

BULLETIN
OF THE
RAMA VARMA
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

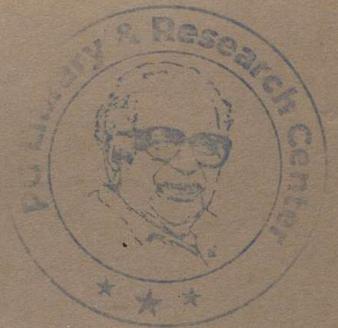
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SHORT HISTORY OF THE RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND ITS BULLETIN

The idea of establishing a Research insitute 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 comittee 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 According to the scheme approved by the Government the object of the institute was to collect books, journals and unpublished manuscripts on the History of South India in general and of Kerala in particular to afford facilities for carrying on research work on the ancient History of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 a real necessity for continuing the Institute as a separate institute name.)

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. Certian 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.

THE BULLETIN

OF THE

SRI RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

OF

MEDIEVAL KĒRAḶA HISTORY.

(825—1498 A. D.)

The History of Kēraḷa may broadly be divided into four divisions.

I. *The 'Vāñci Epoch'*, comprising the age of the literature of the Śangam (say up to 400 A. D.)¹ and the 'Perumāḷ Period' extending up to the founding of the '*Kollam Era*' in 825 A. D.

II. *The 'Kollam Epoch'*, extending to 1299 A. D., when Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara claimed to have established overlordship over all-Kēraḷa and started his brilliant raid over Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa territories. (825—1299 A. D.)

III. *The Ravi Varma Epoch* (1299—1498 A. D.), a period of trouble and turmoil in Tamil land during which Kēraḷa broke away politically, linguistically, and culturally from her erstwhile overlords.

IV. *The Modern Epoch*—during which the peaceful hegemony of Kēraḷa was broken up beyond repair by the visitations of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Muhammedans, and the English.

Sources.

Our main source of information regarding the early Cērās is the Śangam literature supplemented by the brief notices of

1. Approximate date of '*Śilappadikāram*,' composed by Ilṅ-kō-Adigaḷ, reputed to be a Prince of Kēraḷa.

the country furnished by the 'Periplus' and by Ptolemy. Mr. K. G. Sesha Iyer's "Cērās of the Sangam period" is the most recent work on the subject. His ambitious attempt to give a complete chronological list of the Cērās, and of the extent of their territories cannot, however, be said to be entirely successful. Mr. Govinda Warrior² has made a heroic attempt to reconstruct the history of Kēraḷa from 400 A. D. to 825 A. D. by subjecting the loose traditions embodied in the 'Kēraḷōlpatti' to a strictly scientific analysis, and adapting his inferences to the few epigraphical records relating to the period.'³

On the history of Kēraḷa during the Kollam Epoch we have a few valuable epigraphs, confined mostly to Travancore. The copper-plate Grant of Bhāskara Ravi Varman is of course an exception. But to write down a continuous history we have to rely almost entirely on the pompous 'mey-kkirttiga!' ⁴ which occasionally merit the waggish description of them as 'poy-kkirttiga!'—of the Cōla, Pāṇḍya, Cālūkyā and Rāṣtrakūṭa kings, most of whom claim to have indulged in the favourite pastime of destroying Viḷiṅgam, 'finishing' ⁵ Kāṇḍalur-sālai, capturing Kollam and Karuvur, and incidentally putting an end to the great Cēra. That the sea-port mentioned could invite such repeated destructions and that the Cēra could remain 'great' in spite of repeated annihilation reveal either the 'phoenix-like' qualities of the Cēra and his sea-port or the poetic license of the epigraphists.

The next epoch begins with the brilliant reign of Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara, whose achievements have been most ably

2. 'Cērās of the Sangam Period'—A Review.

V. K. R. Menon.

S. R. V. R. I. Bulletin, Vol. IV.

3. 'Keraḷōlpatti'—A Historical Study.

S. R. V. R. I. Bulletin, Vol. II.

4. The 'Cōlas'—Prof. Nilakanta Sastri.

Vol. I, page 107.

5. The 'Cōlas'—Vol. II, page 797.

analysed by Mr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar.⁶ Sri Vīrarāghava Chakravarti 'appears' immediately after Ravi Varman, and his copper plate grant to Iravi-kōrttaṇan makes it clear that he claimed feudal suzerainty over the Kēraḷa chiefs from Vēnād⁷ to Ēranād. The date generally accepted for the plate is 15th March 1320 A. D. (Keilhorn). A decade hence Ibn Battuta states, "In the Mulaybar lands there are twelve infidel sultans. Yet there is no discord whatever between them, and the strong does not desire to seize the possessions of the weak". He styles Kollam "the last city on the Malabar coast,—one of the fairest cities of Malabar, with splendid bazaars and wealthy merchants and a fine mosque and square." Early in the 15th century the power of the Sāmorin (ruler of Ēranād) seems gradually to have increased, thanks to the help of Arab mercenaries, and only the arrival of the Portugese foiled his ambition of become ruler of all-Kēraḷa.

The history of the modern period is too well-known to be discussed at length.

No scientific attempt has yet been made to write a continuous history of Kēraḷa from the fifth to the sixteenth century A. D. To a prospective historian, the extreme paucity of authentic evidence presents an almost insurmountable difficulty. Inscriptions are few and far between, and in general give little details of the rulers of Kēraḷa or their political vicissitudes. Coins bearing the name of 'Kēraḷa Varma' are found widely

6. 'Ravivarman Kulasekhara'—S. K. Iyengar.
 'New Indian Antiquary—Vol. I. No. 3.'

7. Article by Dr. K. Gōda Varma in S. R. V. R. I. Bulletin No. 4. The witnesses to the grant are given as follows. (P. 32.)

"Pantiyūr kiramamu Cōkirakiramamum.....Vēṇāṭum oṭṭunāṭum.....ērānāṭum valluvanāṭu-mariyakkuṭuttōm". Vēṇād is obviously a feudatory, and Mr. S. K. Iyengar's claim (p. 179) that Ravi Varman's "achievements amount to the creation of the State of Travancōre as it is at the present time as a political entity" is unsubstantiated.

distributed⁸, but no definite date has been assigned to any of them. Except for the Cave Temples at Thirunandikkarai, Kaviyūr and Kallil⁹, the number of monuments which can definitely be dated to be earlier than the 10th century A. D., is negligibly small. For the last two epochs, there is a plethora of conflicting literary evidence from which even the most erudite scholars are only slowly extricating themselves.¹⁰ For reliable evidence one is thus forced to depend on the inscriptions of neighbouring dynasties, especially the ones dealing with social and religious affairs. Kēraḷa was fortunate in having been visited by a series of observant foreigners and accounts given by many of them are extremely valuable, if accepted after due scrutiny.

These evidences are however sufficient to show that apart from the victorious careers of Cēran Śenkuṭṭuvan, the distinguished contemporary of Gajabāhu of Ceylon (A. D. 173 to 195), and Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara (A. D. 1299 to 1316), the political activities of the rulers of Keraḷa were generally confined to occasional internecine feuds and a relentlessly sustained opposition to alien domination. Though bitter enemies of the first Pāṇḍyan Empire, they were staunch Pāṇḍyan allies during Cōḷa domination, and the defeated Pāṇḍya kings were always sure of a safe asylum in the "land of the Kēraḷās"¹¹, Intimate

8. Mysore Archeological Report for 1935.

9. T. A. S., Vol. V, part I.

10. *C. F.* controversy between Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti and Ullur Parameswara Iyer regarding the dates of the Rulers of Cochin mentioned in '*Tenkailāsa-nāthodayam*'.

11. 'Mahavamsa' chapter 53, v. v. 5 ff; also Tiruvālangāḍu plates.

12. "The mother of Rājendra I, the only son of Raja Raja we know, was Vanavan-Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana-Mahadevi. (117—A of 1896; 448 of 1918). The Cōḷas Vol. I, page 226.

marital relationships¹² did not deter them from raising the arm of rebellion against the Imperial Cōḷās¹³.

Courts and kings, or victories and defeats do not figure prominently in Kēraḷa history. As Logan wisely remarked, "It might, with almost literal truth be said of the Malayāḷis that 'happy is the people who have no history'. '*Marumakkattāyam*' with its far-reaching effects on the social organisation and political outlook of the people, the peculiar status of the Nāirs, the continued existence of a powerful confideracy of Kēraḷa Brahmins called Nampūtiris, and the absence of any Ruler who could claim anything more than a nominal overlordship over all-Kēraḷa—these unique features necessitate the study of Kēraḷa History from the Sociological and Religious stand-points than from the Political stand-point.

Social Organisation.

The matrilineal system called '*Marumakkattāyam*' is now followed in Kēraḷa except by communities of non-Kēraḷa origin, and even among them the system has penetrated to a certain extent. '*Mother-Right*'—which includes matriliney—and '*Father-Right*' are the two oldest systems of social organisation, and it may safely be asserted that the one system has as much biological justification as the other. According to Prof. Soma-sundara Bharati, '*Marumakkattāyam*' is not a recent or modern or even a post-Sangam importation into the land of the Cērās, but is one which has been in vogue there without a break now for over 2000 years and more, from prior to and during the Sangam eras, recognised and referred to as such even in the Sangam literature'.

In Kēraḷa, the unobtrusive transition of individuals, of families, or even of groups from one of these systems to the

13. The cause of Rajaraja I's invasion of Kēraḷa and the capture of Udagai was an insult offered to his ambassador to Kēraḷa. An inscription reveals that in the portions of Malai-nād that he conquered, a severe no-tax campaign was conducted by the people,— 37 of 1897; S. I. I., Vol. III.

other, has been recorded beyond dispute. The matrilineal 'Ammāvan' Nampūtīrīs and Nañcināḍ Vellāḷās may be cited as examples. The Rajas of Pantalām and Pūññār (Travancore) were Tamil Kṣatriyās of royal lienage who accepted 'Marumakkattāyam' on settling down in Kēraḷa.¹⁴

Thus we find that patrilineal Brahmins, Kṣatriyās and Sūdrās have adopted the 'Marumakkattāyam' system on settling down in Kēraḷa. Transition in the opposite direction is perhaps easier. For instance, the problem of a Pāṇḍyan prince marrying a Cēra princess presents little difficulty. A simple ceremony would enable her to cast off her matrilineal ties. She definitely does not become an outcaste from Kēraḷa; on the other hand her privileged and unique position is admitted and allowed for—and in times of trouble Pāṇḍyan rulers of Kēraḷa extraction have been known to seek shelter in their mother's country.¹⁵

When however a Pāṇḍyan or Cōḷa princess is married to a Cēra, the problem of succession is obviously complicated. According to Prof. Pisharoti, however, another unique custom, practised even now in Kēraḷa, could conveniently be used to solve this problem. According to this custom as followed at present an individual whose matrilineal family is about to become extinct, is allowed to adopt his own wife into the family. Thereafter her children would occupy the same status which his nephews would have occupied. The ceremonies include one by which the adopted woman sever all connections

14. c. f. Padmanabha Menon's 'History of Kēraḷa'. Vol. II, page 84—9.

15. Even now when a Nair woman is about to be married to a member of the Travancore Royal Family, she is first formally adopted as a member of the 'Ammavēḍus'—families from which the wives of Travancore rulers are traditionally chosen. This may possibly be a vestige of ancient days when the rulers of Vēnāḍ and Kollam had intimate marital relationships with the Pāṇḍyās and Cōḷās.

with her own family. The fact that the ancient Cērās intermarried freely with the Pāṇḍyās and Cōḷās cannot therefore be taken as proof that the Cērās alone could not have followed the matrilineal system.

Without dogmatising on the disputed question of succession among the ancient Cērās it may safely be postulated that the rulers of Kēraḷa *after* the Sangam period were definitely matrilineal.

The traditional rivalry between the indigenous warrior clans of Kēraḷa known as Nāirs and the militant brahmin immigrants known as Nampūtirīs, and the 'rapprochement' effected by the introduction of a heirarchical system of marriage, form another unique feature of the Social organisation of Kēraḷa.

The origin of the Nāirs is unknown. Kēraḷa scholars have produced overwhelming evidence to prove that it would be "a travesty of facts to include Nāirs in the traditional Śudra caste".¹⁶ "The central point of interest in any historical account of the Malayali race" writes Logan, "is the position which was occupied" centuries on centuries by the Nāir caste in the civil and military organisation of the province. Their functions in the body politic have been tersely described as the eye, the hand and the order". They also played a prominent part in the establishment and management of temples. Many of the principalities of medieval Kēraḷa were ruled over by Nāirs. Some of them were eventually raised to the status of Sāmanta Kṣatriyās. There was an infinite gradation in the social ladder and the rung which each chief and his family

16. (c. f.) Travancore Census Report, page 377. For a detailed discussion consult '*The Dravidian Culture and its diffusion*' by Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon.

17. The words Kēraḷa and Malabar are synonyms.

18. (c. f.) 'Taccuḍaya Kaimal' of Iriñjālakkuḍa temple Cochin State.

occupied depended entirely on their political status and the amount of bribe in the form of *Dānoms* which they were willing to offer to the Nampūtiri dictators of religion and social conventions. Kṣatriyās are known to have been 'created' even in the reign of the 'great' Saktan Tampurān of Cochin State, if not by his successors as well (19th Century). Both the Nāirs and Kṣatriyās of Kēraḷa are now matrilineal.

The Nampūtiris, on the other hand, are generally patrilineal. Jeavu Dubreuil, Fawcett and others are of opinion that they trace their ancestry to the Vedic Brahmins who had migrated from North India in ancient times. This pure Aryan colony—if there was one—was definitely replenished by a series of migrations from Pallava, Pāṇḍya, and Cōḷa territories. Large numbers must have gone over during the Kalabhra interregnum (4th to 6th century A. D.) *Periya Purāṇam*, a work of the 12th century A. D. affirms that during the time of Tiruñānasambandār "the Brahmins of Cidambaram migrated to Cēra country in a body.¹⁹ Kerala traditions are also in agreement with this view.

Their penetration into Kerala was not exactly peaceful. The Nāgās—usually equated with the Nāirs—are said to have driven them out and Parasu Rāma had to bring them back again. Their activities were by no means confined to the performance of religious rites. Even at the time of arrival of the Portugese, the chiefs of Pōrkād, Parūr, and Idappilly were Nampūtiris and were practising the arts of war. The '*Kēraḷōlpatti*' mentions an alien invasion during which the scions of 72 Nampūtiri families lost their lives in battle.²⁰

19. "The Cōḷas" Vol. I, page 127.

Cidambaram was then known as *Perumparapp-Puliyūr*. It is interesting to note—that the Puliyannūr Nampūtiris are the high priests (Tantris) of the Cochin Royal Family (*alias*) the Perumpaṭappu-Swarūpam.

20. 'Many of the leaders (sēnāpatīs) in the army (of the Medieval Cōḷas) were of Brahmin extraction and when sufficiently distinguished bore the title Brahmādhiraḷa'—'The Cōḷas' Vol. II, page 228.

The traditional rivalry between the Nampūtiri immigrants and the native inhabitants seems to have been accentuated by the influx of Buddhism and Jainism into Kēraḷa. Prof. Rama Pisharoti²¹ has discussed the problem at some length and concluded that Kulaśēkhara—the Vaiṣṇava Āḷvār—of Kēraḷa who also composed the ‘Mukundamāla’—(end of the 7th century A. D.)—was the first Cēra Perumāḷ to be converted to Hinduism. By the time of the great Sankarācārya the triumph of Hinduism was complete (end of 8th century A. D.) The Nampūtiris were acknowledged as spiritual overlords and they seem to have consolidated their position by instituting the peculiar custom by which only the eldest brother married in his caste while all the others maintained ‘*Sambandham*’ relations with women of Kṣatriya, Sāmanta, Nāir and allied castes. The Nampūtiris still invoke the authority of the *Anāchārams* laid down in the ‘Śankarasmṛiti’ for the origin of this practice.

This custom had far-reaching effects. The transfusion of blood was accompanied by a wide dissemination of Brahminical culture and at the beginning of the 11th century A. D., the culture of Kēraḷa was far more homogeneous than that of Tamil land. On the other hand the cleavage between the homologous cultures of Kēraḷa and Tamil land was widening at every step. The distinguished line of Vāṇavan Māhādevīs, (Kēraḷa Princesses married to Cōḷa monarchs), ceased with the end of Rājendra’s reign^{22 (a)}. The severity of the military campaigns in Kēraḷa of his son Rājādhirāja I, seems to have left an enduring bitterness behind. And about this time Tamil land finally gave up the common *Vatteḷuttu* script for the present Tamil script. Kēraḷa literature continued to be subject to the sway of Tamil conventions for another century, but

21. “Kulaśēkharās of Kēraḷa”—I. H. Q., Vol. III, page 319 ff.

22 (a). Intimate marital relationships between the Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya rulers continued for two more centuries and a large amount of cordiality seems to have existed up to the time of Jata-varman Sundara Pāṇḍya 1251—70 A. D.

thereafter the phenomenal influence of Sanskrit in all directions was strongly felt.^{22 (b)} The growing contempt of the Kēralite for the illiteracy and alleged dirtiness of the bulk of the Tamil population was more than reciprocated by the Tamilian's contempt towards the social customs of Kēraḷa. Ravi Varma's triumphant raid (1312—1316 A. D.) marked the final parting of the ways; and the two peoples who had till then shared a common language and a common culture viewed each other henceforth with unconcealed hostility.

Political Conditions of Kēraḷa.

The political stagnation of Kēraḷa was due to various factors of which the social organisation based on matriliney was the most important one. The oldest male members of the collateral ruling families were chosen as the chiefs, which meant that the administration was usually in the hands of men past their prime of life. Another rule rigidly followed was that a defeated foe was not to be deprived of his ancestral territories. Moreover each collateral branch ruled in virtual independence. The fulsome accounts given in later-day chronicles of popular all Kēraḷa assemblies and the election of Perumāḷs from outside Kēraḷa have little historical value. Rājēndra I found Kēraḷa in the same political condition as did the Portugese five centuries afterwards. "It was cut up into a number of petty principalities which, with their endless feuds and alliances, more or less formed a world apart".²³ Possibly the same conditions prevailed, five centuries previous to that date. One ruling family, however, seems to have claimed at least a titular overlordship over all others from Calicut to Cape Comorin. The capital of the chief of this line was, in the early days, at Mahōdayapuram, near the modern Cranganore, identical with Muziris, the famous capital of the Cērās. At the time of advent of the Portugese (1498 A. D.) there was a strong tradition that

22 (b). c. f. "The evolution of Malayāḷam Morphology"—
L. V. Ramaswamy Iyer.

23. T. C. Vol. I pp. 270—1.

the Cochin Royalty represented this line, claiming direct matrilineal descent from the euphonemous Cēramān Perumāḷ who is supposed to have split up his possessions among his sons and nephews. Beginning with Stānu-Ravi (ca. 875 A. D.) who was the friend and ally of Āditya I, we come across the names of 5 of these Kēraḷa Chakravartis—

1. Stānu-Ravi (ca. 875 A. D.)—contemporary of Āditya I.
2. Vijayarāghava-dēva—contemporary of Parāntaka I.
3. Ravi Kōdai (*alias*) Gōda Ravi Varma (912—32 ? A. D.)
4. Indu Kōdai (932—978 ? A. D.)
5. Bhāskara Ravi Varma Tiruvaḍi (978—1036 ? A. D.)

It must be more than a coincidence that their period is almost identical with that of the Vāṇavan Mahādēvīs. Neither their lithic inscriptions, nor their copper plate grants contain any 'Prašastis' of historical value though all the important Kēraḷa chiefs except the Kōlattiri are cited as witnesses²⁴ of one or other of the deeds. After a gap of nearly 300 years Vira Rāghava Cakravarti makes a grant in almost identical style. His relation to the others is not definitely known. In any case, the hold of these Cakravartis over their feudatories seems to have been only nominal. A unified Kēraḷa under an absolute monarch, was, in the nature of things, an impossibility.

Yet the land remained virtually unsubjugated, if not unconquered, throughout the medieval age. This was due to various factors. The geography of the land presented considerable difficulties to the intending conqueror. Mountains, dense forests, malarial marshes, and a net-work of rivers which could become unfordable over-night; and a war-like people who had taken to arms as a profession and never felt the yoke of monarchical domination—these were some of the formidable impediments in the way. Moreover the advantages of conquest

24. 'History of Kēraḷa'—Vol I p. 426.

were negligible. No chief was rich enough to rouse the cupidity of the invader. Even the temples were poorly endowed, when compared to those in Tamil land. In brief the position of the Kēraḷa chiefs with respect to the Cōḷas was analogous in some respects to that of the North West Frontier tribes to the British Empire. When they grew too turbulent, punitive expeditions were sent against them, but at other times they were generally left alone. Kēraḷa seems to have been the favourite recruiting ground for the Cōḷa army. "The presence of the traditional rulers of Kēraḷa long after the Cōḷa conquest of these areas and the capacity they retained for making trouble for their suzerain in the face of powerful viceroys," is as much proof of their innate virility and independent nature, as "of the comparatively mild character of Cōḷa imperialism".²⁵ The Pāṇḍyan country is littered with Cōḷa inscriptions; in Kēraḷa, north of Quilon, they may be counted on one's fingers.

The Kollam Epoch (825—1299 A. D.)

This epoch is conveniently taken to begin with the founding of the *Kollam Era*. Unfortunately the cause for the creation of this Era is not yet beyond dispute. As traditionally believed, the era may have commemorated the foundation of the sea-port of Kollam, perhaps as an additional capital of the Cēraḷas. Another version is that it synchronised with the disruption of the Cēra Empire at the demise of the last Cēramān Perumāḷ. In 852 A. D. we find the Arab traveller 'Solyman'²⁶ making definite mention of Quilon (Kollam) as the "most considerable port in South India at the time". A decade, hence, Stānu Ravi makes his copper plate grant to the Christian settlers at

25. 'The Cōḷas' pp. 271—2.

26. He may have been the contemporary and friend of the great Saivite Saint Sundaramūrthi, and the disruption of the Cēra Empire might have led to the founding of Kollam as a capital by one of the new chiefs. A 11th century painting of this Perumāḷ leading Sundaramūrthi to heaven is found in Tanjore temple.

Kollam. Thereafter, for over four centuries Kollam finds prominent mention in many a Cōḷa and Pāṇḍyan inscription. There is therefore some justification to begin the epoch with the *Kollam Era*.

During this epoch the political destiny of Kēraḷa was to some extent under the control of the Cōḷās and the Pāṇḍyās. This epoch of alien domination may conveniently be divided to two periods, the second one beginning with the reign of the Cālūkya-Cōḷa Emperor Kulōttunga I. The great monarchs of the Vijayālaya line, from Parāntaka I (acc. 907 A. D.) to Rājendra I (1012—44 A. D.) generally maintained cordial relations with the rulers of Kēraḷa. This cordiality must have been largely due to the presence of an unbroken series of Cēra princesses as the queens of the Cōḷa monarchs.

Vāṇavan Mahādēvīs in Medieval South Indian History.

The Cōḷa queens of Cēra extraction were commonly referred to as Vāṇavan Mahādēvīs in numerous inscriptions of the period. (The Cēra was frequently referred to as Vāṇavan in Tamil inscriptions). The first Vāṇavan-Mahādēvi we come across was the consort of Viranārāyaṇa Śadayan (Ca. 880-900 A. D.) and their son Rājasimha II was the last ruler of the first Pāṇḍyan empire. "The name of the queen suggests that she was a Cēra princess"²⁷ writes Prof. Sastri, "and it may tentatively be assumed that the name of Śēraṇmahādēvi, a flourishing little town—in the Tinnevely district, has some connection with the name of the queen.....The reign of this king was marked by happier relations with the Cēra kings than was usual in this age". Their son Rāja-Simha II having been defeated at Vēlūr by Parāntaka Cōḷa I sought in vain the help

27. 'The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom' pp. 79.

28.a. c. f. 'Rājasimhas of Kēraḷa"—article by K. Govinda Warriar. Mr. Govinda Warriar postulates that the reference is to a Rājasimha of Kēraḷa. The inscription is paleographically assigned to the 9th century A. D.

of the ruler of Ceylon and finally betook himself to the Kēraḷa country, the home of his mother (“*Gatō Kēraḷaśāntikam*”). He seems to have successfully claimed overlordship over Kēraḷa, and the Talakkāḍ inscription (Cochin State) of a king of Kēraḷa named Irayasinga Perumāṇḍigaḷ dated in the (third?) year of Rājāsīmha may be referring to him. The victor of Rājāsīmha II^{28a} was the Cōḷa king Parāntaka I (907—953 A. D.) and one of his consorts was a Kēraḷa princess whose son Ariṅjaya later on succeeded him to the throne, though only for a short period. The Kēraḷa alliance of Parāntaka I,^{28b} “contracted possibly in Āditya’s lifetime, not only gave proof of the friendly political relations that obtained between the Cōḷa and Kēraḷa rulers, but apparently furnished the occasion for a large influx of Malaiyāḷis into the Cōḷa country in search of service under the king and his sons. Vellangumaran, the Kēraḷa general of Rājāditya who built a temple in Grāmam was only the leading example of a large class of less known immigrants, figuring as donors of small charitable gifts in the inscriptions of the period”.²⁹ Rājarāja the Great was the grandson of Ariṅjaya. One of his stepmothers was Parāntadēvi Ammanār, the daughter of Śēramānār³⁰ (queen of Sundara

28 b. An inscription at Udaiyārguḍi, South Arcot, refers to a gift of land—by Ādittan Kōdaipirāṭṭiyār, queen of Ariṅgaivarman who died at Arṛur, for bathing god during Citṛai-Visu 587 of 1920. She may be the daughter of Ravi Kōdai, a contemporary suzerian of Kēraḷa. The term ‘pirāṭṭiyār’ obviously means daughter; for an inscription at Tirunāgēswarem mentions Ariṅjigaippirāṭṭiyār, a Bāṇa queen and daughter of prince Arikulakēsari.

29. c. f. “The Cōḷās” Vol. I, pp. 162-3. The influx of the Malaiyāḷis was more probably due to the fact that Kōkkiḷan the mother of Rājāditya was a daughter of Śēramānār. The mother of Ariṅjaya on the other hand was a Paḷuvēttariyar princess, though she is also referred to as a Kēraḷa princess.

30. Rājēndra’s mother was also called Vāṇvan-Mahādevi though she was apparently a princess of the line of Malaiyamāns

Cōla) who lived till the 16th year of Rājarāja's reign, A. D. 1001. Inscriptions reveal that he had at least fifteen wives but his only son was born to Vāṇavan-Mahādēvi, *alias* Tribhuvana-Mahādēvi, before the 4th year of his reign. Rājendra I also had marital connection with Kēraḷa, his queen Vāṇavan-Mahādēvi being known from two inscriptions at Tirumalavāḍi (Trichinopoly district). One of the queens of Parakēsari Āditya II Ca. A. D. 956-73 was Uḍaiyār Villavan Mahādēviyār, S. I. I. iii 193 who set up an image at Uttaramērūr (Chingelpet district) and endowed lands to the temple there. The only other Vāṇavan-Mahādēvi we know of was one of the Queens of Uttama Cōla the immediate predecessor of Rājendra I. Thus from the beginning of the reign of Parāntaka I to the end of Rājendra's reign for a period of about 140 years (907 to 1044 A. D.) it was customary for every Cōla king to choose a Cēra princess as one of his queens. Each king had of course a number of queens, but it was the good fortune of Kēraḷa that some of the most outstanding Cōla monarchs had Cēra blood in their veins. Parāntaka I obviously had a great partiality for his Cēra queen and her country-men. Their grand-son Sundara Cōla also married from Kēraḷa, and though his son Rājarāja I was born of a Vāṇavan-Mahādēvi hailing from Malāḍu, the name suggests

(c. f. Tiruvalangāḍu plates VV 65—66; also 236 of 1902), chieftains of Malāḍu, a district on the banks of the Pennār which had Tirukkōyilūr for its centre. Parāntaka I married a Paḷuvēttariyar princess, whose father is referred to as a Kēraḷa Raja in the Anbil plates of Sundara Cōla. His inscription states that even in the 7th century, "Anḍnargalāna Malalyāḷar, avarittum Paḷavūr-Araṣan," was a title held by his ancestors. An inscription of the 12th year of Uttama Cōla mentions a Vāṇavan-Mahādēviyār, daughter of a Paḷuvēttariyar, as one of his five queens. Vāṇavan-Mahādēvi is thus a term found applied to the Cōla queens coming from the royal lines of the Cēras, the Paḷuvēttariyars and the Malaimāns of Malāḍu. The last two chiefs were occupying the hilly tracts of Trichinopoly and Arcot districts. It is likely that they traced their descent from the ancient line of Cēras, as did the Adigamāns of Tagaḍūr.

that the Malaimāns (of South Arcot) were at that time related in some way or other to the rulers of Kēraḷa. The great Rājarāja had about 15 wives, yet his only son Rājēndra was born to his Kēraḷa queen. She most probably belonged to the Kūpaka dynasty—which was at that time independent of Vēṇāḍ—, for in the quelling of the Pāṇḍya-Kēraḷa rebellion by his son Rājādhirāja, the latter claims to have made ‘the strong Villavan (Cēra)’ hide in terror, destroyed in anger the Senior (chief) of Irāma-kuḍam—the Kōlattiri chief—“sent the undaunted king of Vēṇāḍ to heaven,” and “*liberated* the king of the Kūpakas,”³¹ from his bondage, apparently to the ruler of Vēṇā. Rājēndra was the last great Cōḷa monarch to marry from Kēraḷa. The political destiny of Kēraḷa during this long period of Cōḷa domination over South India must have been considerably influenced by the presence of this distinguished line of Cēra princesses as queens of the Cōḷa monarchs.

The second half of the Kollam epoch may be taken to begin with the reign of Kulōttunga I (acc 1070 A. D.) Himself of Cālūkyan extraction, Kulōttunga and his successors ceased to have marital alliances with the Royal families of Kēraḷa. It was a period of growing alienation during which the severe repressive measures adopted by the Cōḷas only served to augment the vigour of Kēraḷa opposition, culminating in the triumphant career of Ravi Varman Kulasēkhara. On the other hand the Rules of Kēraḷa seems to have gone over to the side of the Pāṇḍyas.

Kulōttunga I led more than one punitive expedition against the Kēraḷa-Pāṇḍya alliance and claimed to have ‘subdued the numerons forces of Kēraḷas’, and to have captured Kollam in 1101 A. D.³² But he was forced to fix Kottāru, the fortified

31. SII. iii. p. 56.

32. The *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* mentions a *Kollam Aḷinda* Era. It begins on A. D. 1096 and may refer to the capture of Kollam by Naralōkavira the commander of Kulōttunga I.

c. f. N. Venkataramanayyar’s article on ‘Ma’ Bār’ (1311—23 A. D.) in J. O. R., Vol. XII, part II.

frontier town as the boundary of his kingdom. "Kēraḷakēṣari Adhirājādhirājadeva whose gifts to the Viṣṇu Temple at Tirukaṇṇapuram are recorded in 1106 A. D. was perhaps a Kēraḷa feudatory of his; a certain Bharadvajan Māra-nārāyaṇan is mentioned as a minister alike of this Cēra Prince, and of his over-lord Kulōttunga. There is a record of his 22+18 years at Paḷani (711 of 1905)". Vikrama Cōḷa claimed the "king of Vēnād who banished Kali from the earth (by good rule)" as a feudatory, and incidentally mentions that Kōttār and Kollam were at that time in Pāṇḍyan possession. The ruler of Kollam or Kūpakadēśam at that period was evidently a Pāṇḍyan ally, since his daughter was married to Jaṭavarman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya, who, in his Kanyākumāri inscription, claims to have defeated the Cēra and levied tribute from him. The next Pāṇḍyan king claimed Vīra Ravi Varman of Vēnād as his tributary. Kēraḷa again comes into the picture during the first Pāṇḍyan civil war (1169—77 A. D.) "Kulaśēkhara, whose cause was advocated by the Cōḷa kings, was eventually successful, his opponent Vīra Pāṇḍya being finally crushed by Kulōttunga III in 1190 A. D. "It is just likely that the Sucīndram record (T. A. S. Vol. ii. pp. 18 ff.) is an inscription of this Vīra Pāṇḍya. If so, he must have married a Kēraḷa Princess after his campaign mentioned in 1. 3. of the record" and this will explain his flight to Kollam after his final defeat. Vīrakēraḷa dēvar was apparently his ally and Vīrakēraḷa Pāṇḍyakkōnar the uttra-mantṛin at the time of his coronation may be identified with his son of the same name who continued his father's fight and was crushed by Kulōttunga III. After the final defeat of Vīra Pāṇḍya, Kulōttunga held a great Durbar in the Pāṇḍyan capital (1190 A. D.) at which Vīra Pāṇḍya had his Cēra colleague did obeisance to Kulōttunga. The next Pāṇḍyan ruler was Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara (1190-1215 A. D.) whose reign marked the beginning of the Second Pāṇḍya Empire and the final eclipse of the Cōḷās. "Another early inscription of Kulaśēkhara refers to a gift by him to a temple in the name of his brother-in-law Kōdai Ravi Varman undoubtedly a Cēra prince."³³ He claimed the contemporary

33. All quotations, except when otherwise acknowledged, are from Professor Nilakanta Sastri's monumental works on the

Tiruvaḍi of Jētunganādu³⁴ as his feudatory. His brother Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I continued to treat Kēraḷa leniently. But with the increase in political status, the Pāṇḍyās sought marriage alliances outside Kēraḷa. Sundara Pāṇḍya II (acc 1238) refers to the Hoysala king Somēśwara as *Māmādi*, leading one to suppose that his father Sundara I married Somēśwara's sister. History repeated itself and this cessation of marital relationship was inevitably accompanied by political estrangement between Kēraḷa and the Pāṇḍyās. Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc 1251) assumed a hostile attitude towards Kēraḷa. 'Hatvā Cēram' and 'Kēraḷavamśanirmūlana' appear among his high-sounding titles. He probably defeated (killed?) Vīra Ravi Udaya Mārtāṇḍavarman of Venāḍ (1251 A. D.) and commemorated his success by naming a village *Ravi-Venṇā Caturvēdimangalam*. In spite of his boast of having annihilated Kēraḷavamśa, his successor Māravarman Kulaśekhara (acc 1268) had to start the fight all over again. He claimed the capture of Kollam as the chief incident of the campaign. His reign marked the end of the Pāṇḍyan Empire, for the second civil war, this time between the sons Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya, led to sack of Madura by Malik Kafur, the general of Alauddin, Sultan of Delhi in 1311 A. D. Towards the close of his reign Maravarman himself was forced to eat the humble pie and seek the help of Ravi Varma, (who was reigning at Kollam), to subjugate Vikrama Pāṇḍya, a rebellious feudatory of his.

Some idea of the chequered political history of the border principalities of Kēraḷa during the Kollam Epoch may be gained by a cursory survey of the history of Kollam during this epoch. Kollam, we have seen, is popularly believed to have been founded in 825 A. D. Thirty years hence it is mentioned by 'Solyman' as a prominent port in South India. The fact that the early

Cōḷās and the Pāṇḍyas. My indebtedness to him is too great to be formally acknowledged.

34. Jaitugi, son of Billama, was king of Yādavās from 4191—7 A. D. He was defeated by Ballāḷa II.

monarchs of the First Pāṇḍyan Empire ³⁵ (590-920 A. D.) make no mention of Kollam may be taken to indicate that the popular version of the founding of Kollam in 825 A. D. may after all be true. Kollam is first mentioned in the copper plate grant of the Cēra King Stānu Ravi; and from the time of Rājarāja I onwards, finds frequent mention in Cōḷa and Pāṇḍyan inscriptions.

In the 20th year (1005 A. D.) of his reign, Rājarāja claims to have conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolla-dēśam and Koduṅgōlūr (394 of 1911; A. R. E, 1912).

The Tiruvālangāḍu plates wax poetic over Rājendra's first invasion of Kēraḷa (1018 A. D.). "Who else, other than this supreme lord can entertain the thought in his mind of humiliating that ancient land protected by the glory of the ornament of Bhrgukula and free from the inroads of enemies? The fearless Madhurāntaka crossed the Sahya (mountain) and forthwith set upon Kēraḷa in great force, and there ensued a fierce battle which brought ruin upon kings". His second invasion, under the command of his son Rājādhirāja, was a deliberate attempt to bring Kēraḷa under complete subjection. The Kūpaka king alone, was leniently dealt with. Kulōttunga I claims to have captured Kollam in 1101 A. D. but was soon

35. Arikēśari Parāṅkusa (670—710), according to the Vēḷvikkūḍi grant, 'defeated on several occasions the Kēraḷa King and captured him alive with his near relations and his forces'. His successor Kōccaḍayan bore the title of Vāṇavan. The Madras Museum plates mention that Neḍunjaḍayan (765-815) conquered the king of Vēṇāḍ, and for the first time in recorded history, destroyed the fortified port of Viṣiṇam. The great Saivite Cēramān Perumāḷ, contemporary of Sundaramūrti, may have reigned about this time. He is referred to as king of Koduṅgōlūr, showing that Koduṅgōlūr or Vāñci, had not yet shed its glory. On the other hand the copper plate grant of Stānu Ravi reveals that powerful trading guilds like the Añjuvanam, and Maṇigrāmam had opened branches at Kollam as well as Christian traders from Syria, by about 870 A. D.

forced to retreat and fix Kottāru as the boundary of his Empire. His successor Vikrama Cōḷa is friendly with Vēṇāḍ but refers to Kollam as 'belonging to the Pāṇḍyas'. It only means that the ruler of Kollam and the father-in-law of jaṭāvarman Parāntaka Pāṇḍya was, at that time a staunch Pāṇḍyan ally. This alliance continues, and the unfortunate Vira Pāṇḍya (1170-90 A. D.) seeks refuge in Kollam after his final defeat by Kulōttunga III. At the beginning of the 13th century the Pāṇḍyan king claims the ruler (Tiruvāḍi) of Kollam as a feudatory. Relations thereafter become strained, and Māvarman Kulaśekhara (acc 1268) who takes pride in having captured Kollam, is obliged to acknowledge the power of the great Ravi Varma. Ravi Varma seems to have cemented the relationship between the chiefs of Kollam and Vēṇāḍ³⁶ and thereafter the two principalities merge in to one. These evidences make it clear that in spite of repeated onslaughts by the Cōḷās and Pāṇḍyas, the Kūpaka kingdom—of which Kollam was the capital—retained its individuality throughout the middle ages. This being the case it can be safely assumed that the Rajas of Central Kēraḷa ruling the territory between Kollam in the south and the kingdom of the Kōlattiris in the north, were always virtually independent of the Cōḷās, the Pāṇḍyas, or Hoysalās, though occasionally forced to acknowledge the nominal overlordship of these powerful neighbours.

(*The Ravi Varmā Epoch*) 1299—1493 A. D.

Ravi Varma's reign marked the beginning of a new cultural epoch in Kēraḷa; a 'Romantic' epoch, during which the phenomenal influence of Sanskrit led to the almost complete disappearance of Tamil conventions, not only in literature but also in the social life of the people. The triumphant raid of Ravi Varma across the territories of the erst-while overlords of Kēraḷa was in a large measure responsible for this welcome renaissance of Kēraḷa culture. On the other

36. Ravi Varma is referred to as 'Vēṇāttin uḍaiyōru Ravi Varmākhyō yadūnām pathi' in a Malayalam verse quoted in "Lilātilakam," a Kēraḷa treatise of the (14th) century.

hand his political achievements were ephemeral, both at home and abroad. They certainly did not “amount to the creation of the State of Travancore as it is at the present time as a political entity.”³⁷ In 1320 A. D.—four years after the alleged demise of Ravi Varma—. Vīrarāghava Cakravarti, who most probably belonged to the Koḍungōllūr dynasty, mentioned the ruler of Vēṇaḍ as a feudatory. In 1342 A. D. Ibn Batuta asserted that Kēraḷa was ruled by 12 ‘infidel Sultans, each one independent of the others. Ravi Varm’s successors ruled over Kēraḷa south of Kollam, and were known as the ‘Tiruvaḍis’, the ruler being the eldest member among the five collateral (matrilineal) branches, into which the amalgamated royalty of Vēṇaḍ and Jayasimhanāḍ was apparently split up, at least from 1375 A. D. onwards.³⁸

With the rapid rise in power of the Zamorins of Calicut, the centre of culture was shifted from Kollam to Calicut, its chief rival being Cochin, the new Capital and residence of the Rajas of Cochin State (Perumpaṭappu Swarūpam.)

The Rajas of Kēraḷa seem to have played their part in the successful establishment of the Vijayanagar Empire. Ferishtah mentions that “in A. H. 744 (1343—4 A. D.), Ballaḷa Deva (Bukka I) induced the Rajas of Malabar and Kanara countries to join him” and that in 1378 A. D., “the roies of Malabar, Ceylon—kept ambassadors at his court and sent annually rich presents”. The rulers of Vijayanagar, in fact, seem to have claimed nominal overlordship over the Kēraḷa Rajas. According to Abdur Razzak, envoy from Persia to the Zamorin and the king of Vijayanagar; the Zamorin, though independent, stood “extremely in fear” of the Vijayanagar ruler. Nuniḻ mentions the chief of Calicut as a vassal of Krishna Deva Raya. The ‘Tiruvaḍis’ of Southern Kēraḷa seem to have been rather rebellious, and invited more than one punitive raid from

37. New Indian Antiquary. Vol. I, No. 3 page 179.

38. The five branches were Vēṇāḍ, Tiruvitāmkode, Trppappūr, Cēravāi and Jayasimhanāḍ.

the Vijayanagar rulers, because of their repeated encroachment on Pāṇḍyan territory.³⁹

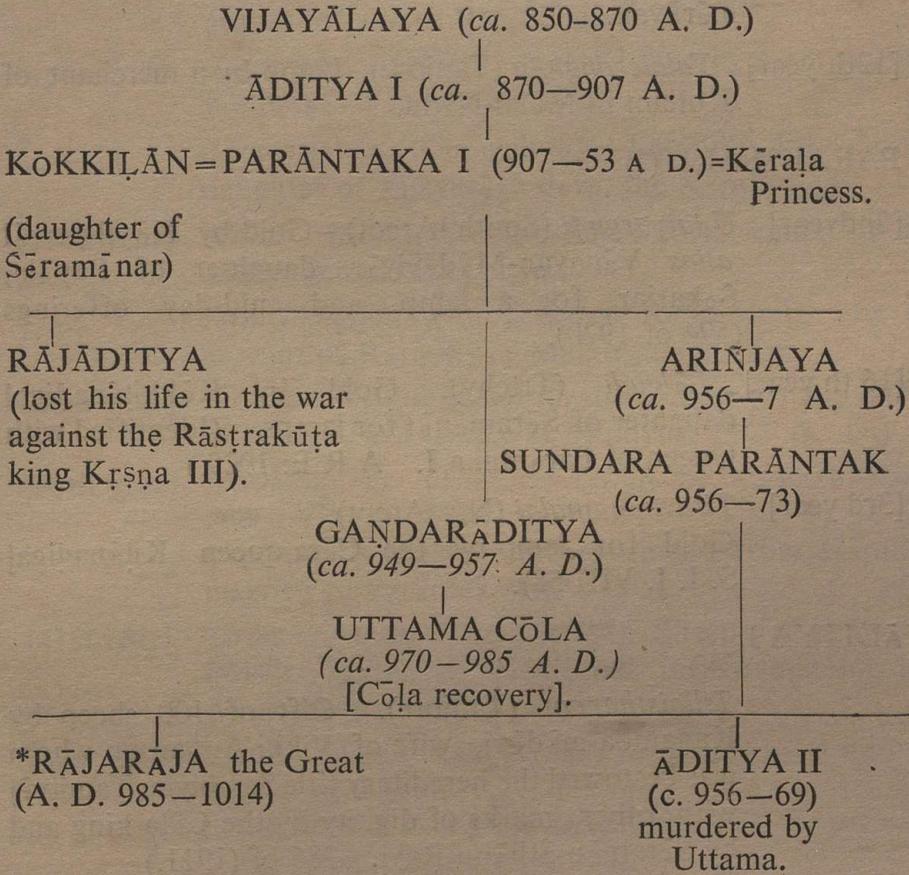
The Rajas of Kēraḷa were, however, left entirely to themselves within the limits of their own territories. The Zamorin who was perhaps the most powerful chief of Kēraḷa, was engaged in an endless feud with the Rulers of Cochin and might have been eventually triumphant, but for the timely arrival of the Portugese, K. M. Panicker goes to the extent of asserting that but for this alien intervention, the Zamorin would have become the ruler of all Kēraḷa; an assertion which is belied by the fact that even his neighbour, the Kōlattiri (Chief of Irāmakuṭam), was always independent of him.

This Epoch therefore marked the final emancipation of Kēraḷa from the domination of her Tamil neighbours. It synchronised with the revival of Kēraḷa culture and a new orientation in Kēraḷa literature. It was also an era of growing wealth and prosperity, though frequent internecine feuds continued to be a lamentable feature of Kēraḷa History. We have seen that cultural homogeneity and political disunity characterised Kēraḷa at the time of Rājendra I; and in spite of a growing political consciousness, Kēraḷa continued to be in this state right up to the end of the Ravi Varma Epoch.

39. 'History of Kēraḷa — Vol. II, page 17.

[APPENDIX A.]

(Cōla kings of the Vijayālaya line and their inscription relating to Kēraḷa Malai-nād).



* (Initiated the practice of engraving on stone on account of the leading events of the reign. Rājēndra made Yuvarāja in 1012 A. D. Extensive conquests. Tolerant religious policy).

Note: — All these details are culled from "The Cōlas" by Prof. Nilakanta Śāstry.

RĀJAKĒSARI (?)

[4th year] *Tiruvaḍandai* (Chingelput)—Twenty *Kaḷaṇṇi* of gold by a merchant of Puruṣōttama-mangalam in Vaḷḷuvanāḍu, a district of Malai-nāḍu.

Veṇpākkam (Chingelput)—construction of a sluice by Kēraḷan Rājādittan *alias* Nāṇi-viccādura-mārāyan.

[12th year] *Talaiccangāḍu* (Tanjore). Lamp by a merchant of Kollam in Malai-Nāḍu.

PARAKĒSARI (?)

[2nd year] *Uḍaiyārguḍi* (South Arcot)—Gold by Kōyil-perṛāl *alias* Vānavan-Mādēviyār, daughter of Pūpāla, Sekariar, for a lamp and mid-day offerings (594 of 1920).

[16 th year] *Lālgudi* (Trichy). Gold by Kōkkiḷāṇaḍigal daughter of Sēramānār for lamps. (Identified with Queen of Parāntaka I. A R E: 1929.)

[3rd year] *Tiruvannāmalai* (N. Arcot). Gold for lamp by the Cēra queen Kiḷāṇaḍigal S. I. I. VIII 58).

ĀDITYA I.

Tillaisthānam (Tanjore). Gift of 100 sheep by Kaḍamba-mādēvi, wife of Vikki-Aṇṇan on whom was bestowed the hereditary title Sembiyan Tami(vē) with other marks of dignity by the Cōḷa king and by Sēramān Sthāṇu Ravi. 286 of (1911.)

PARANTAKA I.

[19th year] *Tiruviḍaimarudūr* (Tanjore). Mentions Nambirāṭṭiyār Kōkiḷān (aḍigal).

[20th year] *Tiruvorriyūr* (Chingelput). Mentions wife of Kēraḷa Ku(ru)mban *alias* Parakēsari Mūvēṇḍavēḷār of Vaḷudi-vāḷ-mangalam.

- [28th year] *Tirunāmanallūr* (South Arcot). 90 sheep and an *Iḷaviḷakku* by Citrakōmaḷam, a maid of queen Kōkkiḷānaḍigaḷ, mother of Rājādittadēva, who ordered the construction of the stone temple at Tirunāvalūr. (335 of 1902).
- [29th year] *Grāmam* (South Arcot). Lamp by Veḷḷangumaran a native of Nandikarai-puttur in Malai-nāḍu and general of prince Rājāditya
- [„] *Tiruccānūr* (North Arcot) Lamp by a native of Koḍungōlūr in Malai-nāḍu
- [„] *Tiruvoṛṛiyūr* (Chingelput). Lamp by Iravi Nili, daughter of Vijayarāga-dēva, the Kēraḷa-rāja
- [33rd year] *Kīlūr* (South Arcot). Sheep for a lamp, by a Malaiyāṇa-orraiceēvagan.
- [„] *Tirunāmanallūr* („). Sheep for a lamp, by a servant of Rājādityās' Malaiyāṇaparivāra.
- [36th year] *Grāmam* Veḷḷan-gumaran, the Kēraḷa general built of stone a śiva temple at Muḍiyūr. (943 A. D.)
- [39th year] *Tirukkalāvūr* (Tanjore)—Lamp by a servant of queen Villavan Mādēviyār.
(Apparently she was another princess from Kēraḷa, married to Parāntaka I.).
- [41st year] *Tirumālapuram* (North Arcot). Sheep for lamp by Pūvan Māraṇ of Neḍiyataḷi in Koḍungōlūr in Malai-nāḍu.
- [year 8+37] *Tiruvenkāḍu* Tanjore Gift to temple by a native of Koḍungōlūr.
inscriptions during the occupation of Cōḷa territory by Kannaradēva (Kṛṣṇa III).
- [18th year] *Tiruvoṛṛiyur* (Chengelpuṭ). Opens with a Sanskrit verse mentioning Caturānana's place in the *Matha* getting the gift. In the 20th year, another inscription gives an account of the career of this Caturānana Paṇḍita, pupil of Niraṅjana Guru, Born of a family of local chieftains in Kēraḷa. Valabha who resembled Guha and was possessed

of many great qualities, mastered all the arts and sciences in his boyhood and, in the prime of life, bent on service to the world, he reached the Cōḷa country and came to be closely associated with king Rājāditya as his *guru*, friend, and *Sāmanta*. As, in spite of their proximity, he did not have the pleasure of dying with his friend (Rājāditya) on the battle-field, he smarted that his life was not in keeping with his birth and connections, and.....turned ascetic, becoming a Mahāvratin, Caturānana by name'.

ARIÑJAYA.

Udaiyārguḍi (South Arcot). In the 12th year of Sundara Cōḷa, mentions the gift of land by Ādittan Kōdai pirāṭṭiyār queen of Ariñjivarman who died at Āṟṟūr.

SUNDARA PARĀNTAKA.

Tirumalai (North Arcot). In the 16th year of Rajaraja I, records the gift by Parāntadēvi Ammanār the daughter of Sēramānār, and queen of (Ponmāḷigait tuñjinan), viz, Devi Ammanār. She is also mentioned in an inscription of the same year at *Tiruvidaimarudūr*.

ĀDITYA II. [*alia's* Pārthivēndran].

An inscription of his 4th year at Kumbakōṇam mentions that Kīlai-Vēlam at Tañjāvūr was called after Queen Kīḷandīgal, mother of Rājāditya.

[11th year]

Uttaramērūr (Chingelput). Land given by the queen (Uḍaiyār-dēviyār) Villavan-mahādēviyār. She may be identical with the queen (Tambirāṭṭiyār) Tribhuvana-mahādēviyār, who makes a grant in the next year to the same temple.

UTTAMA CŌḶA.

An inscription of his 12th year (494 of 1925) mentions a Vānavan-mahādēviyār, daughter of

Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar as one of his fair queens. 'In the hilly tracts of Trichinopoly district to the south of the territory of the Malaimāns, the Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar, of uncertain origin but closely allied to the (Cōḷa) royal family from the days when Parāntaka I married a Paḷuvēṭṭaraiyar princess, were apparently administering a small area around Paḷvūr' as Cōḷa feudatories. This father-in-law of Parāntaka I is referred to as a Kēraḷa rāja in the Anbil plates of Sundara Cōḷa. His inscription states that even in the 7th century,

'Andṅargaḷāna Malaiyāḷar awarēttum Paḷavūr-Araṣan', was a title held by his ancestors.

Vāṇavan-Mahadevi is a term found applied to the Cōḷa queens coming from the royal lines of Cēras, Paḷuvettaraiyars, and the Malaimāns of Malāḍu. The last two chiefs were occupying the hilly tracts of Trichinopoly and Arcot districts. It is likely that they traced their descent from the ancient line of Cēras, as did the Adigamāns of Tagaḍūr.

RĀJARĀJA I.

[14th year] *Sucīndram (Vatteḷuttu)*. Fixes dues from the tenants of Ten-vaḷanallur, who held from Nṛpaśēkhara vaḷanallūr, a *dēvadāna* of Rājarāja Vaḷanāṭṭu-Nāñja-naṭṭu-brahmadēyam Sujindirattu-emberumān (Ta. S. iv, pp. 129-30).

[15th year] *Sucīndram*. Elaborate inscription dealing with the management of temple affairs,

[17th year] *Tenkarai (Madurer)*. Mentions God Srī Vīra Kēraḷa Viṅṅagara-dēvar of Naḍuvil-Sri-Kōyil of Perundēnūr. (The temple must have been built by or in honour of a Vīra Kēraḷa.)

[21-3rd year] *Dādāpuram (S. Arcot)*. Two inscriptions mentioning the temple of Iravi-Kulamānikka Iśvara;— (was it built by Iravi Kōtai?).

[27th year] *Kīlūr* (S. Arcot)—conquest of Udagai in the campaign against Malai-nāḍu.

[29th year] *Tanjore* (2 Inscriptions).

1. Silver vessels by King Rājarāja, captured in the campaigns in Malai nāḍu against the Cēra.

2. Ornaments out of the Cēra treasures.

3. Assignment to Tanjore temple of villages in various nāḍūs including Malai-nāḍu, from which however the number is comparatively small. The revenue was payable partly in gold and partly in kind. The previous owners and ryots of (the village of) Pudukkōḍu in Vellappanāḍu (a subdivision) of Malai-nāḍu, are declared to have been displaced, due to non-payment of taxes.—37 of 1897; S. I. E. Vol, III.

[„] *Tiruvaḍandai* (Chingelput). Gift by a merchant of Koḍungōḷūr in Malai-Nāḍu.

[?] *Tiruccatturai* (Tanjore) Mentions victories in Malai-nāḍu, destruction of Viḷiñam and of Karkaḍaimānagar.

The *Kalinattup-paraṇi* mentions his destruction of Udagai for the sake of his ambassador, and the foundation by him of the Sadiyam festival in the Cēra country.

RAJENDRA I (Parakēsari—Acc. 1012 A. D.)

A Vaṭṭeḷuttu record (523 of 1930) of the 11th century in the neighbourhood of Eli-malai (N. Malabar) in dated in the fifty-ninth regnal year of a Mūṣaka King, Kaṇḍan Kārivarman *alias* Rāmakuda Mūvar Tiruvaḍi; the inscription also mentions Rājēndra-soḷa-samaiya-sēnāpati. Most probably this was the Mūvar “destroyed in anger” by Rajādhirāja during the reign of Rājēndra.

[8th year] *Udaiyārguḍi* (S. Arcot) Gift by Vāūavan Mahādēvi queen of Rājēndra, for worship to images of Candrasēkhara Perumaḷ and his consort set up by

her. Tiruvananteswara of the temple is called *Nammūladeyvam* by the sabhā. (Portrait images were popular at that time, and perhaps the images were the portraits of her Kēraḷa parents)

- [18th year] Gift to same temple by Vāṇavan Mahādēvi.
- [19th year] *Tirumalāḍi* (Trichy.) Two vessels of gold and silver by the same queen.
- [22nd year] *Kūḷambandal* (N. Arcot) Mentions that the temple of Gangaikoṇḍa Sōḷa Īsvaram Uḍaiyār was built by Īsāna Siva Paṇḍita. (He was the *rāja-guru* of Rāja-rāja, and was, according to Prof: Pisharoṭi, a Kēraḷa Brahmin.)
- [?] *Agaram* (Chingelput.) Construction of stone temple by Vāṇavan—Mahādevi.
- [24th year] *Mannārkōvil* (Tinnevelly.) Mentions the Cēra king Rājasimha who built the temple and named it Rājēndra—Cōḷa—Viṇṇagar (the grant to take effect from the 15th year of his son Jaṭā varman Sundara Cōḷa) (Two other inscription—111 and 113 of 1905 give the name of Rājarāja-dēva, another Cēra king. These two were probably Cōḷa feudatories.)
- [?] *Tiruvoṛṇiyūr* (Chingelput) Erection of Vimānam in fine black stone by Ravi, called Vara Vīracōḷatakṣan, under orders of Rajēndra and built at the instance of Caturāna (Paṇḍita),

SUCCESSORS OF RĀJĒNDRA (1044—70 A. D.)

- (1) RĀJĀDHIRĀJA I (acc. A. D. 1018.)
Conquest of Sēraḷan sālai forms part of his *Praśasti* from the 24th year
- [26th year] *Tirumalvāḍi* (Trichy).

‘Rājādhiraś umbrella of state is said to have functioned as if it were the shadow of the white umbrella of his father who conquered with his army the Ganges in the North, Ceylon in the South, Mahōḍai in the West and

Kadāram in the East.' Mahōdai was obviously the capital of the Cērās. (cf. Jewish Copper Plate of Bhāskara Ravi.)

[30th year] *Kanyākumāri* Lengthy order to the officers of the salt depot there. (The name of his *Guru* was Pārāśaryan Vasudeva—nārāyaṇan—a distinctly Nambūtiri name).

(2) RĀJĒNDRA II (1052—64)

[4th year] *Kanyākumāri* The king, seated on Kāduveṭṭi in Kēraḷan—maḷigai—*Kanyākumāri* is called Gangai Koṇḍa—śōḷapuram.

[„] *Erumūr* (S. Arcot). Mentions the temple of Vānavan Mahādēvi-viṇṇagar-āḷvār.

(3) VIRARĀJĒNDRA [1063—69]

His lengthy inscription at *Kanyākumāri* has been discussed already. It must be taken as an account of the joint achievements of the successors of Rājendra. The expression *tambit-tuṇaiccōḷa vaḷanāḍu*, occurring in one of the inscriptions bears evidence to the large measure of overlapping among the reigns.

(4) ADHIRĀJĒNDRA [1067/8—70]

[3rd year] *Polonnaruva* (Ceylon). Mentions a gift to Vānavan māḍēvi-Īsvaram at that place.

CŌLA—PĀṆDYĀS

The contemporary Cōḷa—Pāṇḍya viceroys of this epoch were also Cōḷa princes. All the sons of Rājendra occupied this position at some time or other though it is difficult to identify any one of them with the name of the viceroys. Sundara Pāṇḍya on the other hand, was a Pāṇḍyan king who headed the fatal rebellion against Rājendra I

1. CŌLA—PĀṆDYA: JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA

A large number of his inscriptions are found in South Travancore.

[14th year] *Manārkōyil*. A donation to the temple by Śeraḷan māḍēviyār Adicci, queen of the Cēra king.

Rāśinga-dēvar. Two years later, another inscription at the same place mentions the Cēra king Rājarāja dēva. (A Temple built by the Cēra king Rajasimha c. f. 24th year of Rājēndra.)

[19th year] Inscriptions at *Nagercoil* and *Cēramangalam* (Travancore)

[30th year] 1. 3 inscriptions at *Nagercoil* (*Cōḷapuram*.)

2. *Mannarkōyil*. Mentions the Cēra King Rājasimha (He may have been the ruler of Kollam and the Father-in-law of Rājēndra I)

2. CŌLA PĀNDYA: JATĀVARMAN UDAIYĀR

Most of his inscriptions are at Sucīndram.

3. CŌLA PĀNDYA: MĀRAVARMAN UDAIYĀR

His activities centred round Śērmāḍēvi and Sucīndram.

KULŌTTUNGA I [1078—1120].

VIKRAMA CŌLA [1120—33]

KULŌTTUNGA II [1133—50]

RAJARĀJA II [1146—74]

The system of nominating the heir-apparent, and associating him in the actual conduct of the administration, was continued.

KULŌTTUNGA I

He invaded Kēraḷa twice (c. f. undated inscriptions at *Chidambaram*) but had to fix his boundary at Kōṭṭār. The Pāṇḍyans and Kēraḷās were virtually independent of him. Kēralakēsari Adhirājādhirāja-dēva whose gifts to the Viṣṇu temple at Tirukannapuram are recorded in 1106 A. D. was perhaps a Kēraḷa feudatory of his. A certain Bhāradvājan Māra Nārāyanan was minister to both of them.

- [30th year] *Nagercoil* A temple Rājendra Cōlēsvara, was built by Kulōttunga cōla-Kēraḷa-rāyan at Kōṭṭāru Tyāgavalli, Eḷisai-vallabhi, and Sīrāman Arumoli—mangai are the names of one and the same queen “who enjoyed the right to equal authority with the king” after the death of his Cōḷa wife—and daughter of Rājendra I—Madhurāntaki. Perhaps she belonged to the line of Adigaimāns of Togaḍūr who claimed to be of the family of Eḷini (Cēra king) famous in Sangam literature. Hoysala inscriptions call them Cōḷa *Samantas* and describe their desperate resistance to the Hoysala invasion under Ganga-rāja, towards the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I. The Adigamāns were thereafter, faithful allies of the Cōḷas. It is just possible that the Adigamāns were related by marriage to the Kolattirīs (chief of Irāmakuḍam), who were the traditional rulers of *Ēlimala*. An early inscription in the reign of the next king Vikrama Cōḷa (4th year) at *Tiruvalaṅḷuḷi* (Tanjore) mentions a gift of 14 Kāsu ‘for a *tumbai* garland to God for the benefit of Sēramānār Rāma varmar’. * The suffix ‘Sīrāman’ to the name of the queen of Kulottunga I may be due to the fact that she belonged to the family of this king.
- [23rd year] *Tiruvallam* (N. Arcot.) Lamp by a feudatory, Nilaga (nga) n A (calavīma) n for the benefit of his daughter Villavan māḍēviar, the wife of Piḷḷaiyār Viraśōḷa-dēvar.
- [20th year] *Tinnevelly*. Land in Nāñji-nāḍu to Sēlettīuyyandān *alias* Viḷiñat-taraiyan of Viḷiñam *alias* Rājendra śōḷa-pattinam in Rājārāja-tennādu.
- VIKRAMA CŌLA [1118-33] The good king of Venād is mentioned as his feudatory, as also a Nuḷambapallava
- * “The Cōḷas” Vol II. p. 614. Most probably, the name was Rāma-Varma.

who earned distinction in fights at Kōṭṭar and Kollam.

KULÖTTUNGA II. [1133-50]. Peaceful reign-Growth of sectarian intolerance.

RĀJARĀJA II. [1150-73] Generally peaceful. Signs of decay.

RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II. [1166-82] and **Kulōttung III.** [1178-1216] Neither of them belonged to the direct male line of the Cōḷās. They took a prominent part in the Pāṇḍyan civil war.

KULÖTTUNGA III.

[3rd year] *Tirumaṇanjēri* (Tanjore). Araṣukkadiyān Tirunīlakaṇḍan Śēramān-Tōḷan of Kīrarūr constructed the temple of stone.

[9th year] *Cidambaram*. King sanctions a grant of land to temple by a Kēraḷarājan.

[23rd year] Kongu is called Sōḷa-Kēraḷa-maṇḍalam.

[18th year] Srīrangam. Gift by a native of Malai-maṇḍalam

[34th year] *Pudukkōttah Inscriptions*. Detailed account of his three campaigns against the Pāṇḍya-Kēraḷa Ceylon allies. He fought against the warlike army of Malaya; besieged Maṭṭiyūr and Kaḷikkōṭṭai, adopted the title (Cēra-pāṇḍiyantambirān).

THE END (1216—79).

RĀJARĀJA III. [1216-46.]. Came to the throne soon after the Pāṇḍyan conquest. Propped up on the throne by the Hoysala King Vīra Narasimha and Vīra Sōmēswara.

[13th year] *Tiruvīḍaikkāḷi* (Tanjore) Gift of five *vēli* of land, made tax free, for the maintenance (*ūṇukkudalaga*) of Brahmin students of Vēdānta from the Malayāḷam country in the maṭha.

[18th year] *Kanci*. Land to Aruḷāḷa Perumal by a native of Malai-maṇḍalam.

Tirukkaḷar (Tanjore-copper plate). The āṇḍār living in the temple precincts had taken charge of a perpetual endowment and apparently divided among themselves the amount, and the duty of feeding the guests. In some of these families there were no surviving descendants in the male line; Kanakarāyar and the māhēśwarās now decided the descendants in the female line had to perform the same duty—*poli-ūttup-peṇ-vaḷium varum-cṇṇu niccayitta-maiyil*. SII. iii. 210.

RĀJĒNDRA III.

[7th year] *Tanjore*. Gift by a horse-dealer from Malai-maṇḍalam.

Kānci. Gift by a Nāyaka of Malai-maṇḍalam in the 11th year of Kōpperuñjinga *Cidambaram*. Order of Vēṇāḍuḍaiyan.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

Manārkoṅyil. Vāsudēvan Kēśavan of Kulaśēkhara Mullaipalli in Malai-maṇḍalam set up an image of Kulaśēkhara Perumal. He settled the boundary of the village on the strength of an old document.

Kanyakumari. Ayyan Mangalakkāman, the minister of the great Cōḷa instituted a *taṇṇīrpandal* Note.

Vāṇa-kōvaraiyan or Vāṇa-kula-rāyan was a title born by the Malaiyamāns who seem to have made numerous gifts to temples. The title may imply a dynastic connection with Kērala.

(cf. 'The Cōḷas'. Vol. II p. 165).

INSCRIPTION OF RAVI VARMAN KULASĒKARA.

[1266-1317 A. D. ?]

[1 and 2.] The main incidents of his life are set forth in his inscriptions engraved on the walls of the shrines of Arulāṇātha at Kānci and Sri

Ranganātha at Srīrangam. (E. I. IV; 145-52). He took possession of Kēraḷa in his 33rd year (1299-1300); vanquished Vīra Pāṇḍya, crowned himself king of S. India on the banks of the Vēgavati at the age of 46; subdued the Pāṇḍyas, Cōḷas and Kēraḷas; chastised Vīra Pāṇḍya and returned to Kāñci in the 4th year of his reign. He is called "the worshipper at the lotus feet of Śrī Padmanābha—expert in the 64 kalās—Dakṣiṇa Bhōja etc." It is significant that Ravi Vārma was fast losing support, even in Kēraḷa.

[3] *Tiruvaḍi* (S. Arcot). This inscription is important in that his 4th regnal year is said to correspond to Kali year 4414 (Dec. 1313 A. D.) The reign is thus counted from 1309 A. D. and synchronises with the murder of Māravarman Kulaṣēkhara I. (J. O. R. Vol. XII, p. 199). Kielhorn and S. K. Iyengar wrongly assigns it to 1312—3 A. D.

[4] *Poonamallee*—(Chingelput).

Undated inscription in which he claims victory over Sundara Pāṇḍya, with whom he was friendly till that time. The insignia on the top of the inscription shows the elephant goad (*Arikūṣu*) surmounting the fish and the tiger, the respective emblems of the Pāṇḍya and the Cōḷa.

[5] A record of Ravi Varma in his 7th regnal year (1317 A. D.) at Tinnevely "shows clearly that he still held sway over the southern fringes of the Pāṇḍyan empire, some two years after his retirement from Kāñci. It completely disposes of (Mr. S. K. Iyengar's) theory that he was slain by Muppidi Nāyaka in 1316 A. D.....(Moreover) the available evidence clearly shows, that Muppidi did not take Kāñci from Ravi Varma but from the Pañca Pāṇḍyas".

- [6] *Kēraḷāpuram*—(Travancore). 14-2-1317.
 Udaiya Mārttāṇḍavarman Vīra Pāṇḍyaēva claim to have successfully rebelled against him. He must have been supported by Vīra Pāṇḍya, and perhaps by Ballāḷa III himself. (J. O. R. Vol. XII, p. 200—1 etc.). This rebellion must have been the cause of Ravi Varma's withdrawal from Kāñci
- [7] *Jambukēśwaram*—(Trichy). 29 of 1891. Dēvari Nāyaḍ the officer whom Muppiḍi left in charge of Kāñci claims to have inflicted a defeat on Vīra Pāṇḍya and his ally the Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi (Udaiya Mārttāṇḍa Varman?) at the battle of Tiruvadikuṇṇam and seized all their wealth.

A NOTE ON CHERAMAN-PERUMAL.

BY

S. K. GOVINDASAMI, M. A.

There is not a subject in Indian history which is more replete with difficult problems than the life and date of Cheraman-Perumal. It is, however, the object of this note to endeavour to explain away some of these difficulties with the help of Tamil literature only. It is fortunate that the life of Cheraman, at least towards the close, was brought into intimate contact with that of Saint Sundara, who was one of the triad of Saivite hymnists. Cheraman's intense devotion to Siva added to his friendship with the great Tamil composer has been mainly responsible for the tradition of the Chera being preserved in the religious literature of the medieval period.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF CHERAMAN'S LIFE.

References to Cheraman Perumal are found in the following works of Tamil literature:—

1. A very brief reference to him in Sundara's hymn called "Tiruttouḍattogai" which contains a string of names of Saivite Saints.

2. "*Tiruttouḍar-andāti*" of Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi of the end of the 10th century A. D. is an enlargement of the above work of Sundara. Therein, in two stanzas of four lines each, the episodes of Cheraman's salutation of the washerman, and Cheraman's departure for Kailas are mentioned.

3. In the 12th century Sēkkilār, a minister of Kulōttunga II, wrote his '*Periyapurāṇam*' which was an expansion of the two poems mentioned above. Here in two cantos he fully describes the life of the Saintly Chera. This is our chief

source, and the only reliable data for fixing the date of Cheraman are found in it.

4. In the eleventh “*Tirumurai*” of the Saivite canon a small poem supposed to have been composed by Siva himself and addressed to Cheraman Perumal is found. It is certainly older than the words of Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi and Sekkiḷār.

Tiruvilaiyāḍal-purāṇam and “*Tiruppugaḷ*” of a later period also refer to Cheraman; but their importance is next to nothing.

Cheraman Perumāḷ was born in Koḍuṅḷūr¹ the Muziri of the Greeks. As a child he was named Peru-Mākōdai² after which probably that Cranganore was styled Mākōdai or Mākōdaiyār-pattiṇam³. An excessive piety and other worldliness marked his early life. When king Poṟaiyan⁴ died his ministers invested Mākōdai with sovereignty over Malainādu. The nature of relationship between the former king and Cheraman is not even hinted at in the ‘*Periyapurāṇam*’. At the time of his coronation Siva is said to have given him the gift of understanding the language of birds and animals by reason of which he obtained the name of Kaḷariṟṟarivār.⁵ His preoccupation with Saivism is illustrated by the story of his salutation of a washerman who reminded him of Siva

1. “*Periyapurāṇam*”: Kaḷariṟṟarivār-purāṇam”: St. 1.

2. Ibid. St. 4.

3. Ibid. St. 5.

4. Ibid. St. 10.

5. Ibid. St. 14.

6. Ibid. Sts. 17-18 and Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi’s “*Tirultonḍar-andati*” Sts. 44-45.

As a giver he is compared to "Seasonal rains" in the poem attributed to Siva. Pāṇapattiran, a great musician was directed by Siva to go to Koḍuṅgōlur where Cheraman loaded him with presents which would equal a prince's ransom.⁸ His piety was so great that during his worship he used miraculously to hear the tinkling of the anklets of the dancing Siva at Chidambaram.⁹ We are told that one day the familiar tinkling was not heard and when Cheraman was worrying about the cause thereof, he heard a voice saying that it was due to Natarāja's absorption in Sundara's song of devotion.¹⁰

This interesting incident made the king eager to see Sundara and to visit Chidambaram. Accordingly he left Kerala and reached Chidambaram where he composed a beautiful poem in one hundred quatrains called "*Ponvaṇṇattuaṇḍāṭi*"¹¹ in which he celebrated Nataraja. At Tiruvārūr in the Tanjore District he met Sundara and made his friendship. He worshipped the deity enshrined there by composing another poem in three different metres called "*Mummanikkōvai*".¹² These two poems along with his "*Ādiula*"¹³ prove his mastery of the Tamil language and his divine poetical gift. In the course of Cheraman's and Sundara's pilgrimage to Siva shrines they visited Madura, the Pandya capital, where they were received by an unnamed Pandya king and his son-in law, a Chola king.¹⁴ In the company of the

7. "*Periyapurāṇam*": Kaḷarīṇṇivār-purāṇam: Sts. 27-28 and the Eleventh '*Tirumurai*': St. 1. 1. 3.

8. Ibid Ibid

9&10. Ibid. Sts—42—52.

11. Ibid. St. 56.

12. Ibid. St. 69.

13. Ibid. "*veḷḷānai-Sarukkam*" St. 48.

14. Ibid. Kaḷarīṇṇivār-purāṇam. St. 92.

three kings Sundara visited Tirupparakunṛam and composed a hymn in which reference is made to the presence of the "three kings" at the time. Cheraman then took Sundara to Tiruvanchaikkaṣam which is celebrated in another hymn of Sundara. After this wandering with the royal devotee, Sundara returned home laden with vast treasures.

Sometime after, Sundara visited Cheraman at Kodungōlūr¹⁵. It was during this sojourn that Sundara departed for Kailas on the white elephant which was sent by Siva for the purpose.¹⁶ Learning of the abrupt departure of his friend, Cheraman mounted on his white charger, uttered into its ears the sacred "five letters," and thus overtook Sundara¹⁷. The warriors of his body-guard troop saddened by this incident, drew their swords and killed themselves¹⁸. Though interspersed with many supernatural incidents, this is the account of cheraman Perumal found in Tamil literature.

THE DATE OF CHERAMAN PERUMAL.

On this question there has been a wide divergence of opinion among historians. The late Mr. Srinivasa Pillai in his "History of Tamil Literature" expressed the view that Cheraman Perumal must have lived in 862 A. D.¹⁹. "Sundara ought to have lived between 804 and 825 A. D." (and consequently Cheraman too) says Mr. C. V. Narayana Iyer.²⁰

15. Ibid. Veḷḷānai-Sarukkam. Sts. 18—22.

16. Ibid. Sts. 31—34.

17. Ibid. St. 35.

18. Ibid. Sts 36—37

19. "*Tamiḷ-vaṛalāṟu*" Vol. II. p. 64.

20. "Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India". p. 445.

With great latitude Mr. K. R. Subramaniam concludes that Cheraman must have lived before Vijayalaya²¹.

The latest contribution on this subject is made by Mr. C. V. Narayana Iyer in the last chapter of his book, "Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India". His elaborate discussion is mainly based on the episode of Cheraman's meeting of Chōla king in the Pandya court and partly on a reference in one of the hymns of Sundara to the great victory of Kōṭṭpuli, the Chola commander over confederate enemy forces²². He makes an excursion into the Velvikūḍi grant and concludes. "Now let us attempt to pick out the particular Pandya king who could have been the contemporary of Sundarar (and Cheraman). When we remember the friendly relations between the Chola, Chera and Pandyawe *more or less* lay our finger upon Rajasimha"²³. He gives the date A. D. 707—731 for Rajasimha's reign²⁴ whereas Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has given the date 740-765 A. D. for the same reign.²⁵ Mr. C. V. Narayana Iyer finally ends his discussion with this sentence: "Hence Sundara (and Cheraman too) must have lived...between 710 and 735 A. D. At present we will have to be satisfied with this degree of accuracy"²⁶. Whilst more reliable facts are found in the "*Periyapurāṇam*" which if properly understood, will lead to an acceptable date. Mr. C. V. Narayana Iyer has side tracked the issue by attaching too much importance to the episode of the two saints meeting the Pandya and Chola kings at Madura,

21. Journal of Oriental Research. Vol. I. p. 289.

22. Op. Cit. pp. 450—455.

23. Ibid. p. 455.

24. Ibid. p. 462.

25. "*The Pandyan kingdom*"

26. Op. Cit. p. 462.

An attempt, besides, has also been made to assign Cheraman to A. D. 862 on the strength of the story related in a late Saivite work called "*Tiruvilaiyāḍal-purāṇam*"²⁷ that the Pandian Varaguna recommended Pānapattiran to Cheraman. This, however, is a later variant of the ancient story that Siva sent the musician to Cheraman. The Varaguna of *Tiruvilaiyāḍal-Purāṇam* is gratuitously identified with Varaguna II of the larger *Sinnamanūr* plate and thus Cheraman is given the date A. D. 862²⁸. I cannot better answer this than in the following words of Mr. C. V. Narayana Iyer: "As for the third argument that at the time Paṇapattiran went to Kerala, the ruling Pandya monarch was Varaguna it must be remembered that much value cannot be attached to the names of Pandya monarchs found in the *Tiruvilayadal-puranam*"²⁹.

Now I should think that we must find the date for fixing the date of Cheraman in Sundara's *Thevāram* hymns in the first instance and in the lives of Saints Kaḷarsingan Pusalar and Seruttuṇai in the "*Periyapurāṇam*". One thing is indisputable that Sundara, on whose date depends the date of Cheraman, lived at a time when the Pallavas were ruling over a large part of the Tamil country. In lines 3-8 in stanza 9 of his hymn on the Siva shrine at Chidambaram the following statement is found:- "The glory of Nataraja of Siṛṛambalam lies in punishing princes who do not pay their tribute to the Pallavas who protect the world".

The next step should be the finding out the name of the Pallava contemporary of Sundara. A clue to this is found in *Tiruttonḍattogai* St. 9 11. 1-2 which read as follows:- "I am the dāsa of saint Kaḷar Singan, king of the Kāḍawas, who *protects* the whole world surrounded by the sea". It

27. "Sivalakam-kāṭṭiya-Paṭālam"

28. *Supra*.

29. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, p. 113.

should be noted here that Kaḷar Singan's protection of the earth is described in the present, unlike as in the case of the Pandyan Neḍumāran whose story in the same hymn is put in the past. Therefore it is beyond any doubt that a Pallava king Singan of the victorious anklet was the contemporary of Sundara.

We must be able, now, to identify this with king any one of the historical Pallavas mentioned in many copperplates. At the outset it must be said that Mr. K. R. Subramaniam takes this as a common term by which any king could be described and identifies him with Nandivarman III, the victor of Tellares. He says: "So he (Nandi III.) was the real Kalar Singan"³⁰. But a close and careful examination of the three stories in which his name occurs in the "*Periyapurāṇam*" should convince any body that it should be taken as the personal name of a king. Sekkilar in the opening lines of his story of Kalar Singan says that he was *called* Ka-Kalar Singan is-king Singan of the victorious anklet.³¹ In saint Serattuṇai's story, he is referred to as 'Kochingan'³² which is a rendering of the Sanskrit name Rajasimhan. In the twenty stanzas of Kalarsingan's and Seruttunai's stories, the term occurs more than half a dozen times. In some places the king is referred to merely as Singan. This Kaḷar Singan is said to have defeated his enemies to the north of his kingdom.³³ He is described as a great saivite devotee and the builder of a stone temple to Siva at Kānchi³⁴. Among the Pallavas of Simhavishnu line the king who suits all this

30. J. O. K. I. p. 289.

31. "*Periyapurāṇam*". Kalar—Singa—Nayanār—purānam
St. 1.

32. Ibid. Seruttuṇai-purānam : St. 1.

33. Ibid. Kaḷar-singan-Purānam : St. 2.

34. Ibid. Pūsalār-purānam : St. 9.

description is Rajasimha alias Narasimhavarman II who had the surname of Sivachūdamani³⁵. He was also the builder of the great Kailasanatha Temple which is celebrated by Sundara in his hymn under the name of the western temple of Canjeeveram. The date of Rajasimhan according to Gopalan is 680-700³⁶. As Sundara lived according to tradition only for 18 years, he should have passed away within that period and it need not be said that Cheraman too should have passed away between 690 and 700 A. D.

35. Gopalan's "Pallavas of Kanchi" page 108. The following titles of his found in Kailasanatha temple would serve to strengthen the impression that he was a great devotee of Siva: 'Rishabālauchana' 'Sri-Sankara-bhakta'; 'Sri-Agamapriya'; etc.

36. Ibid. p. 108.

THE DIWANS OF COCHIN

BY

Sahityakusalan T. K. KRISHNA MENON

(Continued from last Issue.)

Sankara Warriar was Diwan from 1015 to 1032 M. E., and his son, Mr. Thottakkat Sankunni Menon, from 1035 to 1055 M. E. In between them came Mr. Venkita Rao who was Diwan from 1032 to 1035 M. E. But he left no mark in the country as he was mainly busy with a quarrel with his quondam friend Parameswara Pattar Sarvadhikariakar, and had to retire because the people loudly prayed for his removal. After Sankunni Menon, his brother, Mr. Govinda Menon was the Diwan from 1055 to 1065 M. E. His first few years were taken up with the boundary and territorial disputes with Travancore. After these were settled by arbitration, he was able to attend to the judicial reforms which were started by his predecessor. During his tenure of office, a Raja's Court of Appeal was constituted, the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes were brought into line with the British Indian Acts, and a Police Force was organised on modern lines. The standard of the existing schools were raised and bettered, a Grant-in-aid Code was introduced, and English schools for girls were for the first time opened. Though he was not so great as his father and his brother, yet he was as systematic as them in his habits, and tried to walk in their steps with reverence and patriotism. He was generous and gentlemanly in his habits, with an avuncular beneficence about him which was irresistible. I am anticipating. I shall go back to Sankara Warriar and Sankunni Menon.

“The foundation of the modern administration of the State,” says Mr. C. Achyutha Menon, and he ought to know, “was laid and the basement built by Sankara Warriar, while its superstructure was raised by his son, Sankunni Menon.

The father was a man of the type of Sir Salar Jung and Sir Dinkar Rao as an administrator, while the son was the compeer of his contemporaries and friends, Sir Madhava Rao and Sir Seshayya Sastri. Both received in their time unstinted praise for their magnificent work from the Government of Madras, the Board of Directors and the Secretary of State, and the heartfelt gratitude, respect and admiration of their countrymen." It was from their time that Cochin came to be known to the outside world as one of the most progressive and well governed among the Indian States. Both had intelligence, courage and independence, in an uncommon degree; their education and experience chastened those qualities; and their tireless industry and glowing patriotism adapted them for the benefit of their country. Throughout their administration, they had the vigorous support of the British Government, although one of the Rajas tried for a time his best to dispense with the services of Sankara Warriar, and Parameswara Pattar, Sarvathi, until his deportation, threw all sorts of obstacles in the way of Sankunni Menon. They were so kind and considerate to the subordinates that the officers of the State were loyal to them and scrupulously honest, and were always willing to undergo any sacrifice to give satisfaction to them. There was no department of the administration which they did not touch; and none that did not improve by their handling. Medical relief, agricultural development, roads and communications, education, public works, irrigation, judicial reforms, industry and commerce, every one of these subjects had their close and careful attention. The financial condition which was in a deplorable condition, they improved so well that, without in any way harassing the people, nor infringing on the ordinary functions of the Government, they were able to spend handsomely on the larger issues that count, and to invest a large amount on Government securities. The anchal was by Sankunni Menon made available for the convenience of the people as well. He also organised the Press Department, and began the publication of the Administration Reports. Sankunni Menon was so keen on extending the railway line into Cochin that he even built the Shoranur bridge with an eye on the

introduction. But because the Raja was emphatic that no debts could be incurred under that head, he had to give way to the wishes of the master. The Interportal Trade Convention to which Sankunni Menon was a party will always remind even a casual observer of the foresight of the Diwan. It swept away the vexatious practices that were then rampant due to the absence of any agreement in regard to the trade relations of the three Governments, and gave an incentive to trade and commerce in the State, and secured to Cochin the right to share in the customs receipts of British Cochin. In spite of his incessant work, he found time to read and to engage himself in games. But, the work did tell on him and his failing health reluctantly forced the Raja to permit him to retire. In a letter which His Highness wrote to the Diwan he feelingly referred to the services of Sankunni Menon in these graceful terms: "We shall lose in you a safe and prudent administrator, and it shall be a constant regret that the conduct of affairs shall no longer be guided by your wise and sagacious counsels. We fully realise that during your tenure of office the country has made vast progress in material prosperity; the resources of the land have been remarkably developed; commerce and agriculture have been widely extended; and the revenue had attained to an amount that is the highest on record." That was praise worth winning.

The periods during which Messrs. Thiruvencatachiar, Subramanya Pillai, and Locke were at the helm of the administration are not marked with any noteworthy steps. All three were in the judicial service of the State at the time they were promoted to the highest office of the State, the two last being the Chief Judges of the Appeal Court. They only carried on the affairs of the State on the lines laid down by Sankunni Menon. Credit may be given to the first for giving an impetus to the cause of elementary education, and to the second for reorganising the medical department and placing it under a full-time Chief Medical Officer. Mr. Achariar caused some stir by an order forbidding the princes from going

outside Cochin except under certain conditions. This gave occasion for a spirited memorial, drafted by Mr. Eardley Norton, to the Ruler.

With the advent of Mr. P. Rajagopala Chari as Diwan, a vigorous forward policy was introduced into the administration of the State. The long-contemplated construction of a railway line from Shoranur to Ernakulam was commenced and completed during his tenure of office, as also a good portion of the Forest Tramway. The cost of these it was possible to meet out of the reserve funds of the Durbar. A scientific cadastral survey of the State was started by him and vigorously pursued. The Accounts Department was reorganised along with a revision of the accounts of the State, and a Financial Code was compiled. The work of the Forest Department was carefully systematised. The administration of the Jails was reformed and the intra-mural work in the jails was developed. The two outstanding events that took place in the course of his stewardship were the fitting celebration of the Jubilee of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and of the visit, for the first time, of a Viceroy of India to the State. Lord Curzon was charmed by "this land of perpetual summer of the feathery palm and the landlocked lagoons." He complimented the State on its administration in terms which bear appropriate repetition here. During the time I have been in India, I have kept a careful watch upon the circumstances and the development of the Native States of India, and nowhere have I observed a more intelligent and progressive administration than in this Cochin State."

Mr. N. Pattabhirama Rao who succeeded Mr. Rajagopala Chari was one who liked a steady, firm, pedestrian step. The old-world grace of a gentleman always hung about him, whether at the office desk or at a musical concert. He was a firm, conscientious officer too good to be vain, too modest to be advertised. The survey operations were pushed on, and the new revenue settlement for which he was responsible resulted in a substantial increase to the land revenue. The completion of

the Forest Tramway, the improvement of the Excise administration, the revision of the grant-in-aid rules, and the passing of several Regulations are other items of his work.

He was followed by Mr. A. R. Banerji, a member of the Indian Civil Service. He put into practice a policy of animated moderation, and for the term of about seven years he held office, his record of work will compare favourably with that of the other best Diwans of the State. He was untouched by considerations other than the welfare of the country. He was prepped to make concessions to time-honoured and reasonable conventions, but positively refused to pander to the whims and caprices of mob psychology. A detailed enumeration of all that he did is not possible, and so is not attempted here. A thorough overhauling of the important parts of the State machinery was effected, without any increase of expenditure, so as to readily respond to the increase of work; and the scheme of decentralisation put into force along with it increased the output of work by a reduction of petty routine in the disposal of official business. With the termination of the survey and settlement work, steps were taken for the strict maintenance of Land Records, and a Land Revenue Manual, and a Village Officers' Manual were prepared and brought into force. The preparation of the Cochin State Manual was also done on his initiative. The beginnings of Local Self-Government were brought into being by the constitution of Town Councils in the important towns of the State, and a scheme for constitutional reform was carefully framed by the Durbar to be the basis of discussion with the Madras Government. The Department of Agriculture underwent a thorough reorganisation, and as a result of it, Demonstration Farms and Veterinary Dispensaries came into existence. An Industrial, and Economic Survey was followed by the opening of industrial technical and commercial schools. Provision was also made for free vernacular education throughout the State. An investigation into the possibility of developing the Fishery Industry occasioned the organising of a special department for it. A department of Public Health was constituted to improve the sanitation of towns and rural parts, and a Leper Asylum was

also opened. Revenue officers were divested of their magisterial functions, and Stationary Magistrates' Courts were established wherever they were found needed. A complete separation of Devaswom and State Funds was effected, and in the management of the incorporated devaswoms stringent reforms were introduced. He conferred a great boon on Ernakulam by the distribution of filtered water brought from Chowerah by means of a pipe-line. Elaborate enquiries were conducted with a view to bring in to existence a Tenancy Regulation which would be beneficial to the tenants and not unacceptable to the landlords. He was very anxious to develop the Cochin Harbour and applied his mind to that vital subject in all earnestness, so that it was possible for him to record in one of his reports, "after 30 years of fruitless discussion, the scheme of the Cochin Harbour is being seriously considered and investigated." Although the Railway was opened in 1877 M. E., it was only after a hard fight by Mr. Banerji, in which even the Secretary of State for India had to intervene, that the Durbar's share of the net earnings was appreciably increased. Similarly, before it began to get its due quota, Cochin had to make a representation to the British Government for the proper allocation of its half share of the actual net customs collections under the Interportal Trade Convention. It was during his time that an agricultural and industrial exhibition on an elaborate scale was for the first time held in the State. It was again he who first introduced social amenities into the civic life of the people. He paid anxious, personal attention in the preparation of the budget, and exercised rigid economy in the expenditure of money, so that, after making provision for all liabilities, he was able to set by a net surplus of about ten lakhs of rupees. Unlike Mr. Rajagopala Chari, his policy was to always give preference to indigenous talents before indenting on other Governments or going in for men outside the State. On the occasion of the great celebrations of the Shashtyabdapoorthi of His Highness, the Abdicated Maharaja, a rare and unique event in the State, endowments were created for the development and encouragement of the Sanskrit and Malayalam Languages and Literature. In all important matters, he took the people into his confidence, and their

disinterested views had his best consideration. But he never countenanced sectarian or communal claims, and his considered opinion which he deliberately recorded on this serious problem is worthy of attention of all who have the future greatness of the country at heart. "It will be a bad day for Cochin if State appointments were to be made in mathematical precision according to population or according to communities represented in the public service and not according strictly to the principle of fitness and efficiency. Encouragement to backward communities must, of course, be given by the grant of special facilities for education, training, and other means, but not by putting square men in round holes in the administration of the State which must look to the greatest good of the greatest number."

Mr. J. W. Bhore, who succeeded Mr. Banerji, was circumspect even to a fault. "Every advance" he remarked in one of his reports, "has to be made good by a great deal of spade work which the public do not see.....A steady advance with an attempt to consolidate each position attained is regarded as stagnation, so that each milestone on the path of progress is 'wetted with tears instead of being crowned with roses.' He did much silent and arduous work in devising schemes to establish a hydro-electric installation and to start Paper Pulp and Ceramic Industries in the State. But, on account of the great European War, and certain other causes, he was not able to materialise them. For the war, the State made handsome contributions on different occasions. He, however, organised a department for Industries. A systematic attempt was made to popularise the cause of the Co-operative Credit Societies in the State, and under his fostering care, Village Panchayats settled down to regular work, and were gradually entrusted with judicial functions as well. Codes and Manuals for the guidance of several departments were published. To avoid the publication of garbled reports about official and public matters, a Press Room was opened to supply correct information to the public. Mr. Bhore followed the lead given by Mr. Banerji as to Exhibitions, Garden Parties and Inter-School Sports. A

comprehensive scheme of communications by land and water based on a well defined policy was set on foot. Finding that the pronounced literary type of education did not cover all needs and was productive of a positive dis-service to society, Mr. Bhole opened industrial schools in different parts of the State and took steps to start an agricultural school attached to the Central Farm at Ollukkara. The one extraordinary event that took place during his administration was the abdication of the Ruler after a notable rule of 19 years.

Mr. T. Vijayaraghava Chari, who was the next Diwan, owned an optimistic temperament, and always bubbled with enthusiasm. He faced blasts with a cheer and loved the great adventure. Though, in the early days of his Diwanship, he had the luck to celebrate the peace after the world weary war, yet they were clouded with an outbreak of epidemics and a shortness of food-stuffs, in an unprecedented manner. He toiled hard, cheered the sick and the needy, and dared the difficult days with a doid heart. For the housing and the education of the depressed classes he spent liberally. One of Mr. Bhole's schemes, the starting of a porcelain and pottery factory was put into shape by him. He also assisted in the starting of a Tannery by an indigenous enterprise. The first piece of social legislation, the Nair Regulation, was brought into the Statute book. The revision of the Education Code and the extension of female education engaged his attention. A Regulation for rendering Village Panchayats self-contained, administrative and legal units, and for giving them increased legal and financial powers, and one for endowing Municipalities with a considerable measure of financial and administrative independence were passed into law. Agreeably to the gracious announcement made by the Ruler in the reply to the address presented to His Highness by the Cochin Mahajana Sabha that it was his earnest desire to associate his people in an increasing measure with the government of the country, measures were matured for the establishment of a Legislative Council.

Mr. P. Narayana Menon had the privilege of assisting in the inauguration of the Legislative Council in the State. The

Council contained a non-official majority. The electorate was constituted on a broad franchise and with no sex disqualification and Cochin had the signal honour of having the first lady member in a Legislative Council in India. The experimental portion of the Cochin Harbour scheme was completed during his time, and actual work was commenced on the reclamation.

Mr. T. S. Narayana Iyer presided over the first session of the Legislative Council. Before he became the Prime Minister, he was for long the first Judge of the Chief Court of the State, and his judicial equanimity he brought to bear on the administration of the land. Trichur, Mattancheri, Nemmara, and Aylore were supplied with drinking water by the pipe system. The work of the Potteries and Tanneries was suspended on account of the loss sustained in their working. The completion of the 70th year of the Ruler was celebrated throughout the State in a manner befitting that event unique in the annals of the State.

The administration of Mr. C. G. Herbert, a man with a magnificent modesty, was eventful. The conversion of the Cochin-Shoranur Railway from meter into broad-gauge was begun and the completion of the third stage of the Harbour works were effected in his time. In the discussion over the questions connected with the jurisdiction and administration of the port area, and in the preliminary negotiations linked with the Indian Federation, his meed of praise cannot be denied him for the hard, self-sacrificing work he put in. A Protector of the Depressed Classes and a Superintendent of Vernacular Education were appointed by him. A State loan was floated to meet the expenses connected with the Railway and Harbour Works. Special loans were given to agriculturists whose holdings were in danger of being sold for debts. The Income-tax Regulation was passed into law in 1108 M. E. The Rama Varmah Central Ayurvedic Hospital was started at Trichur which not only give medical advice free but also the needed medicines under certain salutary conditions.

On the 25th of Meenom 1110, Sir Shanmukham Chetty became the Diwan. With his coming, a vigorous policy was ushered in. The reform of the Secretariat, the nervecentre of the administration, engaged his early attention. A Land Mortgage Bank and a Debt Conciliation Board were created by him to give, in some measure, relief to those groaning under an increasing burden of debts. His verve and vivacity were distinctly reflected in the satisfactory solution of the long-standing disputes over the territorial jurisdiction over a part of the backwaters near the mouth of the Cochin Harbour, and over the fourth stage works of the Harbour. A Law Commission has brought the laws of the State on a line with those obtainable in British India. The constitution of the Staff Selection Board for recruitment in the public services has set at rest the interested hue and cry over every appointment made in the State. The scheme is intended to protect the interests of all communities without in the slightest degree sacrificing the efficiency of the administrative machinery. The interest that he takes in town-planning has already gone to beautify Ernakulam and Trichur, where the introduction of electric lights have considerably enhanced the elegance of these centres. The economic welfare of the State is an important item of his consideration. He is also keen in exercising the utmost economy in the expenditure in retrenching which he takes every possible opportunity. To one who has successfully piloted the Indian Assembly, it is not much of an effort to carry on, as he is doing, the deliberations of the Legislative Council with marked harmony and mutual courtesy. Although he is one who is prepared to show propitiatory gestures to reasonable demands, yet he is out to strangle the tangled coil of communal squabbles, and refuses to be stampeded into a fearful apprehension by the indignant outbursts of mob psychology. Above all, he is gifted with that faculty to get at those cardinal facts of a far-sighted administration that lie cushioned in the solid foundation of basal principles. The Government of Cochin Act will furnish even to remote posterity reasons to recall his name with gratitude.

By this Act, Cochin is given a popular minister to administer a few of its departments, and the Chief Court is raised into a High Court.

As Sir Shanmukham Chetty is still the Diwan of the State, it is too early to take stock of the important events in the record of his administration. But, I believe, his bold statesmanlike pronouncement or "constitutional democracy" will be a fitting conclusion to this short paper on the *Diwans of Cochin*: "I feel that, as the result of practical experience, of close and intimate contact with a Ruler, I have really come to the conclusion that democracy can be safe in India only when we have got some sort of a stabilising influence like a great Ruler of the Cochin type"

[The primary object of this short sketch is to set out succinctly in their proper setting the salient features in the administration of the several Diwans of the State. Even of these only the bare enumeration is all that is possible in a short paper like this. For most of the materials I am indebted to the Reports of Administration, Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon's *History of Cochin* and the *State Manual*. Strictly speaking, Col. Munro must be considered to have been the first Diwan. But, as he was the British Resident, that designation was not ordinarily used in official correspondence. That is why the State Calender begins with Mr. Nanjappaya as the first Dewan. There, the name of Mr. S. Locke is twice entered as the holder of the acting Diwanship, while the names of Messrs. K. Narayana Marar, T. V. Kasturi Ranga Iyer and of P. Damodara Menon, who also had acted as Dewans, are not so referred to. However, I have taken the Calender as my guide. On account of the restriction as to space a desperately condensed sketch appeared in the special Cochin Supplement of the "Hindu" to whose management my acknowledgements are due.]

'PLACE-NAMES' IN COCHIN STATE.

BY

K. ACHUTA MENON.

It is now acknowledged on all hands that the study of place-names affords invaluable help to the antiquarian and archaeologist engaged in the difficult task of reconstructing a country's or a nation's past from extant survivals. It is particularly so in a state like Cochin, with a climate not in the least noted for its preservative qualities. The heavy rainfall and the general humid atmosphere of Malabar rapidly destroy all survivals from the dim past, in the shape of inscriptions and even structures in stone. Although place-names and the materials for historical research which they furnish, are safe from the destroying effects of climate, it cannot be said that they are altogether proof against the disturbing influences of time and the changes wrought by contact with foreign nations. There are numerous instances in this State, where place names have been transformed with the march of centuries, almost out of recognition. In many cases they become corrupted and overlaid by myth, by human transmission and reproduction and are seldom preserved in an absolutely untainted form. Witness the evolution, to quote a few instances illustrative of the point, of Bolghatty from Muḷavukāḍ or Muḷakukāḍ, Cranganore from Koḍungallōr and Shoranur from Cheruvanore. The necessity for a careful collection of extant place-names in this State, accompanied by a critical examination of their origins, where-ever possible, becomes thus abundantly manifest. As in the case of archaeology, so in the case of place-names "the task of digging for foundations is not easy"; but that need not or should not deter the enthusiast from undertaking the attempt; for, when all is said and done, in the study of place-name, the risks of error are by no means staggering. The dangers of folly are almost negligible. Work of this kind needs to be done even if

its conclusion cannot claim the dignity of finality and even if it must remain for sometime at least in the nature of surface work, until reinforced and completed by exact knowledge. More and more it comes to be realised as the study proceeds that place-names rightly understood afford us interesting glimpses of the culture, the political and social organisations, the religion, the customs and manners of our forefathers. They are in fact links joining the new world with the old and as the study proceeds, we find that "dusty corners here and there which we have taken for granted come into the flood-light and disclose unsuspected treasures". Many of these names have roots which go long beyond the historical period made known to us by chronicles and inscriptions and old documents. They put back the historical horizon of a country to a period much earlier than what is known to the average student. They belong in fact to those long ages, 'which shade off into the gulf of time,' ages not discernible at all to the eyes of research or at best are dimly perceptible through time-mellowed beliefs, traditions and superstitions. If some part of the science of place-names has necessarily to be made to rest upon guessing, the student of place-names may derive consolation from Dr. Durant's dictum that 'most history is guessing and the rest prejudice'.

Materials for such study are not wanting in our State. Our State, small as it is, has got a repertoire of place-names, which for richness, variety and picturesqueness can challenge comparison with the place-names of any other country or State. This is by no means surprising. The Malayalees, as a race, are noted for their highly developed powers of imagination and quick perception of the aesthetic and the beautiful. The undoubted martial perfections of the ancient Nair Warriors and their alleged marital imperfection have all found a place in the interesting records left by the old world travellers; but it is a fact, surprising but nevertheless true, that little or no reference has been made by them to the names of even important places in Cochin. The famous Ptolemy does not refer to more than half a dozen places in what was ancient Cochin. Even there he has missed all the finer place-names, being preoccupied with coastal towns, whose names, in the very nature of things

have a saltish twang about them, and are often far from being sweet. If Ptolemy's readers, whoever they were, formed the conclusion that there were no sweet or beautiful place-names in Cochin then they were absolutely mistaken. When the Kingdom of Cochin emerges from the mists of legend and tradition, into the dim light of authentic history, most of the place-names now in use must have already become well-formed. It is a fact, which can easily be gathered from a comparative study of place names all over the world, that a beautiful country has got beautiful towns and villages and beautiful place-names. That is almost a general rule and Cochin is no exception. There are in this beautiful State of ours, a number of places with names which 'form a line of buttery syllables that have in them the very taste of the romantic and picturesque country sides of Cochin; names, which are strongly reminiscent of our tall, waving cocoanut palms and prehistoric palmyra trees, smiling rivers with their flower rimmed banks, the green rice-fields and meadows dotting our landscape like costly carpets, and our lofty hills and crags and mountain tops. There are names, such as Āmballūr, Pūmaṅgalam, Mullaśṣēri, Kaiṭaccira and a host of others which leave behind them the enchanting perfume of the sweet scented flowers of Malabar. Names there are which carry all 'the witchery of the soft vowelled Indian syllables', names like Amarāvati Kaṇimangalam, Kiḷimaṅgalam and the like as sweet as 'sweet Mesopotamia,' if not sweeter. There are of course a few names which look, in the words of a very entertaining writer in one of the English reviews, "like bits of strong cheese, harsh on the tongue, with a sour strength in them". Names such as Kulayērrikara Kākkaraccōla, Kulukkāpāra, Varandarapillī, may properly be classed in this group. There are a few places with laconic, stumpy little names, such as Māḷa, Kāra, Chēnom, Pōtta, which defy all attempts at elucidation. I refuse to believe, however, that these names are mere meaningless nothings created or coined by some ingenious or deranged brain. If I have not been able to unravel their meaning, that only shows that my method of approach was faulty. They must yield to more competent research. There are again names such as Eḷankunnapuzha, Vendurutty, Vypeen, Kaḍamakūḍi,

Azhikoṭe, through which we hear faintly but distinctly echoes of the soft music made by the splash of the pellucid waters upon sandy and pebbly beaches. Names of places such as Azhikoṭṭa, Kōṭṭamukku, Kakkād, Pōrkalam, Vālūr conjure up, at least in the minds of those with a fair knowledge of the past, well built fortresses, walls and fortified towns. We hear the march of tramping armies, the war cries of Nair warriors and the clash of steel upon steel. Classifications like this might, of course, be indulged into any extent, but is bound to be largely imperfect or incomplete.

The further question as to how these place-names arose in Cochin is a more interesting field of enquiry, although more difficult. A careful study of these names will convince any impartial observer that they are, with very few exceptions indeed, Dravidian or Tamil names. It would, of course, be unwise, in the present state of knowledge regarding these place names, to form inflexible opinions or to assume unchangeable positions; but endings such as ūr, (in Muṇḍūr, Ollūr, Trikkūr. etc); Cēri; (as in Maṭṭāncēri, Waḍakancēri, Anceri and a host of others); Peṭṭa, (as in Puttenpeṭṭah); Kuḍa, Koḍe or Kuḍam (as in Iriṅjālakuḍa, Kaniyārkōḍe and Thaniyakuḍam); Palli, (as in Ayyampalli, Kuzhupalli); Thuruttu or Thurutti, (as in Veṇḍurutti, Ochanthuruttu); Thura and Thara, (as in Trippoonithura, Kadavanthara Nadattara, Moolattura, Cāvu (as in Akkikāvu, Muḷakunnathukāvu), Kara (as in Aranāṭṭukara, Mukkattukara); Kuḷam, (as in Eṇṇākuḷam, Thiruvañcikuḷam Eḷamkuḷam); Kudi, as in Cālakudi, Kaḍamakudy); Patti (as in Ozhalapatti, Vadakarapatti, Kozhipatti); and pāra, (as in Kulukkapāra, Kozhijanpāra) disitnctly suggest or reveal their Tamil origin. It is an astonishing fact that ninety-nine out of a hundred of these place names in Cochin have one or other of these endings. It would be interesting to know also what these words mean in Tamil and in ancient and even in modern Malayalam. 'Ūr' means of course a place, 'Cēri' is a collection of hovels, huts or houses, 'Peṭṭah' is an assemblage of shops, Kuḍa, Koḍe or Kuḍam signifies generally a hilltop, Palli is a term generally applied to Palaces and religious places of worship, 'Turuttu or

Turutti' is of course an Island, Tura in Tamil is a harbour. Tara is simply land in general, and in special, the term is applied to one of the tribal organisations of the old Nairs; Kara is almost the same with dimensions different. Kulam, is a tank or a low lying ground; Kudī, collection of huts (there are some who maintain that the word is of Buddhist origin); Patti is a village at the foot of the hills or as Dr. Gundert would have it 'Agricultural village or a cluster of hovels of mountain tribes' and Pāra is rock. The Tamil origin of the bulk of the place-names in Cochin is very strikingly confirmed or corroborated, when they are compared with place-names elsewhere in South India. Many of these names, are repeated word for word, suffix for suffix, in many parts of the Madras Presidency and even far north of it. To quote a few examples:— If there is a Vellore there, we have got a Vēlore in the Talappally Taluk of the State. If there is a Chittūr, in North Arcot, we have two places of the same name, one in the Chittur Taluk and another near Ennākulam. If there is a Puthupet in Madras Town, we boast of a Puttenpettah in Trichur Town. If there is a Pondichery or Puthusseri near Madras, we have got a Putuśśēri, near Shoranur. Mukundapuram Taluk in the State is one of the biggest of its Taluks. It is surprising to find that one of the Railway Stations near Katpadi Junction bears the same name, Mukundapuram. Katpadi or Kāttupatti itself is repeated in Kunnamkāttupadi in Chittur Taluk. There are Putturs (lit. new ūrs or places) all over South India. Cuddalore in the Madras Presidency; to Kaḍavallūr in Cochin is not a far cry. Kāttūr in Mukundapuram Taluk is obviously the same as Kādūr in the Madras Presidency. Nellore over there is repeated half a dozen times in various parts of Cochin. Even such an uncommon name as Pulla is met with in the same form near Ellore. A few days ago I read in the papers that a Harijan colony has been started in Pulla near Ellore. Viyyūr near Trichur with an undecipherable name, is almost the same as Vuyyur in Madras Presidency which is the seat of a Zemindari. The historic controversy over the capital of the Perumals, where every inch of ground was obstinately contested by those who held different views, ranged over two Karūrs, one near Trichinopoly and the other in the old kingdom of Cochin. There are some who

maintain that it was one of the names for Tiruvañcikuḷam and that the echo of that name is found in Karūpatanna. Patanna, as commonly understood means a salt pan: but a Tamil gentleman, who was very much interested in the controversy, once told me that the word Padannai or Padanthai in old Tamil, meant a landing place for boats. If this is correct, then it almost clinches the matter, for Karūpaṭanna would then be the landing place for boats to and from Karūr. Karūpatanna is barely three miles from Tiruvañcikuḷam and lies at the extremity of the land route. All this by the way. To proceed with my main point, Ālaṅgād Taluk in old Cochin, is very strikingly reproduced in the Alangad Taluk of the Pudukottah State. Kadamakkudi in Cochin has got a brother in Karambakudy in the same State. Kolathur Dēśom in British Malabar on the outskirts of Cochin is again reproduced in Kolattur Taluk in Pudukottah. The famous Vaḷḷuvanād Taluk of British Malabar finds its counterpart in Vaḷḷuanād in Pudukottah. Turn to Mysore. We find on comparison the same astounding similarity of place names in many instances. If Cochin has its Itraveli, opposite to Mattanchery, Mysore has got a larger Eraballi, a small town. If we have Erumapatti, Mysore has got its Nayakanhatty (Hatty in Canarese would be Patty in Malayalam or Tamil). Cochin has its celebrated Kudirān hills. Mysore has a counterpart in the name Kudremukh. Melukote in Mysore is reproduced in Melārkote in British Malabar near Cochin. A comparison of the place-names in Cochin with those in Travancore and British Malabar reveals a far greater similarity in many instances. The similarity, I would say, even identity, exists not only in place-names but even in house names, leaving alone the personal names. There is nothing remarkable in this, because nobody disputes that the three kingdoms of Cochin, Travancore and Calicut formed at one time parts of a larger Kingdom. The preponderance of competent authority is for holding that a common civilisation, possessing the same characteristics and substantially the same language, must have flourished in South India at some remote period; giving rise to the same beliefs, usages and habits and even place-names. Whatever that be, it seems to me that the

appearance of the same place-names in various parts of a country is a clear indication that the nomenclature is neither haphazard nor accidental but is almost certainly the result of causes, not yet fully understood but which undoubtedly have their roots in a common ethical origin and identity of language.

A general statement that where place names are similar or resemble each other, it can be predicted that the same civilisation or the same types of it, gave birth to them, may be far-fetched and may not be universally accepted but recent researches in this direction have shown that a statement like this could be hazarded without raising the eyebrows of your hearers or readers. This is hardly the place for taking up an extended investigation of that kind and for attempting to follow the trail of Tamil or Dravidian Civilisation, across Ceylon, Japan, Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Continental Europe, Great Britain, America and countries like Australia, Antarctica, Madagascar. Keeping well within the region or domain of place-names, let me take a rapid survey of a few place names, in one of these countries namely Ceylon, our nearest neighbour which bear more than a superficial or accidental resemblance to place-names over here. Lake *Tamblegam* in Ceylon sounds very much like *Tamilakom* if it does not actually mean that '*Ambanpola*' must, I think be *Ambanpozha*, closely related to *Ambalapola* in Travencore. *Wariyapola* looks suspiciously like *Varapula* and *Karunagale* is very intimately related to *Karunagapally*, of the neighbouring State Travencore. *Karaitivu* point and *Kalmina* compare very favourably with *Karappuram* and *Karamuna*; *Wellawette* Temple bears a strong resemblance to *Vilvattom* near *Trichur* or *Vallivattom* near *Karupatanna*. *Kokkilai* is almost the same as *Kokkalai*, a landing place in *Trichur*. *Puttalam*, in Ceylon has its counterpart in *Pattalam*, in *Trichur* Town. *Mulur*, south of *Trincomalee*, is the same as *Mullūr* to the west of *Trichur*. *Tirukkivil* is first cousin to *Pootrikkivil* in *Cochin*. Even a place like *Maradu*, with such a prosaic ugly name would be much relieved to find that there is a place in Ceylon named *Moratuwa*, of probably the same origin. A hair

raising name like Bambala pitiya, (actually the name of a place in Ceylon) holds no terrors for us. Bembāla in Ceylon is Vempala or a Cobra in Cochin. Pitiyan is 'one who catches' in both the places. I do not know if the name really means Cobra Catcher in Singhalese but I shall not be surprised if it does. Ceylon like Cochin and the rest of Malabar, is the land of snakes, Mankulam in Ceylon can easily be substituted by Manakkoṣam of Cochin and nobody will notice the change. Kactchaveli, Nilaveli, Kattiravili of Ceylon do not stand in need of any formal introduction to Cochinites who have got in their midst, Iravēli, Kiluvēli and PuttENVēlikkara. Mullaitiri is almost as fragrant as our Mullaśśēri. Instances like this could be multiplied but an attempt in that direction is really unnecessary as the examples quoted are surely more than sufficient to make out that these place names are commemorative of the days when a civilisation similar to that which gave rise to the place names of Cochin must have flourished in early days, in Ceylon. It would also advance the case for holding that Ceylon formed part of the main land in the not distant past. Traces of place-names resembling those of South India and Ceylon can be found in the place-names of China and Japan, although the evidence gets thinner and thinner as we proceed. The *'Encyclopaedia Britannica'* in the article on Hanumān, records that Hanumān, mistakenly but popularly called the Monkey-God, is worshipped in many places in Japan. There are shrines in his honour and many districts and towns are said to be called after him. If, as is believed by some, Hanumān was a great Dravidian Saint, then this fact would be cogent evidence of the spread of Dravidian culture, long before Buddhism got there.

The vast bulk of place-names in Cochin are Dravidian in origin and must have come into existence with the beginning of the great Nair civilisation which flourished in Kerala, long before the birth of the Christian Era. History does not chronicle the date of the advent of the Nairs into Malabar, nor even who they were; speculation is rife on these matters. But it is fairly certain they conquered and made slaves of the aboriginal inhabitants, the Malayāns (forest dwellers), the

Kāḍars, the Nāyaḍis or hunters and the comparatively more civilised Pulayās. Although place-names in Cochin are the heirs of a far greater antiquity than can be assigned to what are known as the historic ages, there are no indications anywhere that these primitive dwellers of Cochin have made any contribution to the long list of place-names in Cochin. There is no record to show when these supremely unsophisticated jungle dwellers or their palaeolithic ancestors came to Malabar. Whoever they were, these half-naked savages of the steaming tropical jungles, must have led a hand-to-mouth existence, living in improvised shelters, on tree-tops, and more often, as the Nāyaḍis do even now, in caves; engaged in a grim fight against nature and a grimmer fight against the wild denizens of the thick-wooded forests. They had no 'places' and naturally no place-names could have arisen. Social life, in the old stone-age, to which they properly belonged, seems, as Mr. Perryputs it, to have moved from one source of raw material to another. Even the Pulayās who represented a civilisation only one degree higher than that of the earliest roamers of the jungles, do not seem to have had settled habitations. They must have lived in flimsy palm-thatched huts, on the outskirts of the forest and very often by the side of the rivers and the backwaters, engaged in fish-catching and making crude attempts at cultivation of the low-lying lands. Even laying aside the traditional origin of Kerala, it is a matter of controversy whether these people were the first colonisers and cultivators of the newly formed reclamations that were Kerala. I do not propose to go into that question here, as, even if they were, it is fairly evident that they had no place in the formation of place-names. The subsequent wave of Aryan or Nambūtiri immigration into Cochin also seems to have had very little influence upon the place-names of Cochin. It is accepted generally now that the Nambūtiris do not form part of the indigenous population of Malabar. Whence they came and what their origin is do not concern me. Their influence upon place-names, in any case has been negligible. Whether as a result of their influence or because of the growing familiarity of the Nairs with the Puranas and the sacred Books and literature of the Aryans generally, a few names do indeed seem to have sprung up

afterwardes, which do not seem to have any relation to the original Dravidian names. The nomenclature becomes more pretentious, flamboyant and even meaningless. The arrogant pompousness of names such as Ramēśwaram, Trikkulaśekharam, or Dēśamangalam distinctly suggest a Non-Dravidian ancestry.

I will now pass on to deal specifically with a few leading place-names in this State. In the nature of things, the enquiry is bound to be incomplete. There are so many place-names that it would be an impossible task to deal with all of them. One has to content oneself therefore with a reference to the more well-known among them; but before doing so, I would request your leave to make a short reference to the words 'Malabar' and Malayalam. I do not propose to deal at any great length with the name Malabar. That has been subjected to an exhaustive treatment by Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, in his monumental work 'The History of Kerala'. The consensus of qualified opinion is in favour of holding that the word means Land of Hills, literally Malanād or 'Terra Montis' as an ecclesiastical writer calls it. Even if 'vāram means slope, the meaning Mountain slopes will not be inapposite as applied to Malabar; but the word Malayalam which is the indigenous word for Malabar, has been the subject of diverse interpretations. There is no dispute about Mala. That means Hill. There are some who maintain that the word 'Ālam' means Ālam or depth. The word would then mean Hills and dales 'Vallis montis'.

I pass on to the name 'Cochin', by which both the State and a portion of it, the shore opposite Ernakulam is known. Among the indigenous inhabitants of this State it is known as Cocci. Cochin is an anglicised form of it, just as Vypeen which stands for Vypu, is. Very soon after its formation, the port of Cochin acquired a world famous reputation. Foreign nations came to her impelled by hopes of gain and often times by wander lust, and return home with their ships well-laden with pepper, ivory and the spices of the East, which they bought in exchange for swords of steel, glassware and muskets. Whether it was the 'old age lure of substantial things' or 'the

path of blazing glory' that drove these foreign adventurers, 'path-breakers of the sea' into Cochin, is of no consequence. The fact remains that at the mere mention of the name Cochin, there pass in rapid succession before our mind's eye a thousand historical events, which have beaten about it, as a turbulent sea about a rock and we wonder how such a historically big city had such a small name and a mysterious name, for the matter of that. Before attempting to investigate the origin and the significance of the word 'Cocci', there is one essential fact that has to be decided first, as it undoubtedly has a direct bearing upon the question and that is, when exactly the famous harbour was formed. Both Mr. C. Achutha Menon the author of the Cochin State Manual and Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, author of the 'History of Kerala,' state that the harbour or estuary was formed in 1341 A. D. That was also the date on which the Island of Vypen opposite Cocci was thrown up by the sea. Mr. Padmanabha Menon is inclined to agree with Nicolo Conti, (who wrote in the fifteenth century) and Fra Paolino (who wrote in the 18th century), in their view that the town was called Kocci after the small river that flowed by it and poured into the sea through a small opening. 'It is locally known as Kocci and Koccu in the Malayalam language means small. It is also significant that the Sanskrit Kerala Māhātmyam calls it Bālapuri, a small town'. Thus observes Mr. Padmanabha Menon. The great difficulty which I feel in accepting this derivation is that it does not really tell us when the name Kocci came into use. If it owed its existence to the small river which flowed by then clearly it would not have waited to come into use, till the historic flood of 1341 A. D. when the modern harbour arose as a result of this extraordinary happening of that year. Mr. Achutha Menon, I think realises this difficulty. "The first portion of the name" he writes in the State Manual is undoubtedly the Malayalam word 'Koccu', meaning small or young, but what this word qualifies can only be conjectured. In the Kerala Māhātmyam and other recent Sanskrit works, the town is called Bālapuri, small or young town, but Nicolo Conti writing in the 15th Century and Fra Paolino in the 18th say that it was called Cocci after the small river that flowed by that place, that is

the river that connects the backwater and the sea. I would therefore hazard the conjecture that the word is a contraction of Koccali, the small or new harbour, as distinguished from the large or old Cranganore harbour which was frequented for centuries by merchants from all parts of the world". The suggestion is extremely ingenious but speaking with all deference to the brilliant author of the Cochin State Manual, it is hardly satisfying. Its greatest drawback so far as I can see is that it does not tell us what the place was called before the new harbour was formed. There was, as both he and Mr Padmanabha Menon state, a small river which found its way to the sea in the very place even before 1341 and surely it is not too much to support that it must have had a name. It seems to be clear that the inhabitants of this State, would not have waited for the occurrence of 1341 for finding out a name for the Ali which existed according to all accounts even before. Another difficulty which I feel in wholly accepting the suggestion is that it does not seem to me very probable that the name 'koccali' would have been given to an ali which if what is stated is true, increased its size and became the magnificent harbour of today in 1341; even though it may be conceded for purposes of argument that it was smaller than the Cranganore opening. The simultaneous coming into existence of the harbour and the Vypeen Island in 1341, seems also very unlikely. There could not have been both a washing off and a reformation of land, in the same place at one and the same time. If Vypeen came later, then it follows that the Ali must have been a very broad one prior to 1341, much broader than what it is today and the name Koccali would have been singularly inappropriate.

Another aspect of the matter which has not been sufficiently kept in mind by those who have so far dealt with the origin of the word Cocci' is the possibility of its being a word coined by the foreign merchants who were in the habit of frequently visiting the harbour, ever since it was formed in 1341 A. D. The ease and rapidity with which Cochin has forged ahead of other States in cultural progress, is in no small measure due to the start she receive early in her history, by contact,

through commercial intercourse, with the great maritime nations of the world. The earliest to touch at the port since the harbour was formed were the Chinese and if we suppose for a moment that the name of the harbour was given to it by the foreign merchants, who came there in search of pepper, ginger, and spices, then undoubtedly we must look to the Chinese to have been the originators of the name Coccu or Cocci. Two processes are generally at work when foreigners first start to give a place a name. Sometimes a local vernacular word is used, which would not inaptly denote some outstanding peculiarity of the place and would then be twisted into a shape, almost out of recognition in its altered form; oftentimes the nomenclature employed would be based on one of the words in their own language, that would compendiously describe, the topographical or other peculiarities of the place. If we look to the Chinese as the originators of the name 'Coccu or Cocci,' then undoubtedly it must have been the latter process that must have been at work. The prevalence of such names as *Kionchoo*, *Fu-choo*, in China, and even of Cochin-China in the neighbourhood would point that way. Investigations along this line, led me to the startling discovery that the word *Go-chu* Chinese means the Five Provinces. *Ko-chu* means nine Provinces and *Go-chu* would mean five Provinces. Now it is a well-known fact that the portion of Kanayannore, opposite the Cochin shore and its surrounding parts went by the name of Añjikaimal District, a term which has not gone out of use even now. Añjikaimal or Five jurisdictions or Five Provinces would be easily be *Go-Chu* in Chinese. I do not, of course, claim that this coincidence has lifted the question from the region of uncertainty to that of established fact but I certainly claim that the line of enquiry opened by this fact, deserves to be pursued by others more well-equipped and better qualified than I am. China has, as I have pointed out elsewhere, contributed a number of names to the Malayalam language and it would not be surprising in the least, if the word Kochu or Kochi is also of Chinese origin. Trade with China was so well established in the early days of the Cochin port that people went to the length of calling all

sailors by the name of *Tehini* and all vessels by the name of China.

That the Chinese had trade with Quilon or Kollam is now well-established. Ma Huan tells us that Quilon was known to the Chinese navigators of the Tand-dynasty (618-913 A. D.) Kollam has an all Kerala importance, since the Malayalam era is also known as the Kollam Era. Now what does the place-name Kollam as applied to this ancient sea-port represent? One view is that the place-name comes from the old Malayalam word *Kolu* or *Kolla* meaning high ground. The topography of the place, it is said, lends some support to this derivation. A more plausible derivation is that attempted by Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, who thinks that it means a tank, being a variant of the word *Koḷam*. This is hardly satisfying although ingenious. Dr. Gundert says that Kollam was in old days the seat of a Raja and that in Malabar, other residences of king were formerly called *Kollam*. If this is so, I would venture to suggest that the word might really be a compound of the two old Malayalam words *Kō* meaning King and *Illam* meaning a house owned by Royalty or nobility. The same would be the meaning of the word 'Kollam' as it appears in the place-name Kollenkōṭe.

Another possible line of enquiry into the place-name is started by the now well-established fact that in very early days (say the 8th or 9th century A. D.), the Chinese had trade relations with this part of the Malabar Coast and had even started settlements in Cochin and Kollam. It is very remarkable that the Chinese word for 'a great market' is either *Kollam* or something surprisingly like it, on the authority of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. In speaking of 'Cholon', a town of French Indo-China, the largest commercial centre of Cochin-China, it says that the town was founded by the Chinese immigrants about 1780 and that the place-name 'Cholon' means 'a great market'. I am not putting forward this origin of 'Kollam' as a final conclusion but merely as a suggestion. It seems to me to be worth further investigation.

Tr̥ppūñittura, the seat of H. H. the Maha Raja of Cochin is a place sacred to all Cochintes and has been long famous in the history of Cochin. There are, in my estimation, excellent reasons to suppose that Pūñitturah or Tr̥ppūñittura is the *Pounata* of Ptolemy. Kanakasabhai indeed thinks that it stands for Pūññār near Meenachil; but judging both from the order in which the places are described, as well as the description of the place, as the one 'where there is beryl', a kind of emerald, the probabilities are that the reference is to Pūñittura. Possession of emeralds suggests prosperous Royalty. There has been, so far, no authoritative derivation, etymological or otherwise suggested as to the origin of the name. Added to this is the absence of early records, which throw any light upon the meaning of this and other names, even though place names are preserved in a mutilated form in some records. Any attempt at elucidation or explanation can, in these circumstances, be only in the nature a guess or a speculation. 'Tiru' means 'śree' or Lekshmi and 'Pūñ' or 'Pūñḍavan' means, I am told Maṇavāḷan or husband in Tamil. That would make Tr̥ppūñittura the abode of Lord Vishnu, which is what it is. The change from Pūñittura Ēśan to Pūrñatīyēśan is also, if this derivation is accepted, easily understandable. In the Trippunitturai inscription of King Kodai Iravi printed in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Cochin State for the year 1103 M. E. (1927-1928) the place is called "പുണിതൂരൈ". I should not omit to point out here that in one of the issues of the old Malabar Law quarterly Review Mr. Ponnambalam Pillai, following Kanakasabai told that Trippunithura must have been a port in olden times and that it was actually Theru porum thoray the great sacred harbour referred to in Theruvagam, the great work of Manikka Vasagar.

I have touched only the outer fringe of the subject, but I fervently hope that others will follow me and will gently and firmly correct the mistakes which I have made. The subject is dear to me and nothing will gladden my heart than the knowledge that I have succeeded in attracting the attention of others.

A PRIMER OF MALAYĀLAM PHONOLOGY

BY

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CHAPTER V

Early Malayalam and Late Malayalam

While it is possible to mark off the linguistic anteriority and posteriority of Malayālam forms with the help of the criteria furnished by general rules of phonetic change, the determination of the exact chronology of the phonological changes of Malayālam is rendered difficult by limitations of the available data and limitations of a different kind.

Nevertheless, the examination of the phonology of Malayālam reveals two broad chronological divisions: an earlier stage in which many of those forward evolutions which characteristically differentiated Malayālam from the parent stage materialised, and a later stage to which belonged a set of changes which (so far as one can say now) are either absent in the earlier stage or are represented (if at all) only infrequently and sporadically in that stage. The earlier period roughly corresponds to early Old Malayālam (extending up to the end of the 14th century), and the later period would cover late Old Malayālam and New Malayālam (extending from the 15th century down till to-day). For the purposes of this chapter, I would denominate them respectively Early Malayālam and Late Malayālam. This division is, I may say, only a broad one; for, though there are some changes which might definitely be assigned to the one side and to the other, there are also other changes which could not be so clearly assaigned.

The test that I have employed for demarcating the Late Malayālam changes which form the subject of this chapter is to examine if on the one hand the phonetically earlier form appears exclusively, or numerously, in the linguistic material of

Early Malayāḷam, and if on the other hand, the developed form finds exclusive representation or occurs numerously in Late Malayāḷam.

This test is, I may at once say, subject to the same limitations that I have adverted to above.

(a) The linguistic material available today for the older stages is constituted of manuscripts and inscriptions. If the authorship of the matter of the manuscript and the period of his activities are known, the reliability of the manuscript would depend upon the time when it was prepared. The maximum value attaches to transcripts that are known to have been prepared during contemporary periods or during immediately later periods. Manuscripts like these are not available numerously in Malabar. As for the inscriptions, dated lithic records *in situ* are far more valuable than copper plates or cadjan leaves which may have been copies transcribed at a later period.

In connection with the use of manuscripts and inscriptions for purposes of phonology, the too frequent tendency on the part of some editors to dismiss as "scribal errors" forms which do not conform to what they consider as the "norm" is very much to be deplored. Errors arising from the ignorance and carelessness of the scribe have to be strictly distinguished from colloquial variants which repeatedly occur in different documents of different places and periods. The value of these colloquial forms for the student of phonology cannot be overestimated. The editing of manuscripts has become an exact science to-day, and a scientifically edited manuscript is intended to be used in various ways; no editor, therefore, can glibly discount the value of colloquial variants.

(b) The linguistic developments and changes of the West Coast may not have been uniform in all areas; this is what one is led to infer from the examination of the material available to-day.

(c) Since the influence of tradition was, as in other parts of India, very strong in Kēraḷa too, the forms attested in

literary texts, if tradition-influenced, lose much of their evidentiary value for the determination of the exact chronology of changes.

(d) The paucity of dependable materials available for Early Malayāḷam is another factor that has to be remembered here. Uṇṇunīlisandēśam, the prose Dūtavākyaṃ, the evidence of the grammar Līlātilakam, and dated inscriptions prior to the 14th century, form the actual material of Early Malayāḷam available to-day.

Phonetics

1. The use of non-Dravidian IA sounds in native words is not represented largely in the earlier maṇipravāḷa period [i. e. early Old Malayāḷam]; but in the later maṇipravāḷas [i. e. the campus produced from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries] this feature becomes prominent. A rare instance in the earlier period is gōṣṭhi 'pranks', formed from kōṭṭi under the influence of Sanskrit gōṣṭhi.

In the campus [late Old Malayāḷam] there are instances like the following:—bhōṣkan¹ from native pōlkan, under the influence perhaps of muṣkan.

ēbhyam, Iḷibhyam from native ēyppə, iḷippə; vaṣaḷ from native vaḷaḷ, under the influence of Sanskrit vaṣaṭkāra; vaḷusam from native valud - .

KG has uras- and alas- with s.

The following appear in the colloquials at a still later stage:—ūṣam for ūḷam 'turn, time; vimmiṣṭam [colloquial] for

1. Since the present press printing this journal has the necessary types, I have used underlined n for the alveolar nasal; underlined t and d for the alveolar plosives; and underlined r for the palato-cerebral tril which in a very ancient stage was bound up with alveolar plosives.

vimmiṭṭam; apphan [Nambūdiris' language]; mahan [ib] tuṛassə, kaḍussə, etc.

2. The use in native words of consonant groups like the following which are foreign to native Dravidian is also due to the influence of Indo-Āryan:

tr, in atra itra, appears already in late Old Malayāḷam.

Kācyapāl in KG shows cy which group is required in the context by the metrics of the text.

ny in eṇyē [<eṇṇiyē] occurs in New Malayāḷam; and it is often represented as anyē. pl in plāvə [< pilāvə < palā], and dr with an r [in words like mudṛttu edṛttu, etc.] are all due to the influence of Sanskrit.

pṛapped- (for puṛa-p-peḍ-) is a colloquialism.

3. The view prevailing to-day that the palato-cerebral r is an absolute final in Malayāḷam [cf. Kēraḷa Pāṇiniyam, p. 96] becomes pronounced in Late Malayāḷam.

i) Instances like vēṛtiri-kk-, vēṛpāḍe, where on account of the disappearance of the unaccented vowel u (of vēṛru) the r appears to occupy a final position may have led to the view under reference. Cf. vēṛviṭṭe in KG, where the metrics require the absence of the 'enunciative'.

ii) Compounds like tēṛttaṭṭe, pōṛkkaḷam where the original post-dental r becomes cerebralized to r on account of its proximity to plosives following may also have contributed to the feeling that r may occur as an absolute final.

Phonology

1. While infinitives with final a and with final e [< frontalized-e < weak accented-a] exist side by side in Early Malayāḷam, those with final a become very scarce in Late Malayāḷam. To-day, infinitives have final e (or-ē on account

of semantic emphasis) except in collocations and sequences like *ceyya-p-peḍ-*, *ceyya-t-takka*, *kūḍa-p-piṛappə*, *āga-p-pāḍe*, *āga-t-toga*, *kūḍa-k-kūḍe*, etc.

US, Dūt. and Līl. show numerous forms with *a* which is replaced by *e* or *ē* in the Malayāḷam of later stages.

2. Medial weak-accented *a* = *ə*] of *enakkur* of early Old Malayāḷam becomes fronted to *i* (through the stage *u*) in Late Malayāḷam:

Early *parimār-*, Late *perumār-*; Early *paḍ-*, Late *peḍ-*. The view that *paḍ-* and *peḍ-* are two distinct roots is illusory.

5. The final *a* of the old optatives (used as polite imperatives in Malayāḷam) appears lengthened in some Late Malayāḷam texts, as in *aṛigā*, *colgā*.

The final *a* of *alla* and *illa* appears lengthened sometimes in Late Malayāḷam. cf. *Uttararāmāyaṇam gadyam*.

6. The long-*ā* of *vēṇḍā*, *pōrā*, *kūḍā* is shortened optionally in modern Malayāḷam.

Vayyā [*<* older *vahiyā*] and *mēlā* are common New Malayāḷam formations which also show optionally the shortening of the final vowel in present-day speech and writing.

7. While Early Malayāḷam has final *a* in words like the following (derived from older compounds with *kāy*), denoting the names of fruits, New Malayāḷam shortens the final:

tēññāy [TAS, II p. 173 ff.]

tēññā [KSP, I, p. 124]

aḍaikkā [TAS, IV, p. 46—12th c.]

paḷukkā [ib.]

8. Old Malayalam has *inḍi-y-ē*, *in ṇi-y-ē* alternating with *enḍi-y-ē*, *eñṇiyē*; New Malayāḷam has only *eñṇiyē*.

9. Early Malayāḷam has -ind- as the present tense affix, generally speaking; the forms with und are only rare, as in TAS, IV, p. 19 or TAS, II, p. 34.

Late Malayāḷam has uññ-, though -iññ- appears down till the 17th century in rare instances. Cf. vikkiñña and ceyyiñña in a 17th century inscription in TAS, VII, p. 16 ff.

10. Old manuscripts like those of Dūt., and old inscriptions, show long ī and long ū wherever these appear in finite tense forms (without personal endings). This practice is not general in Late Malayāḷam except when semantic emphasis necessitates lengthening.

11. -ōḷam (alternating with -ōḷam), occurs not only in K Bhāg. and K Bhr., but also in 18th century colloquials, ōḷam is exclusive to-day.

12. In Modern Malayāḷam the ō of pōykkol-, pōykkalai-, pōyppō- is shortened. The shortened forms are sometimes used in the literary language also.

13. The opening out of the old final u to ə in pausal positions became common in all areas of Malabar perhaps only after the period of Lilātilakam.

14. After the u had changed to ə in pausal positions, there was a tendency to open out the ə still further to an a in words like the following:

āññaḷa < āññaḷə

pennaḷa < pennaḷə

añña < aññə

paṭṭanna < paṭṭannə

cilla < cillə

That there was a change in the sound-value would be clear from the fact that inflexional forms like paṭṭāññayueḍ

ānnaḷayāl are met with in the colloquials and rarely in the literary dialect also.

In this connection, the incorporation of-a in kāya, vāya, pāya is also a late development in Malayālam.

15. Old puraḷ-, later piraḷ-.

16. -o- has lost its lip-rounding and become a kind of ə in the unaccented positions of forms like ippolūm [>ippəlum], ceyyolā [>ceyyəllā] and ceyyəllē].

17. Contractions involved in types like the following are Late Malayālam, so far as one can judge from the materials available:—

ceydāre < ceyda-vāre

ceyyāre < ceyyum-āre

kurē (or kure) < kuraya [used by Eluttaccan and also in Girijākalyānam]

vēṇḍaəd < vēṇḍuvade [used down till the 18th century]

varāṇḍa < varādē koṇḍa

ēdāṇḍa < ēdānum-uṇḍa

varārṇṇu < varām-āyirunṇu

kudiccēccāṭṭē [Tuḷḷal] < kudiccēccāgāṭṭē

Consonants

1. -cc- > -śś- in the following:

nēśśiyār, nambīśān, vāśśadə, puḷiśśēri, kurēśśe or kurēśśa.

For the older cce, -ccey, cceydu (or-ccai and-ccaidu), cf. nāḷicceyd-ari and nāḷiccē [TAS, II, p. 36-10th c.], paḷaiccai [TAS, III, p. 26], uricce [ib., III, p. 25]; and mukkōlccaid-uṇḍ-irupuḷam [US, 1,66], paḍiṇāru viralccaidu [US, 2,36], aiviralccaidu [US, 2, 33]

2. s in *solla* (< *tolla*), *müssadə* (< *müttadə*), *vaḷusam* (from *vaḷud-*), etc. In vulgar colloquials, there are other instances showing the converse change, as e. g. in *toyram* < *soyram* < *svairam* [Skt.]

3. t always appears doubled in Late Malayalam forms of the negative relative participle type of *ceyyātta* [Early Malayalam *ceyyāda*].

4. *ṇṇ* appears always simplified to *ṇ* after preceding long vowels in Late Malayalam as in *vāṇ-*, *vīṇ-*, *kēṇ-*. This change did not affect forms like *amiṇṇ-*, *kamiṇṇ-*, *umiṇṇ*, etc., though in the modern colloquials the *ṇṇ* is simplified to *ṇ* in these forms also.

5. The change of *ṇṇ* > *ṇ* [simplified after a long vowel] > *ṇ̄* [cerebralised on account of the influence of the dorsal vowel preceding] has to be postulated for New Malayalam *āṇə* [< *āṇə* < *āṇṇə* < *āḡuṇṇə* < *āḡinḍu.*]

6. Dialectal *ūṇi*, as in *ūṇi nīrūpi-kk-* (of *Varttamānappustagam*) owes its *ṇ* to a similar process of phonetic change.

7. *ṇ* of modern colloquial present tense finite forms like *pōṇu* (< *pōḡuṇu* < *pōḡuṇṇu*) are Late Malayalam. The earliest instance that I have come across is *pōṇēṇalō* in KG.

8. Old *-ṇḍ-* of *vēṇḍi-kk-* has been simplified to *ḍ* in Late Malayalam *vēḍi-kk-* and *mēḍi-KK-*. Dialectally, *mēṇi-kk-* is also heard.

9. *y* in *ellāyppolum* appears to be Late Malayalam. The form *ellāppolum* occurs in 18th century texts beside the form with *y*.

10. Forms like *pōrāḷiga* (< *pōrāyga*), *varāḷiga* (< *varāyga*), with *ḷ* instead of older *y* are frequent in Late Malayalam manuscripts hailing from Travancore

The replacement of *y* by *ḷ* may have been due to two factors: the influence of neighbouring back sounds and also of forms like *varād-oligil*.

11. The conjunctive participles āy [of ā 'to become'] and pōy [of pō 'to go'] are used in Early Malayalam generally as āy and pōy, while in later Malayalam the forms appear generally as āyi and pōyi with a final i. Similarly, wherever in Early Malayalam the forms appear as finites, they have consonantal finals, while in Late Malayalam they have -i. US and Dūt show -y exclusively, while KG has both sets.

Tody, hower, though in the colloquials āy and pōy are very commonly heard, only āyi and pōyi are used in literary texts (whether they occur as conjunctive participles or as finites) except in sequences like āykkōṇḍa, pōykkalañṇu, etc., and except when forms with initial vowels follow them in sandhi contexts.

12. The change of r to r in the following appears to be comparatively late developments:—

īram < īram

cīrikk < ciri-kk-

tīrə < tirə

ārāleca < ārālca

māru < mārvu < mārvu, and kār [isolated from compounds like kārkkālam < kārkkālam] already occur in Early Malayalam [e. g. in Lil.]

13. Conversely, in a few instances, old r has become r:-
kuraia < kurara

upperi < uppurari

puriśeri < puricrakrari

eriśerri < ericrakrari

14. False splitting has given rise to the following:
mēra [isolated from -um -ēla [; vān, met with in texts of the 16th to the 18th centuries,]isolated from instances like unrōrvān], kēr [isolated from karaikkēr-]

15. Haplology in the following:

illattu, pōrattu used as finites in the 17th and 18th century texts] < illāttadə, etc.

varuṅṅa kaṅḍu < varuṅṅadu kaṅḍ

dēhaṅṅam < dēha daṅṅam

naḍaḍē < naḍānaḍē < naḍānaḍē

aṅṅōkki < aṅṅuṅṅōkki

cuvāṅṅaḍi < cuvāṅṅa tāḍi

Sandhi.

The front intervocal glide y had already in Old Malayāḷam displaced the back v in some contexts where v was normal according to the principles obtaining in the parent language. In Early Malayāḷam works, however, there still continued to exist forms in which the v was embodied.

In Late Malayāḷam, even in some of these contexts, y replaced v.

In modern Malayāḷam, the only contexts where v is used are inflexional forms like pū-v-il, old compounds like mikka-v āṛum, pala v-uru, etc.

2. While the elision of the final a of the relative participles and of infinitives, and of ē of the type of ceyyattē was common in some works of the 15th to the 18th century, these are not common in modern literary texts, though such elisions abound in the colloquials.

3. In Early Malayāḷam, the doubling of initial plosives of words and forms, coming immediately after the long demonstratives ā and i, after ellā, and after the words ti and pū, was commonly embodied. This practice is not current today for ā, ī, ellā; for ti and pū, the doubling is embodied generally in casual compounds.

4. The "restoration" of l instead of ṅ in instances of

external sandhi where n meeting plosives had originally changed to t appears to have received "recognition" after the period of *Līlātilakam*, though the disapproval expressed by this grammar (of the use of *l*) shows that the change may have started early enough.

5. A number of types of external sandhi changes of literary Tam., introduced sometimes in Old Malayalam works, are not met with in the works of the later periods.

6. Though in a few familiar forms and compounds like *nānma*, *nānū rē*, *eṇṇā li*, *kaṇṇīr* the old external sandhi changes are preserved still, they are not embodied in many other instances like the following: —

<i>Modern</i>	<i>Old Malayalam</i>
<i>n ān ā li</i>	<i>n ān ā li</i>
<i>mēl nilam</i>	<i>mēn ilam</i>
<i>uṇ ākkə</i>	<i>uṇṇ ākə</i>
<i>rājākk aṇmār</i>	<i>rājākk aṇmār</i>
<i>poduvāṇmār</i>	<i>poduvāṇmār</i>
<i>tōlmēl</i>	<i>tō nmēl</i>

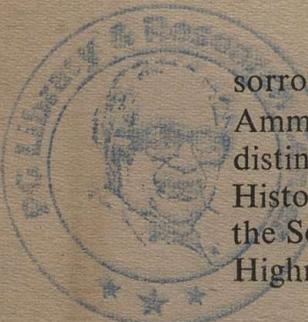
OBITUARY

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It is with deep regret that we have to record the sudden demise of Prince Kerala Varma Ammaman Tampuran on 14th September 1938. As a member of the Rama Varma Research Institute Committee for over four years, he interested himself in all the activities of the Committee. His abilities as a teacher and his erudition as a scholar are well-known. He was closely acquainted with many of the important aspects of Kerala antiquities. He is the author of a number of books in Malayalam; and he was a constant contributor to the leading periodicals of Kerala. His work on കൃത്യം കൂടിയാട്ടം bears eloquent testimony to his scholarship. His contributions on Kathakali to the columns of this *Bulletin* attracted a great deal of attention. He had also an idea of writing a work on the "Kāfi cult in Malabar".

The following condolence resolution was passed at the meeting of the Research Institute Committee held on 9th October 1938:

"The Committee begs to place on record its deep sorrow at the demise of His Highness Professor Kerala Varma Ammaman Tampuran, and record its great appreciation of the distinguished services he has rendered in the field of Kerala History and Kerala Literature. The Committee authorises the Secretary to convey this resolution of condolence to His Highness's family".



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