Thodayam commences with the singing of songs and the sounding of Maddalam behind the curtain, followed by musical recitations of Vandanaślōkams or verses in praise of God. The next item is the appearance of a Pacca character on the scene with one or two women characters. This is called Puṛappādu, and has nothing to do with the story proper that is about to be acted. This is accompanied by flourish of drums both Ceṇḍa and Maddalam, and blowing of the conch. Soon after begins what is called Meḷappadam, or the mingling of singing and drumming which is the occasion for the musicians and drummers to exhibit their independent talents and skill. Only after all this begins the story, which as a rule lasts till day-break. The performance ends in the morning with another offering of praise to God and a devotional dance by the last character that leaves the stage. Such, in a nutshell, is the programme of a single night's performance.

Kathakali is both a dramatic art and a dance-art. But primarily it is the first. Histrionics or Abhinaya predominates and that too is of a far profounder type than ordinary dramatic acting. It does not belong to the realistic class of art, but to the imaginative variety spoken of by Bharatha. Every feeling is idealised and expressed on the face with an intense vividness, which more than compensates for the absence of the spoken word. And every shade of such expression on the face is made to harmonise with the rhythm of the dance and the melody of the music. The result is simple, beautiful, and touching.

The system of histrionics adopted in Kathakali is based fundamentally on the expression of the nine Rasas or emotions enumerated and described by Bharatha viz. Sringāra (love), Vīra (heroism), Karuṇa (grief) Raudra (anger), Hāsyā (ridicule) Bhayānaka (fear), Bībhatsa (sense of the grotesque), Adbhuta (wonder) and Śānta (peace). The expression of these Rasas has been well perfected in Kathakali, both in the independent elemental grandeur of each and in all the subtleties of their complex mutual relationships. As Uday Shankar has seen and said, "The Kathakali actors in their dumbshow portray all the horrors of fighting and killing, all the pulsating urges of love and passion, all the pathos and pangs of separation and

bereavement. Apart from the use of symbolic gestures, these actors can convey straight to the audience their feelings by means of their facial expression which behaves like a rubber ball, judging from the minutest ripple which can be shown.

All this is the result of years of training. The free movement of the eyeballs, eyebrows, neck, cheeks, and lips, in as many ways as may be possibly necessary, is a matter of long and systematic practice. Six years at least of training have to be undergone before a young aspirant becomes a fairly competent actor in Kathakali. Not only the face but also the body—every limb of it—has to be manipulated and drilled, for acting in Kathakali is inseparable from dancing. It is a matter of gestures, hand-poses, and bodily movements as well. On the whole, the movements of the actors are usually those of the feet, heels, ankles, toes, waist, chest, sides, arms, hands, fingers, neck, lips, nose, chin, cheeks, teeth, tongue, eyes, eyelids, eyebrows, and the head,—of which the gestures of the eyes, the hands, and the whole body are the most important from the point of view of Abhinaya.

Acting in Kathakali is not only the expression of the subjective emotions of the human heart, but also an objective realisation of the persons, scenes, creatures, and things around. A Kathakali actor, for example, while describing a thing, tries to become that thing, as much as possible in spirit as well as appearance. A man going through a forest, and appreciating the various sights and sounds he comes across, is represented in Kathakali as not merely living through those experiences of the eye and the ear, but of actually impersonating in the medium of art the living lives of the things so seen and heard. He enacts in turn the parts of the hungry lion in search of some innocent prey, the lovelorn cuckoo cooing to its absent mate, the proud mountain piercing even the depths of the heavens, and the lazy lakes slumbering amongst the silent woods. And herein consists the essential expansiveness of Kathakali, its pictorial splendour and its poetic sublimity.

Kathakali, as a dance-art, belongs not to the pure Nritta type, but to the Nritya category described in Abhinayadarpana as combining Nritta with Abhinaya. This is considered to be

the best form of the ideal Hindu dancing. "In most of the European types of dance," says Uday Shankar, "and in ballet work this spirit is absent, though the polished form, the result of regular exercise, is there. This is indeed a great thing, but the Hindus have gone beyond it; they have tried to touch the spirit and could not rest content with the mere beauty of outer form." And Kathakali has carefully preserved in solid form the cream and essence of the traditions of Hindu Nrittya.

Indian dancing is of two types—Lasya and Tāṇḍava. The former is easy, soft, and feminine, and the latter vigorous and virile in its expression of beauty and grace. The Kathak dance of the north, the Manipuri dance of Assam in the east, and the Bharathanatyam dance of southwest Tanjore, all belong to the Lasya class. Kathakali of Kērala in the southwest of India is boldly and distinctly of the Thandava class. The Bayilattam of South Canara and the Therukkootthu or street-play of Tamil Nad are imperfect renderings of the Thandava kind of dance. The system followed in them is not so highly developed as in Kathakali. Nor have they eschewed the aid of speech so completely as Kathakali has done.

The most wonderful thing about Kathakali is the language of gestures or Mudras adopted in it. This is used as a substitute for spoken language, and is as much suited, if not more than that, for the purposes of dance and drama. The orchestra sings the words of a dialogue from behind, the meaning of which is vividly translated by the actors, at once and forever into this silent language of facial expressions, bodily attitudes, and poses and figurations of the hands. The actors act and dance in harmony with the rhythm as well as the sense of the songs. The Mudras form an inseparable portion of the Nrittya and the Abhinaya.

Bharatha in his Nāṭya Śāstra speaks of 64 Hasthas or hand-symbols. He has divided them into three categories—the Asamyutha type, the Gamyuthia type, and the mithia type. Among these, all the Hasthas belonging to the first type are executed with a single hand, and all those belonging to the second are done with both the hands. Those belonging to the third type are more dance-gestures, employed only to enhance the beauty of the dancing, without suggesting any special meaning. Of the other gestures seeking to convey special connotations, all those of the Asamyutha type and a great

many of the Samyutha category are graceful poses of the hands and fingers, which in Kathakaḷi parlance have come to be called Mudras.

Rooted firmly in Nāṭya Śāstra, the gesture-language of Kathakaḷi appears to have been nurtured by the later-evolved system of Abhinayadarpana. Herein we see 28 Asamyutha symbols spoken of in one place, but 32 being actually described in another, seven-eighths of which are the same as are to be found in Nāṭya Śāstra. The rest have been added afresh. The number of samyutha symbols has also been raised from 13 to 23. Those for conch-shell, tortoise, cot, pig, fish and so on have a kind of pictorial resemblance to their respective originals. Many of these Samyutha symbols and almost all of the Asamyutha are now to be seen in Kathakaḷi. One or two gestures belonging to the Asamyutha group may not, perhaps, have come down to Kathakaḷi, but in their place we have one or two new symbols equally efficient and graceful.

In Hasthalakshanadeepika many of these symbols have not even been mentioned. Only 24 gestures have been spoken of. And yet this book is considered to be the basis of the Kathakaḷi Mudras, for it is with that system that Kathakaḷi seems to have the closest affinity. Over 600 Mudras are now in common use in Kathakaḷi, and it will be a highly desirable thing to have a dictionary of them compiled and published by rich and munificent oriental scholars who are interested in the subject.

Thus, this system of symbolic gestures, which is the pride and the glory of the Indian dramatic art, first found its birth in the traditions of Bharatha, and was later on fostered and enriched by the principles of Abhinayadarpana. But only in Kathakaḷi we find it in full bloom, in the supreme majesty of the fulfilment of its destiny. Only in Kathakaḷi we find the actor so much a master of the language of symbols that he is absolutely free from the necessity of either speaking or singing to interpret his ideas. Bharatha appears to have intended his system of gestures only as an accompanying grace to the actor while he sings and performs his part. In Abhinayadarpana too, it is expressly stated that the actor should sing on the stage. Even Sangeetharathnakara, wherein the actor is asked to interpret in the symbolic language the words of the songster from behind (just as in Kathakaḷi), there is no

certainty about the actor remaining perfectly dumb. In Kathakali, on the other hand, we have the experience not only of the actor's absolute silence, but also of the stupendous fact that generations of popular audiences in Kēraḷa have been able to understand and appreciate the language of these Mudras so much as to be moved and thrilled by it more than by spoken words or songs.

There are occasions when, in Kathakali, the musicians behind stop their singing, the drums and instruments alone are played on, and the actor continues his soliloquy or dialogue with his partner or partners in the scene purely and merely through the medium of Mudras. Often he adds, from out of his own mind, to the wealth of ideas and imagery already existing in the story-play as composed by the poet. Often he describes as occasion demands it, wild sceneries of the woods, the gorgeous and stately sights of palaces, the amorous and artistic amusements of the beings of the Gandarva and Kinnara abodes, and all the wonderful things are dreams of the fanciful world of the celestials. This calls forth all his powers of originality, and it is a highly enjoyable treat to see him perform these descriptive and imaginative dances, which form one of the achievements of the Mudra language and one of the Marvels of Kathakali.

"When I visited the great poet-artist Vallattōl some years ago," says Uday ShanKar, "and understood the possibilities of Kathakali, I scarcely thought that after travelling through many parts of America and Europe, I would come back more fully confirmed in the belief that in remote Malabar the highest possibilities of dance-rhythm were developed long ago, and that what we moderners can do is to understand the science of it all, in a new setting without doing violence to its basic principles." This is almost a confession. But it is the glorious confession of a gifted Indian whose genius and vision could not be blinded by Western glare. The Poet Tagore after seeing some Kathakali performances of Sjt. Gopinath, has said "Those of us belonging to Northern India who have lost the memory of the pure Indian classical dance have experienced a thrill of delight at the exhibition of dancing given by Sjt. Gopinath in association with his partner Sri Ragini Devi. I feel grateful at the assurance it has brought to us that the ancient art is still a living tradition in India with its varied grace and vigour and subtleties of dramatic expression."

Many others likewise, both in and outside Kēraḷa, who are fond of art and beauty in every form, have been profoundly impressed by Kathakālī. Many foreigners come up to Kerāḷa, some to see it, some to study it and master it. But most of them, being interested in dancing only, get enamoured of the dance aspect of Kathakālī, to the detriment of their ability to recognise the other aspects as well. Accordingly they suggest that the Kathakālī actors should-reveal their bodies as much as possible, discarding their costumes as far as may be compatible with seemliness and decorum. This may be a good and well-meant suggestion from the standpoint of the physical aspect of dancing, but not from the standpoint of the whole of Kathakālī in which Abhinaya and not Nritta is the principal and preponderant factor. Kathakālī means story-play. It is mainly a dramatic art, demanding variously expressive costumes for the various types of characters. Dancing is only one of the surest and most magically effective weapons in its armoury by which it conquers the hearts of the audience.

Kathakālī is extremely compact in structure. Every part of it is inalienably mixed up and fused together with every other part. Therein consists the difficulty of touching or tampering with anything in it without thinking twice. It is like isolating or amputating a limb from a living body. Art, like every other branch of human life, does require rejuvenation and reform every moment in the march of time, so as to suit the tastes and propensities of every particular period. That is all true. And yet, all the same, there is such a thing as depth, weight, and strength, requiring consolidation, in art also as in the other departments of life.

Kathakālī is essentially an art of Kēraḷa. It is the natural off-spring of the imagination of a race strongly individual in culture and tradition. Its general simplicity of external atmosphere, the manly vigour of its dance, the fullness and profundity of its histrionic expression, the sinewy strength and beauty of its interwoven harmony of build,—bold and forceful in every line—all speak of the Kēraḷa race of hardy men and handsome women, their bodies clothed in the simplicity of the purest white, their soul pulsating with the pride of their land,—a land so fresh and beautiful, so rich and bountiful, in nature as well as art.

A PRIMER OF MALAYĀLAM PHONOLOGY.

By L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR M.A., B.L.
(Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.)

Malayālam was in its earliest stages intimately allied to that stage in the evolution of Tam., which I have denominated Early Middle Tamil and which began to be used in literature by about the 5th century A. D., though it might have been current as a living colloquial speech before the 15th century. This statement regarding the affinities of Mal. is made here not as an unsupported suggestion, but it forms the irresistible conclusion emerging from the results of the examination (on a comparative basis) of Mal. with reference to the other south Indian Dravidian speeches in the departments of Phonetics, Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Vocabulary. The relationship of Mal. (in its earliest stages) and Early Middle Tamil may best be represented graphically by two circles (one standing for Mal. and the other for Early Middle Tam.), overlapping each other for the greater part, but also possessing extensions on either side to indicate the archaisms peculiar to each. Such agreement of common features as Mal. shows to Early Middle Tam. is not shown by Mal. to any other south Dravidian speech. On the other hand, the features of the oldest known stages of Mal. are as much in the direct line of development from Old Tamil, as those of Early Middle Tamil.

These facts make it imperative for the student of the origins of Mal. that he should utilise not only the materials offered by Mal. itself but also the evidence furnished by Tamil texts, inscriptions and grammars, particularly those relating to what I have termed the Early Middle Tam. period. Manimēgalai, Cilappadigāram, the compilations known as Tēvāram and Nālayiraprabhandham, the Tamil inscriptions (the earliest of which so far discovered belong to the Pallava period), and the grammars Viracōliyam, Nēminādam and Nannūl are of great value in the study of the origins of Mal. The study of Old Tamil and of the Old Tam. grammar Tolkāppiyam would also be helpful in enabling one to find out the lines along which Mal. and Early Middle Tamil have

developed. The Middle Tam. inscriptions and the Middle Tam. grammar *Vīracōḷiyam* (with its old commentary) are particularly valuable in as much as they embody many colloquial changes that are mirrored in the evolution of the west coast speech.

So far as the Mal. materials are concerned, the west coast inscriptions (among which rock inscriptions in situ have undoubtedly a greater evidentiary value than documents inscribed on plates or on cadjan leaves), the texts (which have dependable and definitive editions), and the fourteenth century grammar *Līlātilakam* are indispensable. Aside from these, the regional and communal colloquials of Mal. will also amply repay study. The differences between the colloquials spoken by the literate classes and what may roughly be described as the standard literary dialect are, it is true, not so wide or vast as those existing between colloquial Tel. and grānthika Telugu; but to leave colloquials out of one's purview is to forego an important and essential aid to the study of linguistic developments. A systematic classification on a regional and communal basis of the colloquial materials of Mal. is so far lacking; and my observations (in the course of the following pages) on colloquial peculiarities apply mostly only to those current in the Cochin State, with which I am best acquainted.

I have schematically divided this essay into the following chapters¹ :—

- I. A few phonetic elucidations.
- II. Some special phonological changes affecting Mal.—Changes which Mal. shares with Tamil are not dealt with here except in a few types.
- III. The external and the internal combinative changes that according to time-honoured Indian terminology are grouped together as sandhi phenomena.

1. I have not, in this essay, dealt with two important topics relating to Mal. Phonology: the history of Mal. palaeography and the treatment of foreign elements in Mal.—I hope to be able to deal with these later.

IV. Old Mal. and New Mal.

V. The bearing of Mal. Phonology on the affinities of Mal.

It will be found from the following pages that some of the phonological changes are general ones affecting such large numbers of instances as to be regarded as characteristic rules, others are restricted to special instances and conditioned by circumstantial factors, while still others are yet only "colloquial."

Almost all the characteristic phonological changes of Mal. occurred in the Old Mal. period itself, and consequently the differences between Old Mal. and New Mal. are not very numerous or distinctive. Yet differences here and there are noticeable, particularly in external sandhi, and all these have been put together in a separate chapter.

It is interesting to note that numerous types of phonetic processes are represented:—vocalic "contraction" (in the sense in which it is used by Brugmann), elision (aphaeresis, syncope or apocope), vocalic assimilation, vocalic attraction, dissimilation, consonantal assimilation, palatalisation, haplogy, lengthening and shortening, "false" splitting, influence of bilabials and of back sounds.¹

CHAPTER I.

Phonetic Values and Elucidations.

The sounds of present-day Mal., as spoken in the Cochin State. were classified and analysed by me some years ago in my "Brief Account of Mal. Phonetics"² (Calcutta University Phonetic Studies No. 1). This sketch of mine was however

1. The abbreviations, used in the course of this essay, of the names of works (from which illustrations are cited here) are the same as in my "Evolution of Malayālam Morphology."
2. The system of transliteration that I used in that small book of mine was the International Phonetic Association Script which is undoubtedly more scientific than any other notation current today.

much too short to do full justice to the subject, and further it was based on mere acoustic observations. A treatise on the phonetics of Mal, based on experimental observations and provided with palatograms, linguagrams and kymographic tracings, is still a desideratum.

1. a [ʌ] in radical and accented positions is a half-back, half-open sound without any lip-rounding; but in unaccented positions it easily becomes a mid half-closed ə.

The final of a of Mal. words like tala, koḍa, etc., (corresponding to the Tam. ai) is slightly more frontalised in phonation than the radical a mentioned above, if pronounced in pausa i. e. with some slight secondary accent.

2. The sound ʊ described as kut'tiyal ugaram in Tamil grammars is an u-sound without lip-rounding. This fact is implied in the statement in the Old Tam. grammar that, for the production of u, the lips should be rounded ('idaḷ kuvindu' in T E, 87). The ʊ (as evaluated in Tamil and in certain Mal. contexts) has a more advanced tongue-position than u.

In literary Tamil, the occurrence of this ʊ in final positions is prescribed for six types of words: ireḷuttorumoḷi as in n'āgʊ, irʊ; uyirttodarmoli like cīragʊ, varaḍʊ; idaittoḍarmoli like telgʊ; āydattoḍarmoli like aḥgʊ; vand'oḍarmoli like pattʊ, nākkʊ; an mend'oḍrmoli likekuraṅgʊ, pandʊ, aṅgʊ. The final sound appearing in celavu, varavu, to the

In the present book, however, I am compelled (by the absence of I. P. A. types in local presses) to use only the R. A. S. notation for the transliteration of Mal. sounds, with the following additions and modifications:—

n'—Mal. interdental nasal.

t', d'—alveolar plosives of Mal. and Tam.

r—cerebralised r sound of Mal.

ɿ—the cacuminal continuant peculiar to Tam. and Mal.

ʊ—the Tamil kut't'iyalugaram.

ə—the Mal. samvṛta—Except where attention has to be pointedly drawn to the phonetic character of ʊ and ə, I have used only the symbol u for representing these two sounds.

strict rule of Tolkāppiyam is lip-rounded u; but already in Old Tam. texts this u was elided before vowels following in external sandhi exactly like ω , and the Middle Tam. grammar Nannūl expressly adverts to this feature in its sūtra 164. Apparently then, the-u of celavu, varavu, etc., appears to have at a particular stage fallen together with ω .

Now, Mal. has the samvṛta u, not only for those types (except the āydattoḍar type which is absent in Mal.) mentioned above by TE, but also in the final positions of celavu, varavu, etc.

Mal. samvṛta u, corresponding to the Tam. final, assumed pausally the value of ə, a more open and centralised sound than ω , during the Old Mal. period. (see below).

Mal ə, however, is developed from different sources:—

- (i) historically from final ω , before pauses, as in kallə, kāḍə, van'n'ə, ceydə, etc.;
- (ii) from medial Δ , as in marəṁ, kaḍəttə, van'n'ədə, etc.,
- (iii) from medial u occasionally in the colloquial as in koḍəttə; beside koḍ ω ttə or koḍuttə (with a centralized u); koḷəttə, etc.

3. The only sounds (with diphthongal values in speech) embodied in the traditional system of writing are ai and au; but in the colloquial many other diphthongs arising from the syllabic "coalescence" of vowels becoming contiguous to each other on account of phonological processes (see below under "Vowel groups") also exist.

4. Nether in Tamil nor in Mal. are vocalic glides recognized as such in traditional accounts of the sound-systems — (except incidentally in Lil. III, I, commentary, which compares the inter-vocal glide-developed y to the ya-hāra-chāya glide in Prakrit) — apparently because these glides were evaluated (wherever they appeared in literary speech) as fricatives y and v with fully developed consonantal friction. In rapid colloquial phonation, however, they often retain the glide-values.

Traditional accouts give recognition only to the intervocal glide-developed sounds which are described in Tamil as uḍambadumey; but in the colloquials, on-glides and off-glides also occur in pausa and sometimes even before consonants following

Cf. the following inscriptional instances, all of which are colloquial:—

y-i-n'n'āyanār	[S II, V, p. 83]
y-ilai-y-amudum	[ib., V, p. 84]
y-iraṭṭi	[ib., V, p. 84]
y-i-vaṇṇam	[TAS, V, p. 44]
y-iḍuviccu	[ib., IV, p. 86]
i-p-paricēy	[S II, III, p. 240]
n'ī--y-ē-y	[ib., III, p. 269]
ivit't'ai-y-ē-y	[ib., III, p. 269]
uri-y	[ib., V, p. 83]
tān-uḷḷa-v-ārē-y	[ib., III, p. 269]
tānnaḷē-y	[TAS, V, p. 35—10th c.]

Literary Tamil has not given recognition to these glide-developed sounds occurring in initial and in final positions; but Mal. has in the course of its history recognized the developments of off-glides in literary instances like tī-y-u, pū-v-u, guru-v-u, rājā-v-u etc., where the final enunciatives were incorporated. Cf. the reference to forms like maruvu, vaḍuvu in the commentary on III, 4 of Līl, and to māvu, pūvu in the commentary on III. 12.

The Mal. practice of the optional embodiment of the enunciative in nominal bases [Līl, III, 23, 24] may have led to the semipermanent incorporation of the glides in nominal bases with final basal vowels also; some influence in this direction may have been exercised by the inflexional forms having these glides intervocally in inflexional positions.

5. k and g are velar plosives, and ṅ is a velar nasal according to TE, the contact for the sounds being produced by the back of the tongue on the velum.

In the Mal. pronunciation of today, the values of these sounds are generally velar in the proximity of the back vowels; but the values of kk (and sometimes of g and of ṅṅ)

are "palatalised" in phonation in the following types where these velars are preceded by *i, ī, ai, āy, ēy, or ōy*. There are two varieties ¹ of these "palatalised velars" in Malayalam: in one variety, the contact is between the tongue-back and the velum (perhaps slightly more forward than for the sounds when in the proximity of back vowels), but the blade of the tongue remains near the hard palate, and the sounds acquire a peculiar "palatalised" appeal; in the other variety, the contact is between the blade of the tongue and the hard palate, this contact being induced by the influence of the preceding palatal sounds. The latter variety is a palatal stop, and its contact-position may be represented roughly, according to Jespersen's notation, between *g og, and goh*; this value is particularly common in the Cochin State for the sounds when preceded by *y* or *ai*.

The categories of sounds in which a palatalised *kk* occurs are the following:—

(i) verb bases like *adaikk-, maraikk-, tēykk-, kāykk-māykk-, uraikk-, adikk-, irikk-, viḷikk-, etc.*, where the *kk* is preceded by the palatal sounds *i* and *y*.

The long *kk* is purely velar, however, in *tikk-* [because this form is derived from *tiḷkk-* (cf. Tam. *tiṇmai*) where the cacuminal *ḷ* acted as a bar to the palatalisation of *kk*], and in *vikk-* to stammer" (where the influence of the initial bilabial gives a back tonality to the vowel as a result of which the "palatalisation" of *kk* is prevented), but the palatalised effect is produced in the phonation of *mikka* 'most', the old relative participle of *mig-*.

(ii) In intimate word-compounds like *kaikkōṭṭu, vaikkōl*, where the first constituents are monosyllabics which still retain the old palatal diphthong (with greater or lesser distinctness, the *kk* has usually a "palatalised" effect (though *ka kkōṭṭu* and *vakkōl* where the *kk* is purely velar are not absent in the speech of some communities).

1. In my book on Mal Phonetics I represented these two varieties of the "palatalised" *k* with the I P A symbols [*k*¹] and [*c*], the former representing the variety for which the contact-position is the velar position, and the latter standing for the palatal stop.

In word-compounds like *ela-k-kaṛi*, *vāla-k-kula*, *tala-k-kettu* where the finals of the first constituents have already changed in Mal. to a (ə in unaccented positions), the *kk* is purely velar; but in *vālaikka*, *kōvaikka*, *pēraikka*, etc. (derived from *vālai-k-kāy*, *kōvai-k-kāy*, *pērai-k-kāy*, etc., in which *kāy* 'fruit' is the second constituent), the old final *ai* is retained (with greater or lesser distinctness perhaps on account of the early influence of the old *āy* of *kāy*, and *kk* is "palatalised").

In *paṭukkā* < *paṭukkāy*, *māñña* < *māñgāy*, the *kk* and the *ññ* do not have the "palatalised" effect because of the back vowels preceding.

(iii) The *kk* of the datives of nouns which in the older stage had final *ai*, has a "palatalised" effect:— *vālaikku*, *sītaikku*, *ilaikku* etc.

More or less a similar effect is possessed by *kk* preceded by *i* in *muṛikku*, *aḍikku*, *puḷikku*, etc.

(iv) The *kk*-preceded by old *ai* or by *i* in seventh case forms like the following with *kal* [<old postposition *kāl*] has a "palatalised" effect:— *talaikkal*, *paḍikkal*¹.

6. *c* is described in Tamil grammars as a palatal plosive:— *cākāram iḍai-n'ā-v-aṇṇam* [TE, 90].

Today, in many Tamil-speaking areas, initial short *c* has only the value of a sibilant *ś*, while Mal. gives to it an affricate value which is constituted of an unexploded plosive element and an immediately following sibilant.

In medial positions what is symbolically represented as short *c* has in Tamil and in Mal. only the value of a sibilant *ś*; but *-cc-* in Tamil (and in Mal.) is every where the long affricate.

1. *n'ikk-*, *vikk-* with a palatalised *kk* (from *n'ilkk-*, *vilkk-* where the *kk* is purely velar) are heard in the speech of some people in the south of the Cochin State.

g in the following has a "palatalised" appeal in the speech of some people:— *variga*, *varāyga*, *pōriga* and (in the Trichur speech) *palaga* (<Skt. *phalaka*),

7. \tilde{n} is the nasal corresponding to *c*. Short \tilde{n} initially, and $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$ medially (< older $\tilde{n}j$), are common in Mal. Old Tam. and Early Middle Tam. had \tilde{n} initially in a number of words, as in Mal.:— $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}nd'u$, $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}y\tilde{i}ru$, $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}l-$, $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}$; but Mal. had from the earliest known times also an initial \tilde{n} in some words whose Tam. cognates lacked this sound:—Mal. $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}n$ (Old Tam. $\tilde{y}an$, Middle Tam. $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}n$, $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}l$).

Late Middle Tamil inscriptions show that in Tam. the initial \tilde{n} had already begun to be displaced by the blade dental n' as in $n'\tilde{a}y\tilde{i}ru$ [SII, III, p. 240], $n'\tilde{a}nd'u$ [ib., II, p. 121]

In the Middle Tamil colloquials, already the blade dental nasal had begun to become merged in the alveolar n (see below) and hence all old words with initial \tilde{n} have come today to be evaluated in colloquial Tam. with initial point-nasal n .

Mal., however, preserved the initial \tilde{n} unaltered. This is connected also with the popularity of the derivative long $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$ (< $\tilde{n}j$) in Mal. from the earliest stages (for the latter change, see below).

8. The difference between the blade dental n' and the pointnasal n is clearly recognized by the Old Tam. grammar TE. Sūtra 93 describes dental n' (and dental t) thus: $a\tilde{n}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}niya\tilde{p}anmudan\tilde{m}aru\tilde{n}ki\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}uni\tilde{p}arandu\tilde{m}eyyura-v-ot't'a-t-t\tilde{a}minidu\tilde{p}\tilde{i}rakkum\tilde{t}ak\tilde{a}ra\tilde{n}'ak\tilde{a}ram$; while sūtra 94 describes the alveolar n thus:— $a\tilde{n}ari\tilde{n}uni\tilde{n}\tilde{a}-v-a\tilde{n}\tilde{n}am\tilde{ot}'t'a\tilde{r}\tilde{a}\tilde{h}k\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{h}k\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{y}\tilde{i}ra\tilde{n}\tilde{d}um\tilde{p}\tilde{i}rakkum$. The use of $\tilde{p}anmudan\tilde{m}arunki\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}uni\tilde{p}arandu$ in the description of the blade-dentals and of $\tilde{n}uni\tilde{n}\tilde{a}-v-ot't'a$ for the alveolar clearly brings out the difference.

In late Middle Tam. inscriptions, the alveolar frequently appears instead of the blade-dental in colloquial forms like the following:— $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}l-ulakku$ [SII, I, p. 113], $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{y}\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}r$ [ib., I, p. 118] $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{g}\tilde{a}$ [ib., V, p. 90].

Conversely, one finds n' used for the alveolar n in instances like $\tilde{t}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}'um$, $a\tilde{t}\tilde{t}uven'$, etc. also.

This "confusion", however, favoured the substitution of the alveolar n for the dental n' , and gradually the dental sound disappeared initially from colloquial Tamil (though in modern literary Tam. the symbols are correctly represented).

In Mal., the difference between the two sounds was never obliterated; not only this, but a long dental n'n' as a derivative of (i) older n'd, (ii) older nd' and (iii) Skt n'd) became popular in the earliest stages of Mal.

The difference between the two sounds is clearly brought out in the following observations of Lil., II, 7, commentary:—
“Sthānabhēdōpyasti. n'a-kārasya dantah sthānam. karaṇam tu tadā jihvāyā vistārah. na-kārasya mūrdhā. tatra jihvāgrasyōnnaṭiḥ...ataḥ sthitamētaḍ arthabhēdāvasāyāllaḷayōriva n'a-nayōrbhāṣāyām bhēdōstīti.”

9. ṭ, ṇ are described thus in TE, 91:—*ta-kāra ṇa-kāra nuni-nā-v-aṇṇam* “ṭ and ṇ ara produced by the contact of the tip of the tongue on the palate.”

Early commentators interpret aṇṇam as meaning ‘front palate’ on the ground that ṇuni should qualify not only n'ā ‘tongue-blade’ but also annam. If this view is accepted, t and ṇ would be alveolar or supra-dental instead of being cerebral: but this interpretation is a forced one, and the cerebral character of these sounds is also clear from their sandhi-behaviour from the Old Tamil period downwards.

10. y is a palatal fricative and has been recognized as such by the Tamil grammatical tradition.

Historically, this y has to be traced to different sources:— (i) the old fricative in yādu, yānai etc.; (ii) the development of a front glide intervocally, as in kaḷi-y-āl, vāḷa-y-illa, etc.; (iii) the modification of an older ś, as in the IA loans uyaram, mayir, etc.

y as a consonant has full consonantal friction. The friction, however, tends to become loosened in the proximity of vowels, particularly in colloquial phonation, and the sound becomes more vocalic and more like i. This intimate relationship between y and i accounts for (i) the sūtra [56] of TE: *i-kāra ya-kāram iṇḍi viravum* “final i and y of words may be interchanged” (as in kai or kay, nāi or n'āy, etc.); (ii) the production of what is known as the “shortened i” or kut't'iyaligaram in the external sandhi meeting of m (or consonantal finals, !) and yā-of words following; (iii) “vocalic contraction” in the vowel-groups arising from the weakening of intervocalic y (see below).

11. *r* is evaluated today as a post-dental or pre-alveolar sound, involving one or two taps of the tongue. The description of the sound in T E, 95 envisages the tongue-tip production of the sound.

12. *l* is an alveolar lateral today, and it should have been so in Old Tam. too in view of the character of the combinative changes involving *l* (for which, see below).

13. *r* today is a cerebralized *r*-sound which is trilled to a greater extent than the post-dental *r*. The pure cerebral *r* in Mal. is produced by the middle of the tongue-blade on the mouthdome, though variants produced by the tongue-tip in slightly more forward positions also occur.

The history of this sound has been dealt with by me elsewhere; but some of the conclusions may be briefly summarised here:—

(a) The sound *r* at a very early stage in the history of Old Tam. in a number of instances involved an alveolar plosive element in view of the following facts:—

(i) there are several sandhi changes; both external and internal, in which *r* has to be regarded as possessing an alveolar plosive element;

(ii) the grammatical tradition of Tam., represented in T E, 19 clearly regards the sound as a *valleluttu* or plosive embodying (unlike the post-dental *r*) the “enunciative” in pausa or before consonants following;

(iii) the sound is described in T E, 94, as a sound produced by the contact of the tip of the tongue on the “*aṅṅam*.”

(b) The sound, however, appears as a cerebralized *r*-sound in Kannaḍa and in Telugu, in which speeches the grammatical tradition has from the earliest known periods regarded *r* as a cerebralized variant of the *r*-sound. Kann. *Ṣabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, 18, refers to *r* as *adipiḍanadim rēphāśri-damāda ra-kāramum*. Tel. *Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi* [12 and 13] refers to *r* as the *alaghu r*, in contradistinction to the *laghu r* [=post-dental *r*].

The study of the past history of Kann. and Tel. forms involving the old alveolar plosive shows, however, that r of Kann. and Tel. also in a number of categories was evolved from the old alveolar plosive.

(c) In Early Middle Tam. (5th to 10th century A. D.) also the value of a trill should have been developed for this r in view of the fact that inscriptions of the 9th and 10th centuries contain instances showing the confused "interchange" of r and r and also adaptations from Skt (containing r) represented with an r -sound:— eppērpatta, ivvūrkkku, arcanāpōgam, iruvaṛkkum, vaḍapārkk-ellai [r for r in this last instance], etc.

(d) The value of r has, in Mal. from very early stages been that of a cerebralized r sound. This is implied in the suggestion (put forward and refuted in the commentary on II, 7, of Lil.) that r may have been a variant of r (i. e. that r may not be a distinctive phoneme).

14. v is described as a labio-dental by the Tamil grammars TE, 98, says that the sound is produced by the approach towards each other of the teeth (upper row) and the lip (lower lip).

The common value given to the sound today is that of a bilabial involving only a slight approach of the lips towards each other.

v in South Indian Dravidian languages is historically derivable (i) from a very old v as in vaḷai, vil, etc., (ii) as the development of a back glide, and (iii) from other sounds like p and m on account of phonological changes. Colloquially, v tends to lose its consonantal friction, particularly in the neighbourhood of vowels and to change to a kind of u -sound. This nearness of the relationship of v to u accounts for the evaluation of au as av (cf. TE, 55).

15. $!$ today is in Mal. a cerebral continuative produced with the middle of the tongue-blade on the mouth-dome; occasionally, it is produced by the tongue-point on post-alveolar positions.

16. Accentual variations (within individual words and within breath-groups or sense-groups) do exist in Mal. These variations have played a not inconspicuous part in Mal. phonological changes, as will be evident from the following pages.

(ii) The question how far these accentual variations are due to expiratory stress (dynamic stress) and to pitch (the lowering and the raising of the tone) has yet to be experimentally investigated. The fact itself that accentual variations do exist is evident from the presence in Mal. of polysynthetic expressions and contractions like the following which certainly arise from the elision of weak-accented syllables:— Van'n'ē-kkār'n'n'u (in the colloquials) < van'n'ēkkām-āyirun'n'u < van'n'u-vaikkām-āyirun'n'u; kudiccēccāṭṭē < kudiccu vaccu-āgattē or kudiccu vaccu kānattē; ēt't'u [a colloquial form not unrepresented in literary texts] < enit't'u < elu-nit't'u; varāṇḍu [modern colloquial] < varādē koṇḍu; ēdāṇḍu < ēdān(um)-uṇḍu. Expiratory stress, it has been said, is often intimately connected with pitch, and (in some instances) stress, pitch or both might be connected with an increase in the length of the syllable. Since the accent-habits of Mal. have yet to be studied experimentally, I shall in this essay use only the general term 'accent' to indicate a kind of syllabic prominence, without specifying whether stress or pitch is dominant in it.

(iii) Ordinarily speaking, word-accent in Mal. falls on the root-syllables, largely initial in native words. Pausal positions carry with them a slight secondary accent, while medial positions are (in ordinary circumstances) weak-accented. In polysyllabic forms, the accent becomes weaker and weaker, the farther one proceeds from the root syllable, as for instance, in van'n'ittundāyirun'n'u or in eḍuttappōl.

(iv) Word-accent in Mal. does not involve ordinarily that strong expiratory stress which (in English, for instance) leads to the slurring of weak syllables; but one notes that both in the history of Mal. literary forms and in the colloquials, vowels and comparatively unstable consonants have in weak-accented positions undergone different degrees of change.

(v) An increased accent is sometimes associated with long vowels with the result that short vowels of the previous syllable which originally carried the main accent are slurred over and elided: -pilāvu > plāvu; kināvu > knavu; kiḍāvu > kḍāvu; n'ilavu > n'lāvu > lāvu; pirāvu > prāvu; uvāvu > vāvu; ulātt-lātt-. Cf also colloquial expressions and forms like the following:—

rān < irān < iraiyān (the vocative form of iraiyan 'lord'); dā < idā; dē < idē; ttō < kittō < kēttō; n'dā < endā; nntā < eñntā; etc.

(vi) The question whether accent or simple quantitative rhythm is involved in the following sandhi phenomena requires investigation:—

The lengthening of the finals of monosyllabic words (with short radical vowels), when followed by vowels, contrasted with the absence of this lengthening in dissyllabic words, and in monosyllabic words with long radical vowels:—

kal-l-u	but	kāl-u
kal-l-lil	„	kāl-il, viral-āl, etc.

Cf. occa and ośa, illa and ila, coll vekkam for vēgam.

uññakku [u! + nākku] but nñā! [nī! + nā!], where the meeting of ! + n gives rise to nñ when ! of a monosyllabic word is preceded by a short vowel, while n alone is produced when ! is preceded by a long vowel (or when ! is preceded by a short vowel in dissyllabic words; cf. avañila [ava! + nīla] given as an illustration in the commentary on Lil., 31)

The lengthening (after vowels) of the initial voiceless plosives of the second constituents of casual compounds and of some intimate non-casual compounds (see below, under Sandhi) induced by the "transitivity" of meaning.

(vii) The lengthening of n (of ini) in the form inni, of e (the accusative ending in emphatic positions, of the e of the genitive d'e or ude) for emphasis, of e of eḍam < idam) in instances like vaññēḍam, is all due to semantic accent. Semantic accent also accounts for the long ō of oḷam isolated from instances like āgu-v-ōḷam < āgum-aḷam < āgum-aḷavu.

(viii) Word-accent is subordinated to the phrasal accent of breath-groups and sense-groups where the semantically important words alone have the main accent on root-syllables, while the others become weak-accented even if independently they have an accent of their own.

17. Intervocally, and in consonant groups with the varga nasals (as first constituents), short plosives are fully voiced in the mass-colloquial, while the long plosives and long affricates

are voiceless intervocally. This is true of Tamil also. In the modern speech of the educated classes (particularly the Sanskrit-educated people and those who have come within the ambit of their influence) one feels, acoustically at any rate, that the voicing of short plosives in the contexts mentioned above is not so strong as in the mass-colloquial and in Tamil. This may have been due to the influence of Sanskrit on the speech-habits of the Malayālis; for, there is hardly any doubt that, as the old assimilative changes (see below) like $\acute{n}g > \acute{n}\acute{n}$, $\acute{n}d > \acute{n}\acute{n}$, $\acute{n}j > \acute{n}\acute{n}$ indicate, the short plosives in these contexts should have been fully voiced (as in Tamil) at an early stage.

18. The earliest stages of Old Mal. appear to have had the following phonemic units:—

a [Λ] \tilde{a} , i, \bar{i} , u, \bar{u} , e, \tilde{e} , o, \tilde{o} , ɤ , ə , ai, au;
k, \acute{n} , c, \acute{n} , ɟ , ɳ , t, \acute{n} , p, m, y, r, l, \bar{l} , v, \bar{l} , r, n

19. In the Old Mal. period, the following IA sounds were, on account of the influence of Sanskrit (and perhaps of MIA), popularised in a few native words or formations:— s as in vaḷusam; ṣ as in bhōṣku; bh as in iḷibhyam (sanskritized form of ilippu).

20. (i) Initially, the following sounds alone occurred in native forms:—

a, \bar{a} , i, \bar{i} , u, \bar{u} , e, \tilde{e} , o, \tilde{o} , ai, (au);
k, c, \acute{n} , t, \acute{n} , p, m, y, v.

In final positions, all vowels except short e and short o are met with; and among consonants m, y, r, l, \bar{l} , n, ɳ , \bar{l} are the absolute finals [cf. Līl, III, ¹ and 13.]

(ii) Voiced plosives are absent initially in native words; but in gōṣṭhi 'pranks contorted gestures', the voiced g has been introduced initially on account of the influence of Skt. gōṣṭhī.

r as an initial in raṇḍu (beside literary iraṇḍu) a form vehemently disapproved by Līl but used freely in Old Mal. inscriptions and texts, as well as in colloquial Middle Tam.— was the result of aphaeresis (of the short closed vowel i).

l in lātt— (literary ulātt-) of colloquial Mal. also owes its initial position to aphaeresis consequent on the increased accent associated with the long \bar{a} in the original second syllable (cf. vāvu from uvāvu.)

(iii) *r* was never regarded by the grammatical tradition as an absolute consonantal final in as much as in the earliest stages of Old Tamil it presumably involved a strong alveolar plosive element and plosives in Dravidian were never absolute finals, but always embodied an "enunciative").

Lil. III, 13, commentary, makes this point clear through its statement: —"kayaru" "vāru" ityādirardhamātrikōkārāntaḥ; na tu rāntaḥ."

This explicit statement was evidently intended to remove the misconception already current in the period of Lil, and afterwards hardened as an opinion (cf. the view of Kēraḷa Pāṇini at p. 96 of his work —that *r* could be treated in Mal. as an absolute consonantal final like post-dental *r*).

Now, the reason for this feeling was threefold:—(i) the change in the evaluation of *r* to that of a cerebralized *r*-sound (see *supra*); (ii) the use in the colloquial of compounds like *vērpaḍ* —in which the samvṛta *u* after *r* is elided in rapid speech; and (iii) the occurrence of groups like *rkk*, *rg*, *rpp*, *rṭt* in all of which $r < r$, on account of the influence of the consonants following.

One may note in this connection that for Kannaḍa too (according to sūtra 48 of *Ṣabdamaṇidarpaṇa*) *r* was regarded as an absolute consonantal final in words like *baṣiṛ*, *nēsaṛ*, *poṛavaṛ*, etc., for reasons (i) and (ii) mentioned above for Mal.

(iv) While Old Tam. had *l*, *ḷ*, *r*, *n*, *ṇ*, *y*, *ḷ* as absolute consonantal finals, colloquial middle Tamil instances (in the inscriptions) like *n'ālu*, *kallu*, *n'ellu*, *ponnu* show that the "enunciative" was embodied after some of these sounds. For Mal., Lil. 23 and 24 expressly provide for the use (in literature) of forms like *kālu*, *n'ālu*, *kaṇṇu*, etc.

The modern practice is the following:—

(a) Original monosyllabics with short vowels have the enunciative with doubling of the old consontal final), except in compounds like *kal-t-taḷam*.

(b) Old monosyllabics with long vowels have the enunciative optionally (but always for the plurals with *kaḷ*) in

instances like pālə, ārə, āṇə, but not generally after n except in colloquial ñānə, tēnə, etc.

(c) Dissyllabics like viral-ə, curul-ə, kaḍal-ə, have the enunciative, though the pronouns avan, ival, avar and forms having-an,-al,-ar do not generally have the supporting vowel, except in the colloquial before pauses.

(d) Kāy, vāy, pāy, nāy suffer a three-fold treatment:— (i) they are retained as such; (ii) they embody the “enunciative” a (instead of the samvṛta) in order to make the vocalic character sufficiently clear; (iii) they lose the final y altogether, particularly in compounds and sequences where y is followed by initial consonants of words following. All the three sets of forms are heard and used in Mal. today. The types (i) and (iii) exist in Old and New Mal. while (ii) is represented in some New Mal. texts.

21. The following differences exist between Mal. and Old Tam. in the character and occurrence of sounds:—

(i) Two Old Tam. sounds disappeared from Middle Tam. and are absent in Mal. also:— the sound known as āydam (with a voiced glottal fricative value, as in aḥḍu, iḥḍu, eḥḍu, kaḥḍ’īdu, muḥḍīdu; the kut’iyal-igaram i, as in kēṇmiyā, nāgi-yādu, etc.

(ii) Old Tam. r, in the earliest stages, involved at least in some instances a strong alveolar plosive element.

(iii) Old Tam. had n’ in porun’ and verin’, ñ (in uriñ) and v (as in tev) as absolute finals. Middle Tam. appears to have lost these in as much as (i) the inscriptions do not show any such forms in the colloquial portions, and (ii) the Middle Tam. grammar Vīracōḷiyam excludes ‘v as an absolute consonantal final in Tamil (though TE prescribes it for Old Tam.)

As for Mal, n’ and ñ were never finals [cf. the observation in the commentary on Līl., III, 13:— “uriñ, poruñ-iti nāntau pāṇḍya bhāṣāyam ēva.”]

(iv) y, r, l, ḷ, n, ṇ were absolute finals in Old Tamil; but Middle Tam. colloquials show instances with the “enunciative” embodied. This colloquial practice was allowed optionally for literary Mal. in the contexts mentioned above.

NAMMALVĀR AND HIS DATE.

BY K. G. SESHAIYER.

The term Ālvārs is a generic term used to denote the Vaiṣṇava saints who are thirteen in number. The word means "those who are drowned or immersed" (in devotion to God). They come from both sexes and from different castes, including the lowest in the social scale. The Hindus of South India, whether of the Śaiva or of the Vaiṣṇava persuasion, have always held that access to sainthood or spiritual union with God by way of faith could not be foreclosed by reason of hereditary caste disabilities. All saints were equally incarnations and of equal potency as the chosen instrument of God for the spiritual uplift of humanity. Spiritual worth has never been gauged in India by the accident of birth; and spiritual illumination and God-love are not the property of any privileged caste. The Vaiṣṇavas have among their saints Tiru-Pāṇ Ālvār, and the Śaivās Nandanār.

When Jainism and Buddhism spread over the land and threatened the Vaidik forms of religion, the Śaiva Nayanmārs and the Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs appeared and won back to orthodoxy the people of the land. According to the Bhāgavata, Viṣṇu the supreme Lord, caused, for the betterment of the people in the Kali Yuga, the incarnation of the Vaiṣṇava saints in the consecrated country lying on the banks of the Tāmraparni, the Kṛtamāla (Vaigai) the Payasvini (Pālār) and the westward flowing Mahānadi (Periyār). These saints are said to be incarnations in human form of the emblems of Nārāyaṇa; and they brought to the people the message of Bhakti or salvation by faith. Their songs of Divine love and grace are collectively known as the Nālāyira-Prabandham. The works of the Ālvārs are among the chief sources of the Bhāgavata religion, which teaches that the way of salvation is devotion or *bhakti* towards Nārāyaṇa. The Nālāyira-Prabandham is regarded by Vaiṣṇavas in South India as of equal importance with the Vedas as a testament of faith.

Three among the Ālvārs are of special interest to the people of Kēraḷa, though in varying degrees. (Kulaśēkhara

Āḷvār was born in Tiruvañc-Kalam, the Capital of the ancient Cēra Kingdom of which he was a reigning monarch. Nammāḷvār was through his mother connected with Kēraḷa, as she came from Tiru-van-pari-śāram, now called Tirupati-sāram, in South Travancore. In his Tiru-Vāymoḷi, (the oldest Tamil expression to denote the Veda), he has sung of ten Kēraḷa Vaiṣṇava shrines: those at Tiruvanpariśāram, Tiru Vaṭṭāru, Tiru Anandapuram, Tiruccirārū, Tirup-Puliyūr, Tiru-Vallavaḷ (modern Tiruvellah) Tiru-Aramvilai, Tiruk-Kaṭkarai, Tiru-Mūjikkalam, and Tiru-Nāvāy. Tiru-Mangai Aḷvār has sung of the shrine at Tiru-Vallvaḷ. I have elsewhere given a fairly detailed account of Kulaśēkhara Aḷvār and attempted to determine his date. (Vide Kerala Society Papers 1928) I shall in this paper deal with Nammāḷvār and his probable date.

Nammāḷvār is justly regarded as the greatest of the Aḷvārs. To Sri-Vaiṣṇavas, he is the Kulapati and Kūdashtha, the holy head; and the relation in which the other Vaiṣṇava saints stand to him is said to be that of the individual limbs or organs to the entire body. Reference is made to his birth in Śri Bhāgavata, Bhaviṣyat Purāna, and Brahmānda Purāna. His father was Kāri, the chieftain of Karugūr or Tiru-Nagari, now known as Āḷvār Tiru-Nagarai in the Tāmraparni region; and his mother belonged to Tiru-vanpariśāram, near Nagercoil in South Travancore. It is claimed that he was a born Yogin. Even as a child, he is said to have abandoned home and all earthly bondage, and gone into Yogic trance under the shade of a tamarind tree, which a reverential posterity has consecrated and even now points out as Tiru-Puḷi Aḷvār. For 16 years he was in a state of Samādhi or silent, contemplative trance, and then appeared on the scene the Brāhmaṇa, Madhura Kavi who was the God ordained instrument to wake the youthful Yogin. Madhura kavi had come from afar, seeking initiation into true, spiritual life from a guru. Even as the star of Bethlehem had guided the Magi, so a supernal light guided Madhura Kavi to the foot of the holy tamarind tree, where Nammāḷvār was seated, deep in contemplation. Madhura Kavi propounded a question, which sounded like a conundrum. It was: If in the womb of what is dead a subtle thing is born, what will it feed on and where will it abide? Forth came the Yogi's answer: It will feed on *That* and abide *There*. The expression, 'what is dead,' in the query denotes

the body which is 'achit,' and the 'subtle thing' is the soul. The sage's answer means that the food of the Soul is God and in Him it abides. By the faculty of transcendental feeling and ecstatic inner vision which he had developed in his long spiritual trance, Nammālvār had learnt that the heart of God is the source of all life, and all finite things have their being there and to that they must return. Madhura Kavi accepted the Ālvār as his Guru, and the Ālvār became from that day the teacher or preceptor of all who sought salvation through Vaiṣṇava faith and philosophy.

The true devotee, who by a process of ecstatic transfusion has known and experienced the Reality, easily discovers the unity under the bewildering diversity around him. Nammālvār was more than a devotee. He actually lived in God. He writes that whatever disputants might say, God exists and the entire visible and invisible universe is His form, and can be understood only in relation to Him (Tiruvāymoḷi I. 1. 9. The Deity that he loved and served and preached was Nārāyaṇa, of whom all manifestations in the Universe—water, earth, fire, air, the sky, the sun, the moon, the stars and even Śiva and Brahma, are outward representations. Love and service of Nārāyaṇa bring the Bhakta boundless bliss.

He declares; —

To love the Lord Supreme
And serve Him ceaselessly, that is the way revealed
Of yore for us to follow.

T. V. M. X. 4. 9.

He was however, not a narrow minded sectarian. He has sung of the Lord even in terms that apply only to Siva. Thus, in the same breath, he extols the Lord as Tiru Marban—He who bears Lakṣmi in His bosom—and as Malai-mag! Kūṛan—He who has Pārvati, the mountain King's daughter, as part of His body; also as He who manifested Himself as Varāhāvātāra, and dug into earth and as He who destroyed Tripura or the three forts. (T. V. M. VII 6. 7.) The very first stanza of his Tiru-Vāy-Moḷi shows his catholicity. He sings:

Bow thou, O mind! to Him who all transcends,
Who is th' embodiment of goodness pure,
Whose grace on us hath the great gift bestowed

Of clear intelligence, the Lord of Lords!
In rev'ence bow e'en at His glorious feet
Which misery of birth annihilate.

T. V. M. I. 1. 1.

Can God be known? Yes, says the Āṭvār. Love, he says, leads us Godward; and though invisible to mortal eyes, God can be seen with the inner eye, and the heart can feel His presence. (Periya-Tiru-Moṭi 28, 29, 37, 55).

His position of pre-eminence among the Vaiṣṇava saints is amply justified by the character of his poems in which he has given expression to his 'inmost in the sweetest way.' It is claimed by Sri Vaiṣṇavas that his Tiru-Vāy-Moṭi contains the essence of the Sāma Veda, while his Tiru Viruttam, Tiru Āsiriyaṃ and Periya Tiru Antādi contain the essence of the Ṛk, Yajur and Atharvaṇa Vedas respectively. His devotional lyrics are among the sweetest, most inspiring and most elevating in Tamil literature, and deserve to rank among the noblest inspired songs of love and hope that the world possesses. Note the buoyancy of this ecstatic utterance:

"The earth, the sky so vast, are all in Thee!
But thou hast through my ears got into me
And now in me residest! Lord! Who may
Declare if Thou or I be greater, say!

Periya Thiru Antādi 75.

The success of his appointed mission to carry the message of the Lord's love and grace and the consolations of the Vaiṣṇava faith from village to village throughout the Tamil country, will be patent from the following exultant verse from Tiru-Vāy-Moṭi

Glory! All hail! The ills of life have fled!
Naraga itself, for punishment ordained,
Has disappeared! Henceforth the Lord of death
His function loses here! The *Kali* age,
Behold! doth vanish! For the devotees
Of Him, the sea-complexioned Lord Supreme,
In multitudes have on the earth appeared,
Singing and dancing in ecstatic joy!

T. V. M. V. 2. 1.

II

Scholars are not agreed about the date of the Āivār. As generally happens in matters of South Indian Chronology, almost everyone who has written about it has assigned a different date. Unfortunately most of the dates suggested turn out on examination to rest on the shakiest foundations. I shall consider one of them. The late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in his History of Sri Vaiṣṇavas thinks that Nammāivār may be placed in the first half of the 9th century. He has argued as follows. The Anaimalai inscription says that in *Kali* year 3871 expired, the Uttara Mantrin of Parantaka Pandya, excavated a shrine for the worship of Viṣṇu. The Uttara Mantrin is stated to be son of Māraṇ, and a native of Karavantapuram; and he was of the Vaidya caste. He was also called Madhura Kavi on account of his poetic skill. Now Alvār was known as Kāri Māraṇ, that is Maran the son of Kāri. He was also known as Parāṅkusa, and Parantaka Pandya's father was called by that name. Nammāivār had a disciple known as Madura Kavi. Nammāivār's mother came from Tiru-Vanpariśāraṇ, which is not far from Karavantapuram or Kaḷakkādu. Hence Nammāivār was the son of the Uttara mantrin. In an inscription in Sauriraja-perumal temple at Tirukkannapuram, a private person bears the name Śada-Kopa, one of the several names by which Nammāivār was known; and from palaeographical evidence this inscription may be placed in the reign of Aditya I who ruled before 908. Nammāivār therefore, may be placed in the first half of the ninth century.

This is, perhaps, the strangest reasoning I have come across. Granted that in 770 A. C. the Pandya had a minister whose name was Māraṇ Kāri, does it follow that Nammāivār *alias* Kāri Māraṇ was that minister's son? The Minister also enjoyed the title of Madhura Kavi. How does this fact help the argument? Admittedly Madhura Kavi Āivār was the disciple of Nammāivār, and was a Brāhmaṇa who came from Tirukkōlūr. The minister was of the Vaidya caste and could not be the Madhura Kavi associated with the Āivār. There can be no doubt that it was the appearance of Madura Kavi in the inscription that led the epigraphists astray in their attempt to build up history. The minister came from Karavantapuram or Kaḷakkadu, while Nammāivār's father Kari came from Tiru-Nagari; and the naive explanation that

Karanvantapuram was not far from Tiru-Van-pariśaram, the birthplace of Nammālvār's *mother*, has no point whatever. Mr. Venkoba Rao, the Government epigraphist of Madras, who edited the inscription, surmised that Nammālvār, the *guru* of Madhura Kavi, was, perhaps, the son of the minister, the Madhura Kavi, Maran Kari, appearing in the Anaimalai inscription (Vide III. Ep. Ind.); and Mr. Gopinatha Rao attempted to strengthen the surmise with the arguments examined above. It is strange how often the obvious is ignored by investigators. The obvious inference from the Anaimalai inscription is that by about 770 A. C., Nammālvār and madhura Kavi Ālvār had become well-known, as is patent from the presence of the names Maran, Kari and Madhura Kavi in it. Thus 770 A. C., instead of affording the upper limit of Nammālvār's date, really affords the lower limit. The date of Nammālvār should be antecedent to 770 A. C.

Another argument is based on the name Parānkusa, by which Nammālvār is known. It is said that as Parāntaka's father was known by that name, the Uttara mantrin must have given it to Nammālvār in loyal memory of his royal master's father! Is it not more natural to hold that the name of the saint was given later to a king? Parānkusa is not a common name; and if the Pandyan King was the first to bear it, how did he come to be so named? As applied to Nammālvār, it is easily explicable. Parānkusa denotes Visvaksēna or Jaṇa-nathā; and, as according to Vaiṣṇavas, Nammālvār was an incarnation of Visvaksēna, he came to be called Parānkusa. It is obvious to me that long before the time of Parāntaka's father, Nammālvār's position as a saint had come to be recognized; and so, one of his names, Parānkusa, was naturally given to a Pandya in later times.

There are several inscriptions that show that from before C 1000, the Ālvārs had temples dedicated to them and provision made for their festivals and for the recitation of their *prabhandas* in temples. Confining ourselves to Nammālvār, we notice that in a temple at Ukkal, there are inscriptions dated C 1000 A. C. which give the name of the God as Tiru-Vay-Moṭi Deva (III S. I. I. p. 1) Tiru Vay Moṭi is, as already stated, the name by which Nammālvār's principal work is known; and, as observed by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, 'that a God should be named after it speaks for considerable antiquity' for the work. (Ancient India p. 401.

That was why Dr. Hultsch was of the opinion that 'Nammāivār must have lived centuries before A. D. 1000.)

How long before 1000 A. C.? To answer this, we have to make a judicious use of tradition; for that is the only source of information that we possess. My attitude towards tradition and its use for purposes of the ancient history of India, I have stated more than once in my published papers. In my article on "Some Vaisnava Saints of South India" which was contributed to Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, I stated:

"Tradition, after all, is really human testimony regarding the long past, and like all human testimony it is liable to error; but on that account it should not be discarded as wholly unworthy of attention, unless indeed we believe that in ancient times people were incapable of discriminating between truth and falsehood. In the absence of trustworthy firsthand evidence, tradition, which is in effect reputation arising from the concurrence of many parties who are unconnected with each other but are all interested in investigating the subject, may be accepted as the ground work for history."

According to the tradition preserved by the hagiologists which there is no conceivable reason to reject or disbelieve, Tiru-Mangai-Āivār, built a shrine for Nammāivār and made arrangements for the recital of Nammāivār's Tiru Vay-Moḷi in the Srirangam temple. The date of Tiru Mangai Āivār is capable of being fixed more or less definitely from some historical references found in his Periya-Tiru-Moḷi; and it may be taken as practically agreed that he lived in the 8th century. (Vide my article on 'Some Vaisnava Saints of South India' in Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume; Pandit M Raghava Aiyangar's article on 'The Contemporaneity of Saints' in Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume; Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's Ancient India p. 414 and 'Beginnings of South Indian History' p. 47). It is patent that to attain the dignity of a shrine and the regular recital of his devotional lyrics in Srirangam, the temple of the Vaisnavas by pre-eminence, Nammāivār's sainthood must have gained reverent recognition some centuries before Tiru Mangai Āivār, that is some, say two, centuries before the 8th century. Among those who have written commendatory verses about Nammāivār's greatness is Nāthamuni, who according to Sri

Vaiṣṇava Guruparamparai, revived the recital of 'Tiru-Vāy-Moli' which had fallen into desuetude in Srirangam. Nāthamuni was Ālavandār's grand-father, and Ramanuja, the great Vaiṣṇava reformer, was fifth in apostolic succession from Nāthamuni. Ramanuja's date is given as 1017—1137 A. C. In the circumstances, we will not be far wrong if we took C 900 A. C., as the date of Nāthamuni's birth. Nāthamuni is the first of the Ācāryas as distinguished from the Āṭvārs. There is no doubt he revived the chanting of Nammāṭvār's Tiru-Vāy-Moṭi as is seen from Ramanuja Nūranṭāti, Stanza 20. The testimony of this work is unimpeachable, as the author of the centum is Amudan, the disciple of Kūrattāṭvār, who was one of Ramānujā's devoted Śiṣyas. Nāthamuni went to Aṭvār Tiru-Nagari, the birthplace of Nammāṭvār, to know the text of the Tiru-Vāy-Moṭi from the inhabitants of that place, who had learnt it by heart. This fact is expressed by a sort of obvious poetic licence, by saying that Nāthamuni obtained it from Nammāṭvār; and in order to connect the Ācārya and the Āṭvār, the hagiologist said that Nāthamuni was, antecedent to his natural birth, in a state of Yogic trance before the holy tamarind tree for a period of 350 years. Interpreting this statement rationally, we may take it to mean that Nāthamuni came 350 years after Nammāṭvār. This will yield the 6th century for Nammāṭvār.

One of the authoritative works on the Āṭvārs is Pinbaṭakia Perumāl Jīyar's Gurnparamparai. It gives us the distance in time among the Āṭvārs besides other details relating to their birth. According to this work, Kulasēkhara Āṭvār was born about 28 years after Nammāṭvār. This tradition there is no reason to disbelieve. In my paper on Kulasēkhara Āṭvār in 'Kerala Society Papers' 1928, I have discussed the date of that saint and have stated as my conclusion that his date is 528—595 A. C. If that is correct, the birth of Nammāṭvār should be sought in C. 500. A. C. The details supplied by the Guruparamparai for Nammāṭvār's birth are that it took place on Friday the 43rd day of Kali-yuga, which co-existed with Tiru Vaiśāka asterism and Pournami (15th day of the bright half) of the month of Vaikāsi in Bahudhanya of The sixty year cycle, in Karkaṭaka legna of that day. This is also Manavāla Māmuni's account. The passage as it stands would imply that the year of the Āṭvār's birth was Kali 1 That year

is obviously impossible, and it must have been given under the mistaken, but common, belief that importance and sanctity are in direct ratio to distance in time. However, the other details may be accepted, and Kali 1 may denote the 1st year of the century in the Kali era that was current when the Āṅvār was born.

On that basis 1315336 Kali day will suit the conditions. It will correspond to Kali year 3601. The jovian year was Bahudāhnya. It was the 43rd day of the year and was Friday, 12th Vaikāsi and Visākan star continued till 11 A. M. and Pournami tithi the whole day. From 9-30 to about 11-30 A. M. that day the legna would be Karkaṭakom. So if the Āṅvār's birth be held to have taken place between 10 and 11 A. M., that day, all the conditions will be satisfied. The corresponding English date will be 27th April 500. As Nammāṅvār is said to have lived for 35 years, we may tentatively hold that Nammāṅvār's date is C. 500-535 A. C.

This conclusion receives support from a consideration of the religious movements in South India. For nearly four centuries from the second, Jainism was predominant in the land. The Digambara Darsana contains the information that in Vikrama Saka 526 or 470 A. C. a Drāviḍa Śaṅgam was organized in Madura by Vajra Nandi, mainly with a view to spread Jainism (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Vol. XVII). About the beginning of the 6th century Jainism received strong, though short-lived support from an unexpected source. It was the period of the Kaḷabra invasion and occupation of the Pandya Kingdom. The section of Periyapurāṇam that deals with Mūrti Nāyanār tells us that there was then a Karnatic invasion of Madura, and I have little doubt that these Karnatic invaders are the Kaḷabras mentioned in the Velvikudi grant. Periyapurāṇam also tells us that the Karnatic king embraced Jainism and persecuted the followers of the orthodox religion. Jainism had now reached its zenith; but with the fall of the Kaḷabras, which happened soon after, a great revival of the orthodox faith began, which shook the heretical faith to its very foundation. In this great task of the revival of Hinduism, the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava Saints took a prominent part; and it was mainly due to their efforts that Jainism declined and ceased to be a dominant force in the land. For the followers

of the Vaidik religion, the period of heretical supremacy during the Kalābra interregnum was perhaps the typical Kali-Yuga and in this period, perhaps in the first year itself (Kali 1) the great soul whom God had ordained for the holy task of revival of the Hindu faith—Nammāṭvār, "Our Saint" came into being. Tradition tells us that "the Śangam" which I take to mean the Jaina Śangam, sustained a severe defeat from Nammāṭvār; and that will, perhaps, explain the song of exultant triumph where he exclaims that the Kali Age has fled! (T. V., M. V. 2). I have called attention to his freedom from bias against Śaivism, and that proves that he appeared early in the period of Hindu revival, when the overthrow of the heretical religion that was a manace to Vaiṣnavism and "Śaivism was the chief concern of the orthodox missionaries and preachers. These considerations strengthen the probability of the date I have suggested for Nammāṭvār. We may, therefore, assign Nammāṭvār to the beginning of the 6th century A. C. (500—535) as that date appears to satisfy all conditions.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE COCHIN RAJAS DURING THE PORTUGESE PERIOD.

V. K. R. MENON.

Synopsis.

The information given in the "Cochin State Manual" about the Cochin Rajas during the 'Portugese Period',—especially from 1561 A. D. to 1615 A. D.—is very fragmentary. An attempt is here made to furnish a detailed chronology based on the following sources.

1. "The land of the Perumals" — F. Day.
2. "Tenkailāsanāthōdayam"—a 'Prabandham'.
3. Other literary works of the period.

* * * *

"From 1538 A. D. on wards information available regarding Cochin during the rest of the Portugese period is very fragmentary.....'Unni Rāma Kōil' died in 1537 A. D. and was succeeded by Vira Kēraḷa Varma who reigned from 1537 to 1561 A. D. Gōda Varma succeeded to the throne in 1561 A. D. The length of this King's reign and ⁽¹⁾ the names of his immediate successors are unknown"

Portugese records at Lisbon are bound to contain valuable information, but no attempt to study them in detail has yet been made. In broad terms it may be stated that Portugese interests centred round Goa after 1512 A. D., and after the truce with Zamorin in 1540 A. D., the Portugese interests in Cochin were on the decline.

The Cochin Rāja, however, "like every ⁽²⁾ other Prince in alliance with Portugal, was frequently a victim to injustice and oppression." Nunho d' Acunha who became the Viceroy in 1529 A. D. was an exception. He found the Cochin Rāja (Unni Rāma Kōil) "kept as a prisoner in his own palace but immediately released him and redressed his grievances. "In

(1) 'State Manual' p. 78.

(2) 'Land of the Perumals' p. 106, etc.

1550 A. D. the Zamorin and the Raja of Pimienta (Vatakankur) attacked the Raja of Cochin," but were repulsed by Portuguese help. "A succession of Governors now followed, of whom there is little to record, as the Portuguese possessions were at that time in a state of comparative tranquility." About 1567 A. D. Caesar Frederick, a merchant of Venice, visited Cochin and has left an interesting account of the sea-port. "The married citizen paid no duty on sugar, or silk, but on all other articles, 4 per cent to the Raja of Cochin; ...the bachelors paid 8 per cent on every thing to the king of Portugal." In 1577, the Jesuits at Cochin published a translation of Giovanni Gonsalvez's 'Doctrina Christiana' in Tamil, and other works appear to have been printed for the use of the converted fishermen along the coast. In 1578 Spain subdued Portugal. "In 1594 a bull arrived from the Pope, called 'the bull of crusade', commanding the Portuguese to reduce the 'infidels of the country to the faith, by force of arms'. This device was only a new pretext, to sanction the plundering of Pagodas, which were the repositories of Hindu Treasures". In 1599, the famous Don Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, landed in Cochin, convened the synod of Diamper and later on unsuccessfully attempted the conversion of the Raja of Cochin. About 1620 the Government at Madrid, directed the Governor of Cochin to dispose of all civil and Military appointments by public sale. The title of 'Don' was sold for a few hundred dollars. In 1640 Portugal succeeded in shaking off the Spanish yoke, but were too weak to stem the advancing tide of Dutch interests in India.

Who were the Rajas ruling over Cochin State during this Portuguese interregnum? The chronological list given in the 'State Manual' is based on information contained in the 'State Grandhavari' (published in 1914). Another one more or less tallying with this, is found in Dr. Day's "Land of the Perumals," in which it is stated that the list was furnished by the then Dewan Sankunny Menon. It is quite probable that both lists are based on the same 'Cadjan manuscript.'⁽¹⁾ The two lists are given below for comparison.

(1) Rama Varma Raja of Cranganore considers it a recent and not very reliable manuscript.

<i>Day's List.</i>		<i>State Manual List.</i>	
<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date of Demise.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date of Demise.</i>
Veera Kerala	28-1-1549 A. D.	Veera Kerala	1561 A. D.
Raja and two Princes slain in battle with the Zamorin.	} 27-1-1565 "	Goda Varma	1565 "
Raja killed in battle at Pudia-Kavu		Rama Varma (Unknown)	1565 "
Raja who went to Benares	3-5-1601 "	Ravi Varma "	1601 "
Veera Kerala	25-4-1615 "	Veera Kerala	1615 "
Ravi Varma	30-9-1624 "	Ravi Varma	1624 "
Kerala Varma	11-7-1637 "	Veera Kerala	1635 "

Literary Sources.

More than one treatise assigned to the 16th and early 17th centuries refer to the Rajas of Cochin in highly eulogistic terms.

'Teṅkilāsa-nāthōdayam' a⁽¹⁾ 'Prabandham' in the 'manipravāḷam' style, gives a fairly complete list, with brief descriptions of the prominent traits of each monarch. A summary of it is given below.

I and II.

Rama Varma and Rama Varma,

Warrior kings with their capital at Cochin (Town)

"Mahita guṇanidhānou rāmavarmābhīdhānou
prātibhadṛamadakumbhī proudtasamhārasimhou
salilanidhigabhīrou dwou mahīpālavīrou"

III. *Goda Varma* the 'Scholar.'

IV. *Ravi Varma* the 'Good'

"Tadanu vipulavaiduṣīnidhānam
manujavarō janitaṭra Gōdavarma
Agaṇita Guṇasēvadhīśca madyē
ravisadṛṣō ravivarma nāmadhēa.

(1) Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Iyer on morphological grounds attributes it to the 16th or early 17th century. This inference seems more reasonable than that of Prof. Rama Pisharoti, who, on the sole ground that the Portuguese are not mentioned, attributes it to the 15th century. The treatise has not yet been published.

V. *Veera Kerala Varma*. He was a great warrior whose feats of daring equalled those of God Kumāra, and he ruled over his subjects by mere word of command. Towards the end of his long reign a successor named;

VI. *Rama Varma* was born, who along with,

VII. *Gōda Varma* went on a pilgrimage to Benares. Rama Varma died at Benares, while Goda Varma, after worshipping at Rāmēśwaram returned to Cochin and died soon after.

VIII. *Veera Kēraḷa Varma*. The book, written in his reign, describes him as a great warrior, scholar and statesman. He arrives at Trichur on Śivarātri day on a military expedition and worships Lord Śiva. The poet, who apparently has accompanied him, is then requested to compose a 'Prabhandham' about the glory of the temple at Trichur and its divine origin. The remainder of the text narrates the story of an ancestor of the Raja, also named Kēraḷa Varma, who was inspired by a divine vision of Śiva and Pārvati to re-build the Trichur temple and consecrate it with due ceremonies.

Interpretation.

Assuming that the Rajas whose names are given, belong to the Portugese period, the list may be correlated with the other two lists as follows. We may start with the hypothesis that the treatise was written in the reign of Veera Kēraḷa Varma who reigned up to 1615 A. D.

Ancestors of Kerala Varma (died 1615).

Tenkailasa-nathodayam List.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| I. Rama Varma | } | Warriors. |
| II. Rama Varma | | |
| III. Goda Varma (Scholar) | | |
| IV. Ravi Varma (Good). | | |
| V. Veera Kerala Varma (Great). | | |
| VI. Rama Varma | } | Both of whom left for Benares. |
| VII. Goda Varma | | |
| VIII. Veera Kerala Varma (died 1615). | | |

Combined list from 'State Manual and 'Land of the Perumals' by Dr. Day.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of Demise.</i>
Raj & two Princes slain in battle	1565 A. D.
Goda Varma, killed in battle	1565 ..
Ravi Varma (Unknown). [State Manual].	1601 ..
Raja who went to Benares, (Day).	1601 ..
Veera Kerala	1615 ..

The year 1565 A. D. was a disastrous one for Cochin. In January the Raja of Cochin and his heir-apparent both named Rama Varma—were slain in battle with the Zamorin. Two weeks later the same fate befell Gōda Varma; and the fact that he was killed at Putiya-kāvu, a suburb of Triṭpūṇittura, lead us to infer that the Zamorin, aided by the rebellious feudatories of the Cochin Rajas, must have overrun the country. We know that in 1564, during the Viceroyalty of Don Antonio de Noronha, ¹ Cannanore was besieged by Nairs, but they were driven off by the Portugese, who adopted the inhuman revenge of cutting down 40000 cocconut trees. The Zamorin's raid on Cochin must have taken place while the Portugese allies of the Cochin Raja were ravaging North Malabar, and might have been intended as a counter-offensive. Goa was at this time "beseiged by Adil Khan, Nizamulco and others." Faria-y-souza ² states that Louis de Ataide, who was Viceroy from 1568—71, narrowly averted defeat by bribing the Khan's favorite wife and some of his generals. Treachery within the camp forced Adil Khan to withdraw in December 1571 A. D. The Zamorin had meanwhile beseiged the Cāliatt fort and after four months of determined fighting, captured it from the Portugese. These interminable funds were temporarily patched up by a truce in 1582, but his hostilities were renewed soon after. The Kuññāli pirates were a perpetual menace to the Portugese, and their fort at Putupaṭṭanam was only captured by a joint expedition of the Portugese and the Zamorin in 1600 A. D.

While the last two decades of the 16th century were years of travail for the Portugese; they were decades of peace and prosperity to the rulers of cochin. Ravi Varma the 'Good' who came to the throne in 1565, proved himself an able and benevolent ruler, if literary sources are to be believed. His reign might nominally have extended to 1601 A. D., though it is almost certain that he laid down the reins of office long before and retired to lead the ascetic life of Perum̐patappu Mūppil. Veera Kēraḷa Varma the 'Great', who 'ruled by mere word of command' proved to be an able successor. He must have become the virtual ruler somewhere about 1575—1590 A. D., for in his reign was born Rama Varma who

1. "Land of Perumals" p. 109.

2. "History of Kerala" Vol. II. p. 153.

went on the fatal pilgrimage to Benares in 1601 A. D. The prince when he undertook this hazardous journey must have been at least twenty years old. As his younger brother Gōda Varma was accompanying him the administration might have been entrusted to the second prince named Veera Kērala Varma II. In his reign the treatise 'Teṅkailāsa-nāthōdayam' was composed.

The greatness of Ravi Varma and his younger brother Kēraḷa Varma are extolled in two other literary works, namely 'Vēdāntadēśika's commentary on Kāvyaṅprakāśa and Māṭamahēśaprasāsti' by Nārāyaṅa Bhattatiri.¹

We shall conclude by stating that if our assumption that 'Teṅkailāsa-nāthōdayam' was composed at the beginning of the 17th century be justified, then the list of Rajas given there belong to the period 1565—1615 A. D. The 'prabaṅdham' thus becomes a valuable source book of Cochin History.

(1) *C. F.*, R. Pisharoti's article in 'Report of All India Oriental Conference,' 6th Session—Lahore.

AMERICAN RESEARCH IN INDIA.

by M. B. EMENEAU.

American Indologists have for some years had in mind the establishing of a school in India, similar to the American Schools in Rome, Athens, and the Near East. The scheme, when it is carried to completion, will include a headquarters in some centre of learning in India, perhaps Benares or Poona, with a yearly visiting professor and a number of research fellows working on any projects in which they are interested in such fields as literature linguistics (including all the languages of India, ancient and modern), philosophy, archaeology, anthropology, and other closely allied fields of Indology in the broad sense, and in Iranian studies as well, for which India provides a convenient headquarters. Up to 1934 funds had not been forthcoming for any work in India. In that year the opportunity was provided by the Boston Museum of Fine arts for an excavation in the Indus Valley, and to further the arrangements, the American School of Indic and Iranian Studies was incorporated. This organization now exists at least on paper and in future all visits of American Indologists and other humanistic and anthropological scholars will probably be under the auspices and with the guidance of the School.

The excavation at Chanhu-daro was carried on during the season of 1935-6 under the direction of Dr. Ernest Mackay, whose previous work at Mohenjo-daro is well known. While the results from this new site have not been published, it is anticipated that much light will be thrown by them on many aspects of the Indus Valley culture.

Yale University was interested in the need for research in the Non-Aryan languages of India, and in 1935 sent to India Dr. M. B. Emeneau, a member of the Linguistics' department, to commence work on some of the unrecorded vernaculars. During 1935-36 he was supported as well by the American Council of Learned Societies, whose interest in oriental studies is profound and sympathetic, and in 1936-37 he will have the support of the American Philosophical Society in continuing work. Study has so far been concentrated

on the languages of the Todas and the Kotas of the Nilgiris, and material has been gathered in the shape of stories, songs, accounts of ceremonies, etc., for a grammar of the Toda language. The Kota language is not yet worked out to the same degree, but an informant will again be available during the next hot weather and it is hoped to finish the study then. Much new ethnological material has already been collected on the Kotas, and in spite of Rivers' monumental study of the Toda ethnology, the linguistic approach has yielded some supplementary material of importance in this field. Cold weather work in Coorg will next engage Dr. Emeneau's attention, and it is hoped that some work may be done in other parts of south and central India.

At the beginning of 1937 another American Scholar will arrive in India, Dr. David Mandelbaum of the Anthropological department of Yale University, who is backed by the National Research Council and by the American School of Indic and Iranian Studies. His work will be in the first place an account of the Paliyans of the Travancore High Range, and it is hoped that it will be to some extent linguistic as well as ethnological. Full information about Dr. Mandelbaum's plans has not yet arrived in India.

Other work by American Scholars in India is undoubtedly projected; no information is at hand. But India offers a field of abundant scholarly interest, and the increasing enthusiasm of American Indologists, linguistic students, and anthropologists, coupled with what we hope is a permanent improvement in the financial situation in the United States of America should lead in the near future to an increasing number of American Scholars at work in India.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNALS.

P. ANUJAN ACHAN.

"Juvenile Drawings".

In a paper on Art Teachings in Indian Schools contributed to the Calcutta Review for January 1937, Mr. O. C. Gangoly makes an appeal to all to give their children an 'opportunity to acquire information and knowledge through paths other than those of the beaten tracks of the written and printed words'.

He writes:

"It is expected that contact with pictures may inspire some amount of practical imitative efforts some spontaneous endeavour to construe pictures, for, it is proverbial that art is in a way very much infectious. And it is quite possible that experience with pictures may lead to practical experiments to make and compose pictures. A normal child bubbling with aesthetic energy, naturally seeks outlet for self-expression through scribbling, drawings, and other paths of aesthetic expression. Generally these practical aesthetic efforts are suppressed and inhibited by our elders. These practical efforts to make pictures should be encouraged and stimulated. The most practical way of encouraging these efforts is to provide a sort of "impromptu" Art Gallery where children's drawings and pictures could be hung up and exhibited. Some walls in some corridor, or verandah -or the largest wall-space of any large-size class-room - could be set apart for exhibiting the works of these juvenile artists—our potential "masters" which would easily attract comments and criticisms by other students and class-mates, and help to keep alive active interest in pictorial and aesthetic matters. This impromptu galleries of pictures contributed by our little ones should have very valuable uses for the study of the child-mind and for collecting valuable data for the theories of education. A study of the drawings of children constitutes a revelation of the progress made even by retarded or inhibited children who become swiftly at home in the pictorial medium, and are able to express their otherwise inarticulate thoughts.

It seems that such children should be given ample opportunity to exercise their ability in this way. Such joyous experimenting with a chalk, or a pencil, and overcoming stage by stage of difficulties in handling this plastic medium of expression, must inevitably lead to a more general improvement in the child's otherwise dull mental reactions, due to a growing confidence in its own powers, often sadly lacking in the verbal lessons of book-work.

“*The Damilas*”.

In his paper on *A short Account of the Damilas* published in the July - October 1936 issue of the Journal of the Mythic Society, Dr. Bimala Churn Law attempts for the first time to furnish an account of the Damilas as far as can be gathered from the Buddhist books. After freely quoting from Pali books and their commentaries Dr. Law concludes:—

“A careful study of the Buddhist texts shows that the Damilas were a fighting people always engaged in constant strifes with the Sinhalese. They are described as *anariya* or uncultured. “*Might is right*” was their policy which they rigidly followed with the result that they were defeated and mercilessly massacred in almost all their battles with the Sinhalese as we read in the *Mahāvamsa Commentary* (p. 482) that the Damilas were killed in so large a number that the water of a tank became red by coming in contact with a profuse flow of Damila blood. They are said to have used red-hot iron balls and molten pitch against their enemies (M. T., p. 477).

The literary tradition of Ceylon does not clearly say as to who these Damila invaders were or from which part of India they came over to Ceylon. It is only in connection with a particular Damila general, we are told, that he returned with all booties to the Pandu country, the land of the Pandyas in the south. If anything substantial can really be built on this meagre fact, it would be that the Damilas who made excursions in the island of Lanka from time to time belonged to Pandya, which then occupied as it does now the southernmost part of India opposite to Ceylon. The said tradition leaves us entirely in the dark as to whether those Damilas

were sent with expeditions by the king of Pandya or they were a race of marauders who undertook those expeditions on their own initiative. The Commentaries of *Buddhagosa* distinguish the Damījas from the Yavanas and Kiratas on the one hand and from the Andhras on the other. The relation between the Damila country and Ceylon was not always inimical. The account of Vijaya distinctly brings out that there existed a matrimonial alliance between the ruler of Lanka and that of Pandya. It is also mentioned that there was a very early settlement in Ceylon of skilled craftsmen and families of the eighteen guilds, all from Pandya (Mahāvamsa, Chap. VII). There existed similarly a close cultural relationship and constant intercourse between South India and Ceylon; the notable centres of Buddhist learning mentioned in Pali works being Kaveripattana, Madhura and Kanchipurā.

“*Bhārata and Mahā-Bhārata*”.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, in his VI number of the Epic Studies published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Vol. XVIII-Pt. 1), makes yet another attempt to trace the history of the Mahā-Bhārata through a study of the traces of the Bhārgava influence on the Epics of the Bhāratas. After giving the various versions of the Bhārgava stories in the different Parvans of the Mahā-Bhārata, and dealing with the striking features of the Bhārgava legends in the Great Epic, the Doctor says definitely:

“Now there can be no question that all this Bhārgava material in our present Mahābhārata is entirely foreign to the plan of the original saga of the Bhāratas, occurring as it does almost wholly in the episodic portion of the epic. There should be, therefore, in my opinion no hesitation in concluding that *in our version of the Mahābhāratha there is a conscious — nay deliberate — weaving together or rather stitching together of the Bhārata legends with the Bhārgava stories.*”

The writer then takes up the question how the Bhārgava element came into the cycle of the Bhārata legends. According to the traditional view of the Bhārata (*Bhāratasamhita*) originally consisted of merely 24,000 stanzas (*caturvim'sali-*

sāhasri). It has also been generally recognised that the Bhārata has been a *fluid* text 'adjusted to the varying needs of the occasion and the differing tastes of the audience'.

Hence, Dr. Suktankar says: -

"It seems probable that in the formative period of the epic a powerful Bhārgava influence direct or indirect—has been at work, so to say behind the scenes, in shaping our epic for us. This element had obviously obtruded itself upon the original nucleus, certainly after the time of the original author Vyāsa and probably after that of Vaiśampāyana. The next traditional link, however, in the transmission of the epic is the Sūta. Is the Sūta then responsible for the conversion of the Bhārata into the Mahābhārata? Now I do not doubt that some of the Sūtas probably were gifted versifiers, able to compose extempore short bardic poems and to improvise lays to suit them to the varying tastes and requirements of the audience. But if we consider these Sūtas capable of composing on the spur of the moment such masses of narrative episodes and didactic discourses as we find in our Mahābhārata, we shall be crediting these minstrels with an accomplishment for beyond their natural capacity. Nobody is, however, so credulous now-a-days as to imagine the Sūta as the author of those extensive innovations that must have been necessary in order to convert a heroic poem of about 24,000 stanzas (taking the traditional figure as a rough guide for our speculations) into an encyclopaedia of the present dimensions."

The writer therefore concludes:—

"There existed in India, in very ancient times an epic poem of about 24,000 stanzas, attributed to Vyāsa (the "Expander"), which described in great detail the Bhārata War and sang the glory of the Pāṇḍavas. The heroic poem, the Bhārata, which used to be recited by the Sūtas mostly at royal courts and had in course of time become very popular, was at a critical stage of its history appropriated by the Bhṛgu (who had certainly specialized in the, Dharma and Nītiśāstra and probably also developed leanings towards Vaiṣṇuism), with the idea of developing the epic into a vehicle of popular instruction and edification combined with entertainment. These anchorites, full of age old wisdom and

wonderful masters of the art of myth-weaving, took from the Sūtas the Bhārata and gave back to the world the Mahābhārata, the same book yet different. In the process of the redaction by the Bhṛguṣ, the work, naturally and to an extent unconsciously, received that characteristic and indelible stamp which was predetermined by the eventful history, the natural proclivities, the special endowments and the peculiar, "Weltanschauung" of the Bhṛguṣ. This little episode in its history necessarily gave our poem the anomalous character of an Epos and "Rechtsbuch" combined. It may be surmised that this remodelled Bhārata remained for some considerable time in the hands of the Bhāragavas, who had developed it and so to say re-created it, as their exclusive literary property, and they exploited it thereafter and propagated it in their own way.

—————

"The Bhagavati Cult of Kerala."

Writing about the "Cult and Cult-acts in Kerala" in the Indian Historical Quarterly for December 1936, Prof. K. Rame Pisharodi says:—

"Of all the varied Cults, prevalent in Kerala, the *Bhagavati Cult* is the most popular. *Bhagavati* is generally the Patron-deity of all families, big and small. She is again the Patron of the village and even though there may be a big temple dedicated to the chief Gods of Pauranic Hinduism in the villages, She holds the place of importance in the minds not only of the rustic villagers, but also of the cultured. Quite consistent with this we have a number of *Kavus*, the seat of *Bhagavati* shrines, and all *Kavus* are looked upon with more than an ordinary amount of awe and respect. The popularity that *Bhagavati* enjoys even today amongst the masses, the number of temples set apart for the Goddess and the uniform sanctity with which these are treated—all these tend to show that this was one of the Cults most popular in Kerala; and when we also remember the fear and dread attached to these temples and the rather unseemly practices associated with these templs, at least a majority of them, we are naturally tempted to believe also that this must have been one of the earliest of the Cults to become popular in this part of the land."

After dealing elaborately with the peculiar features of this Cult, as they are prevalent in Kerala, Mr. Pisharodi concludes:

“It is quite conceivable that the purely benign Goddess—and these are very few—may be a legacy handed down to us by our distant Buddhist and Jain forefathers, while the others might be the surviving shrines of the Dravidians. Quite consistently with this historical nature, these have always been the deities who concerned themselves with the everyday life of the villagers and to whom the villager always looked up to for help in evil days. No wonder in the hands of the villager the rites and rituals were characterised not so much by praises or desires for moral blessings as by a tone of propitiation and thankfulness. It may also be mentioned here that the conception of superhuman deity and the elaboration of the Cult and the various Cult-acts, however primitive and revolting they might originally have been, prepared the way for the acceptance of the Brahminic, Buddhist and Jain creeds and Cults and Cult-acts, with the result that the Cult as it obtains today partakes of all the features of all, but of none in particular.”

EDITORIAL NOTES.

We take this opportunity to convey our humble felicitations to His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin on the completion of his seventy-fifth birthday and wish him many more years of prosperity and peace.

* * * * *

We rejoice to record that our distinguished Honorary Member, H. H. the Appan Thampuran, has recovered from his recent illness, and is again free to pursue his valuable literary and archaeological studies.

* * * * *

Under the present joint editorship, it was hoped to bring out two issues of the journal per year. We are sorry that the first issue has been delayed, owing to unforeseen circumstances, but hope to be regular hereafter.

* * * * *

From the next number onwards, we shall be publishing critical reviews of important publications on archaeology and allied subjects.

* * * * *

THE LATE PROFESSOR DR. WINTERNITZ

BY P. ANUJAN ACHAN

It is with mingled feelings of deep sorrow and reverence that I heard of the sad demise of my revered professor, Dr. Moriz Winternitz the late *Professor der indischen Philologie und der Ethnologie an der Prager deutschen Universitat*. He left his mortal body on the 9th Janusry 1937, in his 74th year, to be sadly mourned by his numerous relatives, friends and students all over the world.

I first met Professor Winternitz in February 1923, when he came to India as a Visiting Professor of Santiniketan at the invitation of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore. His affection and simple disposition attracted many students and professors of Visvabharati towards him. At Santiniketan I had not only the privilege of attending his lectures, but also had the advantage of editing along with others a Mahābhārata canto under his guidance

Professor Winternitz stayed at Santiniketan till September 1924. His lectures on the History of Indian Literature delivered at the Visvabharati are now available in print. The services rendered by him to the editing of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata through the Visvabharati Institute have been acknowledged by the Editorial Board. Professor Winternitz's leave-taking of the Poet, the students and the professors of Santiniketan was a most touching one. He was given a send-off from the Asram in the pure oriental fashion. The Professor was very much moved at the parting, and actually shed tears when he took leave of the Poet at the Bolpore railway station.

Dr. Winternitz was particularly kind to me. Before his departure I had expressed my desire to accompany him on his tour in North India. The Professor had programmed to make a tour throughout India, and take his ship for Europe from Colombo. He was particularly anxious to visit Travancore, where he wanted to pay his respects to the late Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Ganapathi Sastri, the erudite scholar and editor of the Travancore Sanskrit Series. Dr. Winternitz

readily consented to my accompanying him. I travelled with the Professor up to Lucknow, visiting many places of interest on the way, including Buddha Gaya, Pataliputra, Nalanda, Benares, Saranath and Allahabad. The journey I made in his company to the renowned historical places was to me simply a revelation. From Lucknow I took leave of the Professor and left for Hardwar, while Dr. Winternitz left for the South of India after visiting Sanchi.

Even after he left India Professor Winternitz continued to be a friend, philosopher and guide to me, and his letters were always a source of inspiration. I had the privilege to be in constant communication with him till he laid down his mortal body. The help that I received from him in editing the Sanskrit Prahasana "Bhagavadajjukīyam" was duly acknowledged by me in the Introduction to that work. The Professor's ready response to my request to write a Preface to that book encouraged me beyond measure. Dr. Winternitz asked me more than once to go over to Prague and continue my study there; but Providence had willed otherwise.

Dr. Winternitz was a well-wisher of the Rāma Varma Research Institute from its very start. He never refused to contribute to the Annual Bulletin of the Institute whenever he was approached. To the very first number of the Bulletin the Professor had written a long paper on "Two New Arthaśāstra Manuscripts of the Paliyam MSS. Library". His contribution to the present number of the Bulletin "The Bhāsa Plays" is perhaps one of the last papers written by him. I shall close this "obituary note" with the last communication the late Dr. Winternitz had sent me, which reached my hands only two months before he left this world:—

"I was pleased to hear from you again after such a long time. But when I received your request to write a paper for your "Bulletin", I thought at first that this was quite impossible in view of all the urgent work in which I am engaged, and besides being frequently hampered by bad health. After consideration, however, I thought that the Bulletin of the Rāma Varma Research Institute would be a good place for making an appeal to the scholars of the Kerala country, to give us more information about the subject which they alone are in a position to give us. I am now re-writing the chapter

on the so-called Bhāse Dramas for the English version of my History of Indian Literature, Vol. III. You will see from the paper I send you that I am no longer a believer in Bhāsa's authorship of these plays. But the problem is very complicated, and we want *your* and your countrymen's help, to clear up all the difficulties with which this problem is beset.

"I have received your Archaeological Report which I have gone through with great interest, and have written a notice for the Archiv Orientalni".

The letter was concluded with the Professor's usual blessings to me. MAY HIS SOUL REST IN PEACE.

J568



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. V PART I