

BULLETIN
OF THE
RAMA VARMA
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

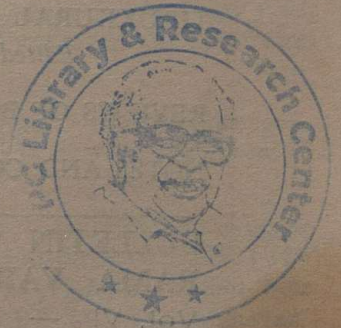
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SHORT HISTORY OF THE RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND ITS BULLETIN

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

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 According to the scheme approved by the Government the object of the institute was to collect books, journals and unpublished manuscripts on the History of South India in general and of Kerala in particular to afford facilities for carrying on research work on the ancient History of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

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

After the integration of the 2 States (Cochin and Travancore in 1949, the T. C. Government expressed their doubt whether there is 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. Certain volumes of the Bulletin are now completely sold out and as such the Akademi undertook reprinting these volumes as they contain invaluable articles.

Secretary,
Kerala Sahitya Akademi.

THE BULLETIN
OF THE
SRI RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

KRṢṆAS OF KERALA

BY

Vidyānidhi K. R. PISHAROTI, M. A.

The presence of numerous problems of identity among the various well-known Malayali writers is the most important of the aspects which strike the student, working his way through the history of Samskrit Literature in Kerala. The chief among them are the problems of Kulaśekhara, of Nārāyaṇa, of Vāsudeva, of Kṛṣṇa etc. problems which have arisen from the recurrence of similar names as authors of well-known works and from the absence of all authentic information leading to their identification. Certain aspects of the first three of these have already been noticed by the present writer¹; and here it is proposed to notice the last mentioned problem².

Even a cursory acquaintance with the religious traditions and the Samskrit Literature of Kerala points out to the general student more than half a dozen Kṛṣṇas. The foremost among these is the well-known Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka, familiarly known as *Villamangalam*³. Our traditions have a number of interesting

1. Vide the writer's paper on the *Kulaśekharas of Kerala*, the *Indian Historical Quarterly*: Vol. VIIpp. 319-330; on *Nārāyaṇa* IHQ. Vol. IX; on *Rāmakatha*, the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*: Vol. V, part iv.

2. One aspect of this problem is set forth in IHQ Vol. VIIpp. 334-342.

3. There appears to exist two different versions regarding the correct name. Some call it *Vilva-mangalam* and others *Villa-mangalam*. The first of these interpretations does not

stories in which *Villamangalam Svāmiyār* is a central figure; and when these are analysed and viewed historically, *Villamangalam-svāmiyār* resolves itself into three *bhaktas* who lived in widely different periods¹. Besides this triad, there are three other Kṛṣṇas, one figuring as the author of the *Bharatacaritakāvya*² and the *Dhruvacaritacampu*, another as the *Guru*³ of Nārāyaṇa Pandita the author of the *Meya* part of the *Mānameyodaya*

appear to be correct, for one *Villamangalamsvāmiyār* refers to his family as *Kodaṇḍamangalam* which corresponds to *Villumangalam*. This term has later degenerated in popular parlance into *Villāṅgalam*. We do believe that the term has originally had nothing to do with *Vilva*, the sacred tree of the *śaivites*, even though the first *Villāṅgalam* was himself a *śaivite*. However, against this is the view of Durgāprasādayati who refers to *Vilvamangalam* also as a variant name of *Kodandamangalam*. Compare the following extract:

cāpamangalagṛho yatīśvaro *vilvamangalagṛho* vibhāti yaḥ |
mahyameṣa paricārakāraṇād brahmatāmupagataḥ prasīdatu ||

We have, therefor, to believe that the confusion has come to exist even at the time of the original *Līlāsūka*.

1. One aspect of this problem has been discussed by Mr. A. G. Warier in his paper on *Villumangalams*: vide IHQ. Vol. VII pp. 334-342.

2. This work is published in the *Trivandrum Samskrit Series*.

3. Compare for instance the following extract from the *Meya* part of the *Mānameyodaya*:

kṛṣṇo vibudhādhipatirniṣṇāto vitarāṇeṣu vidyāyāḥ |
muṣṇātu hrdayatimiram puṣṇātu ca mangalāni sakalāni ||

also:

kṛṣṇaḥ kāvyārthamīmāmsakaparivr̥dhataḥ kāvyamārgāva
gantāiti |

The same reference is also found made in the colophon of the authors commentary on the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kumārasaṁbhava*. Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita had other *Gurus* also, and when we compare the references, we are struck by the fact that while his other *Gurus* are all brahmins, this particular Kṛṣṇa is a *non-dvija*.

and the last a *Yativarya*, variously called Kṛṣṇānanda,-yati,-yatindra,—sarasvati, including the *Guru* of Rāghavānanda¹, the author of the *Tātparyadīpika* on the *Mukundamāla* of Kulaśekhara. Thus we have three sets of Kṛṣṇas—the *Svāmiyār*, the poet, and the *Guru*.

Our traditions are rich in their reference to a *Villamangalam Svāmiyār*. A *Svāmiyār* of this name is held to have founded the shrine at Trivandrum. Another is referred to as the contemporary of Talakkulat Bhaṭṭatiri, the famous astrologer, who, according to the *Kali* chronogram, *rakṣet govindamarkaḥ*, is held to have passed away early in the thirteenth century². Still another *Svāmiyār* of the same name is mentioned as the contemporary of Mānaveḍa, prince of Calicut, the devotee-poet of that royal house, who wrote the *Kṛṣṇāttām*, also called the *Kṛṣṇagīti*, in the fifties of the seventeenth century³.

The *Padmanābhasvāmi* temple at Trivandrum is said to have been founded by a Villamangalam *Svāmiyār*⁴. It seems to have been the rule that the divine Lord Kṛṣṇa would manifest himself before the *Svāmiyār* every day to receive the oblations. One day it so happened that the Lord was late, and the saint, losing his temper, warded Him off with the back of his hand. This is held to be very insulting, and so the Lord at once disappeared, saying that he would meet Him again in the *Anantankātu*, literally the *forest of Anantan*. The saint did not expect such disappearance, and so called after him, but to no purpose. He became very sad and wandered about in search of the forest, so-called. In the course of his

1. Vide the writer's Introduction to his edition of the *Mukundamāla*, Annamalai University Samskrit Series, No. I.

2. Vide the writer's paper on *Sastras-Practical and Theoretical*, published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, Vol. XXI, No. 3.

3. This prince is held to have lived in the seventeenth century, based on the *Kali* chronogram, *grāhyā stutirgāthakaiḥ*, which occurs in the *Kṛṣṇagīti*.

4. This tradition some do not accept. But there is nothing in the tradition itself which makes it unacceptable.

wanderings, he reached the outskirts of the modern Trivandrum when he heard an unapproachable woman terrifying her child, by saying that she would throw him into the *Anantankāṭu*, if it continued to be so naughty. The *svāmiyār* was delighted to hear this name uttered; he repaired to the woman and asked her where the forest was. Learning its situation, he proceeded thither and began his search for the divine form. Before long he visualised the presence—the beatific form he was so familiar with. He had then nothing with him to offer Him and so welcomed Him with some tender mangoes in a cocoanut shell. The present shrine of Trivandrum is said to have been founded at the site where the *Svāmiyār* visualised the Lord, and the first offering to the deity enshrined there even today is reported to be mangoes in a golden shell, reminiscent of the old incident. The *Puṣpāñjali* priest of this temple has traditionally been the Head of the *Naṭuvil Maṭham*, at Trichur, and this is cited as an indication, proving that the *Svāmiyār* who visualised the divine presence was the head of the *Naṭuvil Maṭham*. Tradition would also have it that the temple was founded on the day expressed by the chronogram, *ābrahma*. A pious tradition would have it that this expresses the *Kali* day; but this cannot certainly be accepted as such, for the available historical data would disprove such an antiquity for any temple any where in India¹. We are, therefore, inclined to take this as referring to the *Kolla* era, in which case the origin of the temple may be put down to 827 A. D. This date is not unsupported by other considerations which we have elaborated elsewhere. In this founder of the Trivandrum temple we have then the earliest *Villamangalam Svāmiyār* and an indication of his age we get from the *Kolla* chronogram, *ābrahma*.

Tradition has interesting details to give regarding the contemporary of Talakkulatt Bhaṭṭatiri, the famous Kerala astrologer. A *Villamangalam Svāmiyār* was suffering from an acute pain in the stomach, and no medicine could give him

1. This is not the only instance of the manipulation of such chronograms. Compare for instance: *padma*, describing the *pratiṣṭha* of the shrine at Trippunithura, and *dhāmāvāpa* of the Irinjālakkuṭa temple. In these cases there is the same basic motive of giving the temple a very high antiquity.

any relief. He, therefore, consulted the famous astrologer who, after casting his horoscope, said that his complaint was incurable and that it was a divine gift to enable him to finish his *prārabdakarma* within the shortest time possible and attain salvation. He also added that the Svāmiyār had been suffering from the same complaint in his previous birth and that he would suffer from the same complaint even in his next birth which, however, would be the last. This tradition is interesting in that it refers to three and only three *Villamangalam Svāmiyārs* and that in different periods of history. Since we know the date of the astrologer, this *Svāmiyār* must have lived in the latter part of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth century¹.

Coming to the last of the *Vil'amangalams* tradition makes him the contemporary of Mānaveda of Calicut who lived in the seventeenth century². Himself a great devotee³, the prince wished to visualise the divine beauty of the Lord Sri Kṛṣṇa and so requested the *Svāmiyār*, who was the head of the *Naṭuvil Maṭham*, to help him to realise his desire. Through his instrumentality, the prince was enabled to see the vision divine; but overpowered by his emotions, he wished to embrace the Lord, when He disappeared, stating that that was not desired of Him by *Villamangalam*. But in the struggle, the prince was able to snatch a peacock feather from the Lord's coronet, which for a long time graced the coronet of the actor that impersonated Kṛṣṇa in the *Kṛṣṇāṭṭamkali*⁴. Since the

1. This is evidenced by the *Kali* chronogram—*rakṣet govindamarkaḥ*—approximating to the first half of the thirteenth century; also see citation in note 1 p. 70 and 2p. 71 ante.

2. Vide the *Kali* chronogram cited in note 3 p. 71 ante.

3. The tradition, as it runs in the royal family of Calicut, is slightly different. This would make the then Zamorin himself the great devotee, to whom was vouchsafed the divine vision through the instrumentality of *Villamangalamsvāmiyār*, while Mānaveda was only a great scholar. Both these are contemporaries, and this difference of tradition does not materially affect our interpretation of *Villamangalam*.

4. The coronet with the divine peacock feather stuck on to it was destroyed in a family fire.

date of the *Kṛṣṇāṭṭam* is fixed, as seen from the Kali chronogram, *grāhyā stutirgāthakaiḥ*, this *Villamangalam* must be ascribed to the seventeenth century. That there was at this time an eminent saint and a deep devotee of Sri Kṛṣṇa is made clear also by Meppattūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri who refers to him in his *Prakriyāsarvasva* in the following terms:

yo vṛndāvanavasino niyaminassākṣatkṛtādhokṣajā-
dduṣṭprāpam khalu nāradādhruva iva prāpopadeśam param |
yasyāpāstasamastavastukutukam kṛṣṇāvalokotsvava-
kriḍākautuki mānasam vijayate so'yam mahātmā nṛpaḥ ||

From what has been said it will be clear that the three *Villamangalams* we have mentioned, cannot all be identified. Because they are associated with three different periods, as set forth in the three chronograms—*ābrahma rakṣet govindamarka-ah*, and *grāhyāstutirgāthakaiḥ*,—they must certainly be held to be three different individuals. This, then, necessitates the consideration of the significance of the term *Villamangalam*. And the first question that has to be asked is—what is the exact term: whether it is *Villamangalam* or *Vilvamangalam*? If the word is *Vil* or *Villu*, then it means a bow, but if the word is *Vilva*, then it has reference to the tree so-called. In common parlance, the name is uttered by the local Nampūtiris as *Villāṅgala* which would show that the correct term is *Vil(u) plus Mangala*¹. That this is the correct term is also clear from the Samskrit rendering of the same, *Kodaṇḍamangala*. Because *Villamangalam* is a Malayali, we are inclined to accept the Malayali tradition and practice in this matter and would, therefore, say that *Villamangala* is the correct name. This *Illam* is located at Puttancira near Cranganore, in the area in which the earliest *Villamangala*, according to tradition, had his activities before he became a *Svāmiyār*. *Villamangalam* being the name of a Nampūtiri family, the expression, *Villamangalam Svāmiyār* would mean the *Svāmiyār* from the *Villamangalam Illam*. If, therefore, we speak of *Villamangalam Svāmiyārs* from a historical point of view, it would only mean that there were three *Svāmiyārs* from the family of *Villamangalam* at different times;

1. The correct Malayalam term for bow is *Vil* or *Villu*. A strict pronunciation would have the term as *Villumangala*, which in the mouth of a foreigner could easily become *Vilva-mangala*.

and so far as this view is concerned, there is nothing improbable in such an assumption. It may here be noticed that it is the usual practice among Nampūtiris to refer to one another by the name of their family rather than by their name, and this is true irrespective of the position which the individual might occupy in the social and religious life of Kerala. Hence we may relevantly conclude that *Villamangalam Svāmiyār* must be taken as a popular designation, and it means only the *Svāmiyār* from the Nampūtiri *Illam* of *Villamangalam*¹.

This explanation would make it clear that *Villamangala* is neither the name of the individual nor is it a title. It is only the name of a house. This, then raises another question: what is the name of the individual who is popularly known as *Villamangalam Svāmiyār*? Śārṅgadhara in his *Paddhati* quotes from *Śrikr̥ṣṇakarṇāmyta* and acknowledges his indebtedness by saying *iti vilvamangalam'sricaraṇānām*². This, then, forms at least one categoric reference which gives the name of one *Villamangalam Svāmiyār*. Since *Villamangalam* is the name of a Malayali *Illam* and since this is not found mentioned in the *Karṇāmytam* itself, we have necessarily to conclude that Śārṅgadhara connected Līlāśuka with *Villamangala* purely on the basis of a tradition which migrated from Kerala to distant parts of India and which, in its migration, introduced one change in the name, the change of *villu* into *vilva*. The tradition that Śrikr̥ṣṇalīlāśuka is a *Villamangala* is strong with us even today; and this is supported by literary evidence as well. Thus in the *Śricihnakāvya*, or *Gopikbhiseka*, as it is otherwise called, as recorded by its commentator Durgāprasādayati, in the *Stotraratnasahodara* and in the *Puruṣakāra*, the author's name is mentioned as *Śrikr̥ṣṇalīlā'suka*. These literary references, side by side with the tradition and the statement of Śārṅgadhara, make it out more than a plausible suggestion that *Villamangala* is *Śrikr̥ṣṇa-*

1. This explanation would obviate the difficulty experienced by Mahakavi U. S. P. Iyer as set forth in his article: vide *Quarterly Journal of the Keralasāhitya-parisad*, Vol. VI, No. 2 p. 171.

2. Vide the paper cited in note 1 p. 70 ante: vide page 338 *itivilvamangala'sricaraṇānām*.

lilāśuka. And this view must stand till better and more trustworthy evidence is forthcoming.

It will be clear from the preceding that one of the *Villamangalam Svāmiyārs* was a *Srikr̥ṣṇalilāśuka*, and, the question, therefore, arises which *Svāmiyār* was *Lilāśuka*. Available evidences suggest that the author of the *Karṇāmyta* was a *Srikr̥ṣṇalilāśuka*. Since the *Puruṣakāra* has to be ascribed to the second *Villamangalam*, and since that is mentioned to be the work of *Kr̥ṣṇalilāśuka*, it has to be presumed that the second *Villamangalam* was also a *Kr̥ṣṇalilāśuka*. So far as the third *Svāmiyār* is concerned, we are yet in the dark as to what his name was. It may relevantly be assumed that the third *Svāmiyār* also was given this title by a pious progeny: if it may not be a name, then it would be a courtesy title, for the reason he was as great a poet and devotee as his predecessors. And, so far as we know, all these three *Svāmiyārs* must have been the heads of the *Naṭuvil Maṭham* at Trichur:

Villamangalam, we may therefore say, was the name of the family of the original *Srikr̥ṣṇalilāśuka*. It was evidently a very religious family which produced, as we have seen, at least three distinguished *bhaktās* who rose up to the headship of the *Naṭuvil Maṭham* at Trichur. The literary fame of the first descended upon his successors of a later day, because they were also equally brilliant *bhaktās* and scholars and poets; and this probably accounts for the historical confusion, so far as *Lilāśuka* traditions are concerned.

If now we turn from traditions to literature, we find *Kr̥ṣṇalilāśuka*, or more simply *Lilāśuka*, figuring as the author of certain works. Among them the more important are the following: *Śrikr̥ṣṇakarṇāmyta*, *Puruṣakāra*¹, *Sricihnakāvya*, or *Gopikābhīṣeka*, *Stotraratnasahodara*, *Dakṣiṇamūrtistava* etc. Now of these, the first is an original hymn of praise, the second a grammatical treatise, the third a *Kavyā* in Prakrit and the last two a collection of hymns. The last of these is definitely a hymn of praise in honour of *Siva*, and we have a statement

1. Vide the paper mentioned in note 2 p. 75.

in the *Karṇāmyta* itself that Līlāśuka was originally a *Saivite*¹. In view of the fact that we have postulated three *Villamangalas* on the basis primarily on tradition which is not, however, unsupported by literary evidence the question arises: whether the works mentioned above are all the works of one *Villamangala* or of different *Villamangalas*? In other words, we have now to discuss which *Villamangala* wrote which work.

To the earliest of *Villamangalas*² we ascribe the famous *Karṇāmyta*. The earliest exponent of *Vaiṣṇavism* in Kerala, we believe, is Kulaśekhara, the author of the *Mukundamāla*, whom we identify with the founder of the *Vaiṣṇavite* shrine at Trikulāśekharapuram in the suburb of Cranganore, or Mahodayapuram as it was then called, and assign him to the close of the seventh century³. This, as we have elsewhere noticed, is not inconsistent with the history of *Vaiṣṇavism* in Kerala and in South India. When, however we compare the *Vaiṣṇavism*

1. Compare verse 24 of chapter II of the *Karṇamṛta*
 śaivāḥ vayam na khalu tatra vicāranīyam
 pañcākṣarījapaparā nitarām tathāpi |
 ceto madiyamatasīkusumāvabhāsam
 smerānanam smarati gopavadhūkiśoram. ||

2. We are not unmindful of the tradition which connects *Vilvamangala* with Bengal; we are, however, not in full possession of the details of this tradition and the implications, arising out of this, from mutual literary references and, therefore, refrain from offering any remarks on that subject. If it may be proved that author of the *Karṇāmytam* is a Bengali, unconnected with *Villamangala*, then the Bengali tradition must be allowed to stand; but then it becomes difficult to explain the reference made by Sāringadhara. If, on other hand, it is proved that Līlāśuka is a *Villamangala*, then it will certainly become difficult to connect him with Bengal, unless it is presumed that this family migrated into Kerala during the time of the great Śri Śamkara and his disciples, particularly Sureśvarācārya; and such a migration is not difficult to assume, because even Sureśvarācārya himself is said to be a migrant.

3. Vide Introduction to the writer's edition of the *Mukundamāla*, Annamalai University Samskrit Series No I.

elaborated by Kulaśekhara ¹ and that by *Villamangala*, there is essential difference between the two. For the former is an adherent of the *Nārāyaṇīya* type of *Bhāgavatism*, while the latter revels in the *Rādhākṛṣṇa* type. This would suggest that Līlāśuka must have lived after Kulaśekhara, so as to give the necessary time interval to allow the various branches of *Vaiṣṇavism* to merge completely in the cult of *Śrīkṛṣṇa* of *Brīṇḍāvana*. When we are also told that Līlāśuka was the *śiṣya* of Padmapādacārya ², that he succeeded to the headship of the *Naṭuvil Maṭham*, the patron diety of which is *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*, and that the head of the *Naṭuvil Maṭham* has from times immemorial been the *Puṣpāñjali Svāmiyār* of the temple at Trivandrum ³, it is but legitimate to hold that the first *Villamangala* Līlāśuka may well be ascribed to the ninth century. This identity is feasible in as much as it gives the necessary interval of time for the development of the *Kṛṣṇa* cult in Kerala and for a pious progeny to invest the Trivandrum shrine with a high antiquity. And be it noticed that this date is not inconsistent with the criptogram of the founding of the temple, *ābrahma*, as we have interpreted it ⁴.

To the same author, *Villamangala* the first, must be ascribed the Prakrit poem, *Śricihnakāvya*, as its commentator

1. Vide introduction to the writer's edition of the *Mukundamāla*, Annamalai University Samskrit Series No. 1, pages iii & iv.

2. Compare the statement of commentator Durgāprasādayati:

śripadmapādamunivaryavineyavarga-
śribhūṣaṇam munirasau kavisārvabhaumaḥ |

Mr. Parameswara Iyer does not accept this interpretation; he would say that this has reference only to the *śiṣyapāramparya*. This is far-fetched.

3. Mr. Iyer does not accept the tradition of Līlāśuka's founding the Trivandrum temple, but it is so strong that one cannot reject it, unless it is definitely proved to be impossible.

4. The cryptogram *ābrahma* gives 521 days after the starting of the era which we believe is the *Kolla Varṣa*. In which case it will be 827 M. E. that is, nearly a decade after the passing away of the revered sage Sri Samkara.

would have it. Compare, for instance, the following extracts¹:

śrīkr̥ṣṇalīlāśukanāmadheyam
 natvāmunim taccaraṇābjabhṛṅgaḥ
 śricihnakāvyasya padārthamātram
 vaktum yate vistarabhīḥ hitāya ॥
 śripadmapādāmunivaryavineyavarga-
 śrībhūṣaṇam munirasau kavisārva bhaumah |
 śrīkr̥ṣṇarūpaparamāmṛtapānaśīla-
 ścakre tadīyacaritam bahudhā hitāya ॥

These extracts would have it that Śrīkr̥ṣṇalīlāśuka was the greatest among the disciples of Śripadmapādācārya, that he was a great *bhakta* of Śrīkr̥ṣṇa and that he had written many works in different forms on the life and doings of the Lord. The reference to Padmapādācārya,² who is a direct disciple of Sri Śamkarācārya, would definitely show that this Līlāśuka must be put down to the ninth century. In view, therefore, of what we have already said about the author of the *Karṇāmyta*, it would be seen that these two works have to be ascribed to the same writer. To the same author, *Villamangala* the first, must also be ascribed the two other hymns *Stōtrarātnasahodara* and the *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistava*³. With reference, however, to the commentary *Puruṣakāra*, this cannot be ascribed to the earliest *Villamangala*, for this work quotes from a twelfth century work. In view of this internal reference, it has to be assigned to the second *Villamangla*, the contemporary of Talakkulatt Bhaṭṭatiri.

It may be noticed here that in some of the works here ascribed to *Villamangala* the first there are references and hymns of praise to Siva. This is not inconsistent with what is found in the *Karṇāmyta* itself: compare for instance the extract:

1. Vide the *Triennial Catalogue* of the Govt. Or. Mss. Library, Madras from 1922-23, to 1924-25 Vol. V Part I, Samskrit A, page 6117.

2. Vide note 2 page 78. So far as we could see, the available evidence does not necessitate the giving up of the straight forward interpretation, as Mr. Iyer wishes: vide the *Quarterly Journal of the Kerala Sahitya Parisad*, Vol. VI, No. 2, pages 168-169.

3. Vide *Trivandrum Samskrit Series* No. 1.

śaivhā vayam na khalu tatra vicāraṇāyam iti ¹.

It may possibly be that by birth and family persuasion *Villamangala* was an ardent adherent of Siva; but when the *Kṛṣṇa* cult became popular in Kerala through the patronage of Kulaśekhara ² and the natural appeal that the cult always makes to theistic minds, this must have become the favourite cult of the *elite*. An interesting relic of this change is also found in the life of Sri Samkara, if, indeed, our traditions regarding his birth and death may be believed in. For, the venerable sage was born through the blessings of the Lord enshrined at Trichur ³, yet his last *stotra* was the *Viṣṇubhujāṅgaprayātā*. If this may be taken as an indication of the popularity of the *Viṣṇu* cult, then we might say that *Vaiṣṇavism* became the popularly accepted cult of the *intelligentia* even during the last days of Sri Samkara. And quite in keeping with this, his followers also accepted the new creed. But this, as we have already set forth elsewhere ⁴, did not produce any anti-*Saivism*. To the Malayalis all gods are equally great; they are kathenotheistic in their religious outlook and religious practice.

Coming now to the second set of *Kṛṣṇas*, we are inclined to identify the poet *Kṛṣṇa*, the author of the *Bharatacarita* and *Dhruvacarita*, with the *Guru* of Nārāyaṇapandita, the author of the *Meya* part of the *Mānameyodaya*. The poetic skill of the former as evidenced by the poems ⁵ and the encomiums heaped upon his *Guru* by Nārāyaṇa ⁶ are not mutually inconsistent. The absence of all titles with reference to the mention by Nārāyaṇa of his *Guru* and the author of the *Bharatacarita* indicates, if at all it indicates anything, that *Kṛṣṇa* was not a brahmin. He might probably be identified as a member of

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1. Vide verse extracted in note 1, page 77.
 2. Vide citation made in note 3, page 77.
 3. Vide IHQ Vol. V No. 4, page 676-692.
 4. Vide IHQ Vol IV No. 4, page 702-719.
 5. Compare for instance the *Bharatacarita* which is published in the *Trivandrum Samskrit Series*.
 6. Vide extract already cited in note 3 page 70.

the highly scholarly family of *Deśamangalatt Wariyam* the traditional *Kulaguru* of the royal family of Calicut; or he might be a Pisharoti of the *Anāyātt Pishāram*, if the traditions of this family may be believed. In any case, from the information now available, it will be seen that the *Guru* of Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita cannot be identified with a *Villamangala Svāmiyār*, because the former was a non brahmin; for the same reason, the *Guru* of Rāghāvnanda, the commentator of the *Mukundamala* must also be different from the *Guru* of Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita. In view of the fact that the date of Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita is fixed, it may be assumed that his *Guru*, Kṛṣṇa, may be assigned to the latter half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century.

Coming now to the last of the Kṛṣṇas, variously called Kṛṣṇānanda, Kṛṣṇānandayati, Kṛṣṇānandayatīndra, Kṛṣṇānandasarasvati, he was a disciple of Vasudevendrasarasvati and of Rāmbhadrayatīndra¹. This latter saint was himself the disciple of the former and figures as the author of the *Brahmapravanadīpika*, the *Mahāvākyaratnāvalī*, and the *Sidhāntaślokatraya*. He had also another disciple, Sadāsivabrahmendra, the author of *Pāñcīkarāṇa*. Vāsudevendrasarasvati figures as the author of *Tatvabodha*, and he had another *Śiṣya*, called Svayamprakāśendra. Kṛṣṇānanda says that he was initiated by Vāsudevendrasarasvati and he must, therefore, be the same Kṛṣṇānanda whom Ranganāthaśūri refers to as his own *Guru* in his *Puruṣārtharatnākara*. For, there he says that his *Guru* was the *Śiṣya* of both Vāsudevendrasarasvati and Rāmbhadrayatīndra. From this it will be clear that Kṛṣṇānandasarasvati was a great scholar, and his scholarship and his spiritual position, as the head of the *Naṭuvil Maṭham* brought him many *Śiṣyas* from far and near who looked up to him with great reverence and respect. It may possibly be that this Kṛṣṇānanda also belonged to the *Villamangala* family, and in that case it is but pertinent that he is treated with all the glory associated with the first *Svāmiyār* of the family.

If, then, we may identify the third *Villamangala* with Kṛṣṇānandasarasvati, one question deserves to be answered: how

1. Vide introduction to the *Mukundamala*, pp. iv and v already cited.

can the head of the *Naṭuvil Maṭham* be on terms of intimacy with Prince Mānaveda of Calicut, as that royal family was always on terms of enmity with the king of Cochin, in the centre of whose territory is situate the *Naṭuvil Maṭham*? It may possibly be that political jealousies were forgotten in the midst of religious ecstasies, and in the matter of honouring great religious leaders, personal animosities were forgotten. It is worth while also to remember that the *Naṭuvil Maṭham* had many temples under its control in the area which then formed part of the kingdom of the Zamorin and which are now in South Malabar. These aspects apart, history tells us that about this period the *Mūttatāvaḷi* branch of the Cochin royal family and the Zamorin of Calicut were on terms of friendship ¹.

We have in the preceding pages tried to unravel the Kṛṣṇa problem, in so far as it has a bearing on literature; and from the line of argument advanced here, we may speak of three *Villamangala Svāmiyārs* who were very eminent in religion. They are:

1. Srikrṣṇalilāśuka Villamangala Svāmiyār I; founder of the temple at Trivandrum and the author of *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmytam* etc., the Disciple of Padmapādācārya and the *Guru* of Durgāprasādayati; the second president of the *Naṭuvil Maṭham*; must have lived in the ninth century.

2. Srikrṣṇalilāśuka Villamangala Svāmiyār II: a great *Bhakta* and scholar, the author of *Puruṣakāram*; the contemporary of Talakkulatt Bhaṭṭatiri; probably the president of the *Naṭuvil Maṭham*; about the end of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth century.

3. Srikrṣṇalilāśuka Villamangala Svāmiyār II: honoured the contemporary of Mānaveda of Calicut; possibly identical with Kṛṣṇānandasarasvatī; the seventeenth century.

4. Kṛṣṇānandasarasvatī, the *Guru* of Rāghavānanda, the author of the *Sidhāntasidhāñjanam*; possibly identical with *Villamangala* III, as mentioned before.

1. Vide the *Cochin State Manual*, pp. 88 and 89; also the *Record Granthavari*.

5. Kṛṣṇārya, the last of the Kṛṣṇas, we have noticed, is a *Warier* or *Pisharoti*; the author of the *Bharatacrita*, possibly also of the *Dhruvacarita*; the *Guru* of Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita; seventeenth century.

We may here notice one more Kṛṣṇānanda, the author of the *Śārīrakamīmāṃsakasūtrasaṅgraha*. This great divine lived at Trichur at the time, when Cochin was ruled over by Rājārāja and Ravi Varma; cf. the following extract:

śrīrājarājaravivarmamahīpatibhyām
rājanvatī vasumatī sakalāpi tābhyām |

Now the name Rājārāja, as the *title* or *name* of the kings of Cochin does not occur after the fourteenth century, and so the inference is that this king must have lived in the thirteenth century or earlier. We are told that he had a *śiṣya*, called Sivāṅgal, who is reported to have disappeared in the forest for final beatitude in the year 1317 A. D. There is nothing impossible in identifying this Kṛṣṇānanda with *Vllamangalāsvāmiyār* II.

We have in the above pages tried to introduce some order into the confused *Kṛṣṇa* problem. The conclusions we have arrived at are purely tentative and have no pretence to finality. Enough however, has been said to show that this is an interesting problem in the history of Samskrit Literature in Kerala. This is yet a virgin field; much has yet to be done, before one can understand the full scope of the *Kerala Contribution to Samskrit Literature*, and the culture that is briefly termed *Samskritic*.

We wish to notice here one or two assumptions made by earlier writers on the subject. Of these the most important is the view advanced by Mahakavi Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer that the author of the *Karṇāmyta* was the native of Conjeevaram¹. The reasons for this assumption have not been fully given, and the view has already been controverted².

1. Vide Mr. Iyer's article in the *Sadguru* on *Agastya-bhaṭṭa*; Vol. III, pp, 479-481; he has in a subsequent paper withdrawn this position.

2. Vide citation in note 2; page 69 *ante*.

With the evidence now at our disposal we have necessarily to come to the conclusion that *Villamangala* was out and out a Malayali. Mr. Govinda Warier in his interesting paper on *Villamangalam Svāmiyār* has said that Durgāprasādayati, the commentator of the *Sricihnakavya*, was a Kashmirian ¹. This author also is certainly a Malayali. The name of this writer, before he became a *Sanyāsin*, was Nārāyaṇapriya ² and he belonged to the Nampūtiri Illam, called Paṭṭi Tekkeṭam in the village called Agatiyūr ³, near the modern Kunnamkulam. He was a deep devotee of the goddess enshrined at Mukkola ⁴, called *Muktisthala* in Samskrit. In writing his commentary, he was helped by a Pisharoti friend of his, Kroḍamanna Rāma Pisharoṭi ⁵, the earliest Pisharoṭi name we have so far met with in the history of Samskrit literature. From the opening stanza of his *Advaitaparakāśa* we also understand that Durgāprasāda was the disciple of Govindāśramayati ⁶. If, therefore, Mr. Warriar has his Durgāprasāda in view, then he is evidently wrong. From the opening verses of his commentary on the *Sricihnakāvyā*, one is justified in assuming that the commentator was also the disciple of *Villamangala* and that he became

1. Vide note 2, page 69 *ante*.

2. Compare the concluding verse of his *Advaitaparakāśa*:
govindāśramakagurukaḥ kṛtavānsthāvaḍeṣa etadalpa-
matih |
durgāprasādayatiḥ priyāntanārāyaṇaśca nāmnāyam ||

3. Compare the concluding portion of his commentary on the *Śricihnakāvyā*:

vallyaṅkitaḥ pūrvapakāraśobhīdvirupatopeṭaṭavarna eṣāḥ |
pravakti yeṣāṃ khalu namṇadheyamagastyakagrāmabhū-
vam gatānām =

4. Compare:
muktithalālayaśivāpadabhaktileśāt—ityadi

5. Compare:

kroḍamanviditarāmavaiṣṇavaḥ kāvyadevaguruviprabhakti-
mān |
asti hanta sahakāritām gataḥ svastaye jagata udyatasya me, ||

It may be mentioned here that a *Pisharam* of this name is still existing in that locality.

6. Compare the citation given in note 2 page 69 *ante*.

a member of the family of *Svāmiyār's* brother. The commentator also must, therefore, be assigned to the ninth century. ¹

Subsequent to writing this article, we read with more than passing interest an A. P. I. message published in the Hindu of the 12th January under the caption *Works of Villamangala-Three works found in Travancore*. It must really be a matter of gratification for all Samskritists to hear that more works of the venerable seer have been unearthed. We do not, however, accept the view of the reporter that there is only one *Villamangalam*. The message only confirms our view that there are

1. Compare the opening verse:

prākṛtagrathitamadbhutam hi yat-
tannibandhanamabandhanapradam |
tatkanīṣṭakulagohamādarāt
tatra kiñcidabhivacmi bhaktiḥ ||

Now the term *kanistakulagoham* is very interesting. Here the word *tat* going before must refer to Kṛṣṇalīlāsuka, and the statement would mean that the commentator Durgāprasādayati belonged to the *Kula* of his younger brother. We believe that the phrase must be *kulījah* and not *kulagah*. If the latter is the correct term, then it must mean that the commentator was not by birth a member of the saint's family, but must have been adopted into it. And this adoption must have taken place after Līlāsuka became a *sanyāsin*. But this seems to be far-fetched; and one would say that the commentator was the son of Līlāsuka's brother, and he also followed Līlāsuka in accepting *sanyāsa* later. It may be noticed here that he was also the disciple of Līlāsuka, as could be seen from the following extract :

śrikrṣṇalīlāsukaanāmadheyam
natvā munim taccaraṇabjābhṛṅgah |

The last phrase is generally used only by one who is a direct disciple. Compare for instance the reference by *Locanakara* : bhaṭṭendurājacaraṇābjakṛtadhivasah. Assuming, then as we have to on the basis of this reference, that Durgāprasādayati was the son of Līlāsuka's brother and that he was also the disciple of the saint himself, the date of the commentator becomes fixed: he must be an younger temporary of Līlāsuka, i. e. must be put down to the ninth century.

three *Villamangalas*. The famous *Karṇāmṛta* was the work of the earliest *Villamangala* and so he cannot be assigned to the thirteenth century. The title of *Lilāśuka* was not *Villvaman-gala* but *Villamangala*; he is popularly called *Villāngala*, and this is correctly rendered into Samskrit as *Kodaṇḍamangala*. The report further states that Sri Caitanya visited Travancore and took three copies of the *Karṇāmṛta* from there. This statement is as interesting as the implication arising from there is curious. While we are not in a position to state anything about the postulated visit of Caitanya to Travancore, we must repudiate the suggestion of *Villamangala's* connection with the modern state of Travancore. For, every student of history we mean *Kerala History*, knows that Travancore, in the sense in which we now understand the term, was non-existent at the time of *Vilamangala*, even if he be assumed to have lived in the 13th century, as the report would have it. That a *Villaman, gala* founded the shrine at Trivandrum does not bring him into any relationship with the modern state so-called, for this has come into being only after the beginning of the 18th century. Dealing with the cold facts of history, the reporter has given a poetic touch, when moved by a sense of patriotism, he converts a notable Malayali into a Travancorean! This weakness has appeared in a pronounced form in some of the articles that appeared in the *Hindu Supplement*, issued in connection with the birthday of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. If we may follow the line of argument adopted there and elsewhere, we could as well say that Kalidasa and Harṣa and Bhavabhūti, in short all eminent Samskritists, are *British* subjects. Britisher would no doubt laugh at such a statement. Such implications, when countenanced by scholars of standing and repute, really deserve to be condemned. ¹

1. Since writing this article, my attention was drawn to an article on subject by Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer, published in the *Traimasika* of the *Keralasahityaparīṣad*. He accepts a synthesis of the three *Lilāśukas* and ascribes the synthesised saint to the period between 1200 and 1300 A. D. This date becomes quite fit so far as the second *Lilāśuka* is concerned, with of course a slight re-adjustment. The arguments he has advanced do not necessitate a revision of the views here set forth, for we are not prepared to discard traditions and twist the evidence supplied by literary sources.

THE PRAVEŚAKA

(A Sixteenth century Sanskrit Grammer in verse)

BY

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Versification in the field of Sanskrit Grammar was begun by Vārtikakāra who gave a metrical form to many Vārtikas. Patañjali also, in his effusion of eloquence, has occasionally written his expositions in verse form. Later on, the famous grammarian Bhartṛhari wrote his work on the philosophy of grammar entitled Vakyapadiya exclusively in verses. Drawing inspiration from these ancient writers, the author of Praveśaka has produced a simple treatise, on Sanskrit Grammar in verse, which is of immense practical value for the student and the scholar alike.

The author of this treatise, Acyuta Piṣharoṭi of Trikkandiyūr, was the first *Guru* of that famous poet and grammarian of Kērala, Mēppattūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatirippāḍ. As the date of Bhaṭṭatirippāḍ has been definitely known from his writings, the determination of the date of the present author too does not leave room for conjectures and uncertainties. Bhaṭṭatirippāḍ is said to have composed an obituary stanza on the demise of his revered *Guru*, which runs as follows:—

hanta jyautiṣatantra paryavasitā
tithyṛkṣayōstē kathā
dhārṣṭyaikapraṇāsi vaidyasarāṇē
naṣṭōsyalaṅkāra hā
hē śabdāgama; nirdayam vibudhatā
lubdairnipīdiṣyāsē
vidyātmā svarasarpadadya bhavatām
ādhārabhūracyutaḥ ॥

The portion 'vidyātmā svarasarp' gives the date of the demise in the traditional form of representing figures by letters.

It is equivalent to 17,24,514 indicating the day since the commencement of the Kali age. The author is said to have lived a long life and seen his worthy pupil enjoying his well-merited reputation. This date falls 33 years later from the date of the completion of the Nārāyaṇīya which is believed to be 762 Malayalam Era.

This stanza besides embodying the date of the demise of our author throws light upon his attainments in different branches of learning. He was an astronomer, a physician and a rhetorician of repute. These three departments of learning are lamented for by Bhaṭṭatirippāḍ as having sustained a severe loss in the absence of his *Guru*, whereas the loss to grammar is described as something of a future occurrence, the implication being that grammar was safe as long as he was alive. One Ravi Varma Raja of Veṭṭattunāḍ was the patron of this author, whom the author eulogises in the following verse in the *Pravēṣakā*:—

lakṣmyā prakāśaviṣayam rañjayannijayā nijam
nityamudyan vijayatē sukrtāmbanam raviḥ

The author's object in writing this treatise was to make the subject easy for the less intelligent and industrious. It is also probable that he wrote this for the benefit of those sections who were not allowed access to Pāṇini by orthodox opinion. The advantage of versification in facilitating memorisation is indisputable. The author has introduced several original modifications in *Prakriyā* (process of word formation) independently of Pāṇini, and these save a lot of round-about circuits for arriving at the desired form. Even the *Samjñas* of *Guṇa* and *Vṛddhi* have been dispensed with. The conventions relating to the preponderance of later *Sūtrās* over the earlier ones and the assumption of the non-existence of later *Sūtrās* in some cases have not been adopted. Of course, there might be imperfections, resulting from this non-adherence to Pāṇini, in some details. But a working knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar absolutely necessary for writing and speaking good Sanskrit correctly aimed at by the author does not suffer from the absence of such technical conventions, which make the subject difficult of comprehension without the help of a teacher. For one who has acquired the capacity to understand simple Sanskrit, *Pravēṣaka* would serve the purpose of a

self-educator in grammar. The author has made many deviations and departures from Pāṇini in the matter of Prakriya. He seems to be fully alive to the fact stated by Bhartṛhari, viz.

‘upāyāḥ śikṣamāṇānām bālānāmupalālanāḥ
asatyē vartmani sthitvā tataḥ satyaṁ samīhatē ॥

The various ways of derivation shown in grammar are adopted as a means for teaching the correct form. They are not real. It is just like arriving at truth by false assumptions which are not real. Hence he has independently analysed the words into their component parts of the base and the termination and the like.

From the various portions of Pravēśaka it is made clear that the author was well-versed in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya and Kāśikāvṛtti. In the definition of Nityastrīva (the word being exclusively feminine for the purposes of grammar) he has accepted the view taken by Kāśika and not by Kaiyaṭa, the commentator on the Mahābhāṣya. In explaining the rule of *yu* and *vu* to be substituted by *ana* and *aka* respectively, he makes use of the expression *Nāsika* which is finally resorted to by Patañjali. Pravēśaka is full of such internal evidences indicating the author's acquaintance with Mahābhāṣya and Kāśika.

The author's analysis of the subject matter is very logical thorough. After a few indispensable *Samjñas* and *Paribhāṣas* he gives the rules of *Samdhi* wherefrom the forms of individual words in sentences are correctly understood. Then comes the classification of words into *Subanta* and *Tiñanta* and their forms in their different aspects are fully dealt with. The base of a *Tiñanta* can be a primitive or derivative root. According to this order, primitive roots are fully treated and then the derivative ones are taken up. There too the forms in the *Sārvadhātuka* are given first place and those in the *Ardhadhātuka* are given the second. Then comes the meaning of case-terminations, *Kāraka*, which show the mutual relation of words in sentences. *Samāsa*, blending of words involving the dropping of case-terminations, is the next topic. The nominal and the verbal derivatives are then dealt with in their logical order. Towards the end some conventions of Pāṇini are further explained so as to enable the reader to have easier access to

Pāṇini. That a native scholar of so early a period had so much analytical faculty and practical sense is simply admirable.

Pravēśaka consists of nearly 600 stanzas, all in the Anuṣṭup metre with the single exception of one in Ārya. Some old scholars of Kerala have written glosses in Malayalam on this work. The illustrations of various usages in this are combined with poetic beauty also. The following may be taken as an instance.

Bhr̥śāyatē vāyurayam śabdāyantē valāhakāḥ |
Sukhāyantē gr̥hēśvādhyā bāṣpāyantē viyōginah

This shows the author's taste for fine poetry.

One point of historical importance is suggested by the examples given by the author in two contexts. In the Kāraka-prakarana we have 'adhiśētē kaṭam bhaṭaḥ' 'A bhaṭa (a low-caste man) lies upon a mat'. In the context of the verbal derivatives, the following is seen 'iṣadādhyamkarā viprāḥ syurdurādhyamkarā bhaṭaḥ.' 'It is very easy to make brahmins rich; but difficult to make bhaṭas rich'. The word bhaṭa used here stands in opposition to vibra. Whether this is indicative of a particular use of the word that was prevalent in Kerala or whether the word invariably conveyed the idea of a fighter on the battle field has to be investigated, because much has been built up by researchers in Malayalam on the use of the word *bhaṭa* by Kuñjan Namiyār.

A portion of the Praveśaka ending with Subanta has been published in Malayalam script with a Malayalam Commentary. The publication of old, unpublished and useful Sanskrit manuscripts having received the benevolent attention of the government of H. H. The Maharaja of Cochin, the Sanskrit College Committee, Tripunitura, was authorised to take up one or two works as a beginning in the enterprise. The first choice of the Committee was most deservedly given to the Vedānta Paribhāṣha Saṁgraha by the late abdicated Maharaja of Cochin, that prince among Sanskrit scholars. Praveśeka was taken up as the second and the honour of editing it with a short commentary in Sanskrit was conferred upon the writer of this article, who is also a member of the above Committee. The humble editor has striven his best to discharge the duty entrusted to him. The book has been published recently.

A PRIMER OF MALAYALAM PHONOLOGY

BY

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

CHAPTER IV

Sandhi

(continued)

D

Consonants and Consonants

Elaborate rules govern the changes arising from the meeting of consonants and consonants in external sandhi in literary Tamil. Some of these literary Tam. changes are practically absent in Old Mal. texts, while others are found embodied sometimes in accordance with a tradition that does not appear to have struck root in Old Mal., since they ceased to command even literary recognition towards the closing stages of the Old Mal. period. A few, however, which were shared by the literary and the colloquial dialects alike (both in Tam. and in Mal.), have continued to exist.

On the other hand, a few new changes, not germinally unrepresented in Middle Tam. colloquials, were popularised in Mal.—It may be observed that in almost all respects in which Mal. rules vary from literary Tam. ones, parallels are available in the colloquial inscriptional instances of Middle Tam.

1. (i) -l + k-, p-, c- :— The literary Tam. rule is that the (alveolar) lateral becomes changed to an alveolar plosive in all casual compounds; in comparisomal and qualitative compounds (among non-casual ones); in sequences where the Middle Tam. “conditional endings il and -āl are involved (as

in vandāt¹ ceyvan) ; and optionally in sequences of subject and predicate (as in kal kuṛidū beside kat kuṛidū) where the first constituent is a monosyllabic word with a short radical vowel.

(ii) Middle Tam. colloquial instances like the following already show the absence of these changes:—mēl cellān'ind'a [SII, I, p. 118], vāśal paṇam [ib., I, p. 92], keṅgai karaiyil kārām baṣuvai [ib., I, p. 109].

(iii) The earliest west coast inscriptions have illustrations with and without this change of l>t':—

n'āt'pādu [TAS, II, p. 173 ff.], but n'alpādu, and -n'alppādu [ib., IV, p. 47], and n'āt'kalam [ib., III, p. 13]; -āt'cellum and -ālccellum [ib. II, p. 173 ff.]; vāyit'kkal [ib.]; arulicceygaiyāl-k-kōyiladigāriḡaḡay ... [ib., II, p. 44] ; kallinmēl-k-kāṭṭi [ib.]; ceppuppattirattil-p-paṭṭaparidū [ib., II, p. 68].

(iv) Already in the inscriptional instances where the change of l>t' does not occur, one notes the optional doubling of the plosive following. This tendency became fixed in Mal. in later stages; and wherever literary Tam. required the change of l to t' in this context, Mal. characteristically "doubled" the plosive following without altering the character of the alveolar lateral itself (except to devocalise it partially).

(v) Līl. 3, 26, prescribes the change for Mal. and gives instances like kat'kuḷam; but other instances like pāl-k-kiṇḍi, contained in the commentary on sūtra 20 of this text, show how the sūtrakāra merely followed tradition here.

1. The t' shown here is the original voiceless alveolar stop arising in sandhi contexts like these. This sound later came to be evaluated as a trill ṛ (ṛṛ) with its point of articulation on the palato-cacuminal region, when the sound was short and intervocal or when it formed groups with p, k, c— Today when texts are read, these groups ṛp, ṛk, ṛc have, generally speaking, a partially devocalised value for ṛ.

(vi) The Mss. and printed editions of Old Mal. texts do not show the change of *l* to *t'*.

2. (i) *-n + k-, p-, c-* :— The Tam. literary rule prescribes the assimilative change of *n* to the alveolar plosive *t'* in all casual compounds, in sequences with the “conditional” ending-in (as in *varit'-ceyvan*), and in the meeting of *-n* and the fourth case affix-*k*.

(ii) Already, colloquial Middle Tam. has illustrations like *ponkāppu*, *pon kāṣu*, without the change.

(iii) West coast inscriptions also have illustrations with and without the change.

(iv) *Līl.* 3, 26, prescribes the literary Tam. change. The commentary gives illustrations like *pot'-kaṇṇāḍi*, *pot'-pū* and observes significantly enough that the tendency (already present in Mal.) to avoid the change of *n* to *t'* and to introduce the change of *n* to *l* (as in *polpū*, *pilpāḍu*, *mulcol*—which occur in US) is “not suited to the genius of the Mal. language” (*atra lakārachāyā kēraḷabhāṣāyam nātiyuktā*).

(v) Though *Līl* so imperatively lays down the rule of *n > t'* in this context for Mal., illustrations embodying the change are rare in Old Mal. texts:—

idat'kum [RC] ; *ardharājyattit'ku* [*Kauṭaliyam*, p. 6].

Līl. may merely have respected tradition here also.

(vi) Reverence for tradition is evident also in the disapproval, by the commentary, of the Mal. change of *n* to *l* in *polpū*, *mulcol*, *pilpāḍu*, etc., which is already found embodied in US and other texts and which has been current for *mun*, *pin* and *pon* in the *literary* dialect ever since.

(vii) When the final tip-contact alveolar *masal* meets *k-, p-, c-*, some instances show the assimilation of *-n* to a homorganic nasal.¹ Instances like *eṅgil* [*en + g-il*],

1. Literary Tam. allows this change only for two types:— *cātaṅgot't'an* (*cāttan + kot't'an*) [TE, 351]; and optionally in

puñjiri [pun+ciri], puñja [pun + cey], āt't'ingal¹ [āt't'-in-gal] are literary, while others mumbē² [mun + b + ē], ombadə [onbadə], vamban [vanban], n'āngə [n'āngə], avambōyi [avan pōyi] are colloquial.

3. -l+t- :—The literary Tam. rules are the following:-

(a) -l (of monosyllabic words with short vowels, like kal) + t-, involves in casual compounds a progressive assimilation of the dental plosive to an alveolar plosive, and also a regressive one in the change of the lateral l to an alveolar plosive ;

(b) in alvaḷi (where the first constituents are monosyllabic with short vowels), either the same changes as in the above are produced, or the group of āydam³ and the alveolar plosive is

tēngudam (tēn + kuḍam) [TE, 342]. The first type of cāttai-got't'an envisage compounds where the relationship of father and son is indicated by the first and the second constituents respectively. There are many Old Mal. inscriptional instances indicating the relationship of father and son or perhaps (in some instances) uncle and nephew in Malabar (where the marumakkalṭṭāyam rule of succession prevails), and these compounds embody the changes contemplated by the Tolkāppiyam rule : — n'ārāyaṇan'dēvan (n'ārāyaṇan + dēvan) [TAS, II, p. 43], tēvan'duppamaṇian (tēvan + tup-pamaṇian), tēvañjēn'n'an (tevan+cēn'n'an) [ib., III, p. 181]; tuppambattanāban (tuppan+pattanāban) [ib., III, p. 183].

1. Ciṛaiyin-ñ-kīkkum [TAS, IV, p. 79, l. 61] shows how the ñ of the colloquial is clubbed along with -n of the literary compound.

2. The nb in in the Mal. colloquial anbadə [cf. Brahm., p. 53] is due to "false restoration" prompted by back-analogy operating on ambadə (< aimbadə) suggested by instances like munbē > colloquial mumbē, or colloquial ombadə from literary onbadə.

3. I would (tentatively) represent the āydam with the symbol ḥ, because I think that it very probably embodied a glottal fricative element before it came to have the voiced

velar fricative value produced optionally, as in kal + t̥id̥u > kat't̥id̥u or kaḥd'id̥u; pal + tuḷi > paḥd'uḷi; pal + toḍai > paḥd'oḍai; al + tiṇai > aḥd'iṇai.

(c) When the first constituents are monosyllabic words with long vowels or when they are dissyllabic, then t't' is produced in casual compounds; but in those alvaḷi instances in which there was at all a change, the short alveolar plosive d' appears (generally speaking) instead of t't' (the simplification being due to accent-distribution), as in v̥el + tid̥u > v̥ēd̥id̥u.

which is uniformly given to it today when texts are read and which it appears to have had from at least the period of the commentary on Vīracōḷiyam and N'annūl, if the 'head' referred to by both these as the place of its production indicates—as indeed it may—a *generalised* velar fricative value.

It is a well-known fact that the Sanskrit intervocal voiced glottal fricative is adapted as a voiced velar fricative in Tam. The uniform value of a voiced velar fricative attached to the āydam perhaps from the time of Vīrac onwards (as suggested above) leads me to think it that may have been evolved from a glottal fricative element.

In my view, there is nothing in the Tolkāppiyam sūtras (relating to the āydam), which stands against this interpretation of the history of this sound. Tol. states that the sound appears after short radical vowels and in close association with plosives following and that, while it is constant in some words, it may optionally be replaced in some compounds by another stop similar to the one following.

Tol. does not make it clear whether the āydam had a mouth-fricative value or whether it also embodied a glottal fricative element. The expression cār̥n'd̥u varin-allad̥u, used in Tol. Eḷ., may very well be associated with either.

Leaving, however, this point open, one may say that for the reasons mentioned above, a glottal fricative phonation very probably preceded that of the uniform velar fricative evaluation given to it today.

(ii) These literary rules are already absent in Middle Tam. colloquial instances like *kiṇat't'il-t-toṭṭikkū* [SII, III, p. 7].

(iii) Though the early west coast inscriptions have instances embodying the changes, like *n'at't'ūṇi* [TAS, III, p. 16], *cen'n'ittalaiyit't'iruviḷakkinū* [ib., II, p. 176], *-puraiyiḍattēt't'aruū* [ib., p. 198], *piḷaiyuṇḍāgit't'aṅgalai-k-koṇḍē* [ib., II, p. 80], *n'at't'ulām n'ey* [ib., II, p. 195], there are many other instances without the changes: — *puraiyiḍattil-t-tirun'an'dāvanamum camaiccu* [TAS, III, p. 42], etc.

(iv) Līl., 3, 27 prescribes the literary Tamil change for Mal., and gives instances like *kat't'aḷam* [kal + taḷam] and *kōt't'ēn* [kōl + tēn]; but illustrations in the Old Mal. texts are very few and rare:—

mēt't'aram [RC, 81]

n'at't'uṇa [RC, 80]

n'at't'avam [KR, Bāl., 123]

That Līl. followed merely a tradition here is also clear from sūtra 20 [*yaraḷēbhyaḥ kacatapānām dvitvam*] which prescribes doubling of *t* after *l*.

(v) On the other hand, the colloquial tendency to retain *l* partly devocalised and to double the *t* following became the regular rule in Malayālam.

4. *-n + t* :-(i) The Tam. literary rule prescribes the production of *t't'* (involving forward and backward assimilation) for casual compounds, while for *alvaḷi* the change of *t* to an alveolar plosive *d'* is laid down, as in *pon-d'idu*.

(ii) The absence of these literary changes in colloquial Middle Tam. is already reflected in inscriptional instances like *ten tiṣai* [SII, III, p. 163].

(iii) West coast inscriptions only rarely show the changes of literary Tamil:— *pond'aṇḍappaḍa* [TAS, II, p. 37], but *pon taṇḍam* [ib., II, p. 174].

(iv) *Lil.* 3, 27, lays down the Tamil literary rule of $n+t=t't'$ for compounds like *pot't'āmara* [*pon+tāmara*] and *pot't'ar* [*pon+tār*]; but illustrations are very rare indeed in the texts.

Instances like *varuṇand'īśa* [*RC*, 135], *vēn'darkōnd'anayan* [*RC*, 73], *magand'ān* [*Kauṭil.*, p. 20], *avand'ān* [*ib.*, p. 53] beside *avan tān* [*ib.*] are Tamilisms.

(v) On the other hand, the Mal. use of *l* for *n*, that has already been noticed in connection with the meeting of $n+k$, p -, c -, was active; and instances like *pol-t-tāmara*, *pol-t-tār* became common in the texts.

(vi) $-n$ meeting t is also assimilated to a “spread-blade” n' homorganic with t , in colloquial instances like *tān'dōn'n'i*, *avan'dannē* [*avan+tannē*], *mān'dōlō¹* ‘skin of deer’ which in the colloquial is indistinguishable from *mān'dōlō* ‘bark of mango tree.’

5. $l + k$ -, p -, c - : — (i) The literary Tam. rule : the cerebral lateral becomes a cerebral plosive $ṭ$ in casual compounds, in qualitative and comparisonal compounds among non-casal ones, and in the meeting of the feminine-denoting l with the fourth case ending $-k$.

(ii) But already Middle Tamil colloquials show lack of this change, as in *tiṅgaḷ kiḷamaiyum* [*SII*, I, p. 103], *uḷpada* [*ib.*, I, p. 90].

(iii) The Tamil literary changes are absent in Mal., except in a few rare old inscriptional instances like *n'āduvāḷu-mavargaṭku* [*TAS*, I, p. 41.]

(iv) Even *Lil.* which respects tradition so far as to prescribe the Tam. literary changes in connection with some of the previous types, expressly lays down in 3, 20, that in this context l does not itself undergo any change but that the plosives following are doubled wherever the change is embodied.

1. In the literary dialect the form is evaluated as *māntōlō* where n has its alveolar value, and t - (of *tōlō*) is only partly voiced.

6. $\eta + k-$, $p-$, $c-$:—(i) The change of η to t is prescribed for casual compounds in literary Tamil.

(ii) This is absent in Middle Tam. colloquials and in Mal. Lil. expressly says [3, 13] that there is no change in Mal., the commentary observing that instances like *maṭkuḍam*, *maṭpānai* are Tamil and not Mal.

(iii) $-\eta$ in the colloquials becomes changed to a homorganic nasal in *some* instances like *veṅgalaṃ* [*veṅ + kalam*], *mambāna* [*maṅ + pāna*], *peṅguṭṭi* [*peṅ kuṭṭi*], *āññal* 'brother' [*āṅ + kaḷ*], *veñjāmaram* [*veṅ + cāmaram*].

7. $-l + t-$:— The literary Tam. rules stand thus:—

(a) in connection with monosyllabic words with short vowels, casual compounds have $\text{t}t$, and the sequences of subject and predicate have $\text{t}t$ or $\text{h}d$ (*muttīdu* or *muḥḍīdu*).

(b) Casual compounds (with monosyllabic words having long vowels, or with dissyllabic words, as first constituents) have $\text{t}t$; but in *alvaḷi*, either there is no change, or the long $\text{t}t$ appears shortened to an intervocal d (as in *vāḷ + tīdu > vādīdu*).

(ii) Inscriptional instances like *ayyanadigaḍiruvaḍi* [TAS, II, p. 67] (<*ayyanadigaḷ + tiruvaḍi*), beside *ayyanadigaḷ tiruvaḍi* without the change [*ib.*, II, p. 81], are rare and tradition derived.

(iii) Lil. [3, 20] only refers to the doubling of the plosives following in these contexts.

8. (i) $-\eta + t-$:— In casual compounds of literary Tamil, $\text{t}t$ is produced, while in non-casual contexts the dental plosive is changed to a (voiced) cerebral.

(ii) Lil. 3, 14, refers to the Tamil change of $\eta + t = nd$, perhaps with a view to justifying traditional instances like *ondēr* [*oṅ + tēr*], *endīśa* [*eṅ + diśa*], *taṅḍār* [*taṅ + tār*], occurring in the texts composed before the period of Lil.

(iii) Apart from these tradition-derived instances, the change is not represented in Mal. external sandhi at all.

9. $y, r, l + k-, p-, c-, t-$:— (i) The literary rule of Tamil is that in casual compounds and in qualitative and comparisonal compounds among non-casal ones, the plosives following are doubled.

(ii) This rule is preserved unaltered in Mal. Cf. Līl. 3, 20, which gives illustrations like $n'ir-k-kōḷi$, $n'ar-p-patt̃u$, $n'aykkutti$, $pālkkinaru$.

10. $-m + k-, p-, c-, t-, y-, v-$:— The Tamil rule is that in casual compounds and some non-casal compounds (qualitative and comparisonal), $-m$ is elided and the plosives following are doubled (as in $mara-k-kombu$, $vat̃ a-k-kal$), while in other $alvaḷi$ contexts, $-m$ is assimilated as a $varga$ nasal to the plosive following.

(ii) Colloquial Tamil and Mal. observe the same rules.

(iii) Cf. Līl., 3, 17 ($marañceṟudu$, etc.) and Līl. 3, 19 ($vat̃ appalaga$).

11. $-l, -n + n'$

(i) It is necessary here to emphasize the phonemic difference, existing in Mal. and Old Tam., between the n' produced with a spreading of the terminal portion of the tongue-blade on the upper teeth and the roots of the teeth (or sometimes both on the upper teeth and gums), and n produced by the contact (which may roughly be called "point-contact" in order to distinguish it from the "spread-contact" mentioned above) of some considerably reduced area of the tip or blade of the tongue on the alveolar portion.

The phonemic difference would be evident from the following pairs of forms with different meanings.

Tamil :	{	an'n'āy 'that dog'
	{	annāy
"	{	en'n'ilam 'which field'
	{	ennilam 'my field'
Mal. :	{	en'n'al 'if so', 'but'
	{	ennāl 'by me'
"	{	mun'n'al 'three days'
	{	munnāl 'chief person'

It will be noted that long sounds are involved here. In Old Tamil the 'spread-blade' n' occurs initially, and in the group n'd and finally in two old words porun' verin, while the 'point-contact' n is met with finally, medially, and in the group nd' (but never initially). The groups n'd and nd' have in the course of the evolution of Mal., changed to n'n'; and porun', verin' have become obsolete even in the middle Tam. stage; the other Tam. rules regarding the occurrence of short sounds hold good for Mal. also.

The fundamental difference between n' and n in actual phonation is the spreading of the end of the foreblade for the former, and the mere contact of a very much reduced area of the tongue-tip for the latter. Cf. the use of the expression n'an'uni paran'du by TE for n', and of n'an'uni ot't'a for n. It is precisely this difference that also distinguishes the acoustic appeal of the one from the other. The positions on the mouth-roof are also different as pointed out above, but this is not quite so fundamental as the *manner* of contact (though the

respective positions possibly also to a certain extent facilitate the production of the acoustic appeal of each phoneme); for both sounds may be produced (though with some difficulty for the Malayāli) alike on the dental region and on the alveolar region provided indeed the manner of contact is carefully marked off.

The Mal. and Old Tam. stops corresponding to the "spread-blade" dental nasal are *t* and *d*, while those answering to the "point contact" nasal are *t'* and *d'* ¹

¹ My use of the same diacritic slant-stroke for the nasal of the former series and for the stops of the latter series does, it is true, offend symmetry; but I may say that the use of special symbols for these sounds is unavoidable because of the non-existence of *these* sounds as phonemes in many IA languages and in Dravidian languages other than Mal., Old Tam. and Toda. The acoustic appeal of the phoneme *n* in many IA languages and in Dravidian speeches (other than Mal. and Old Tam.) is that of a "point-contact" sound (except as a subsidiary member of this phoneme in *n'l* where *n'* has a spread-blade value). In these circumstances, I think it would be improper and unscientific to fix for the symbol *n* (when used in Mal. and Old Tam. instances) a sound-value which would be in conflict with the value obtaining for this symbol in other Indian languages.— The only course open to one would be to use special symbols for the unique phonemes of Mal. and Old Tam.— I know that the use of the same diacritic slant-stroke for sounds belonging to two different series is unhappy; but till facilities are available in printing presses for the use of other symbols, I shall have to be content with *n'* for the spread-blade nasal, and *t' d'* for the point-contact alveolar stops. If facilities were available, I would use the following scheme:— *t, d, n'* for the "spread-contact" series; and *ṭ, ḍ* and *ṇ* with bars printed below for the "point-contact"

(ii) According to the literary Tam. rule both in *vēt't'umai* and in *alvaḷi*, when the first constituents are monosyllabic words with short vowels, *nn* is produced (involving, in the case of *-l + n'*, a twofold assimilation whereby the lateral *-l* is converted to a nasal *n* and the dental *n'* is changed to the alveolar *n*; and in *-n + n'* a single progressive assimilation of *n'* to *n*).

When the first constituents are monosyllabic words with long vowels embodied, or dissyllabic words, then only a short alveolar *n* (simplified from *nn* on account of "accent-distribution") is produced.

(ii) These changes are met with in some Mal. instances:
Old Mal. *n'anneṛi* [KR, Ar., 273]

„ *mēnilam* [TAS, II, p. 173]

„ *n'anāḷi* [ib.]

„ *ōṇattināḷ* [ib.]

„ *munṇōkki, pinnōkki* [KG];

n'anūṛe [*n'al + n'ūṛe*], *pinnōkkam* [*pin + n'ōkkam*], are common in modern Mal. also.

(iii) Already, however, in Middle Tam. colloquials and in Old Mal., the changes are absent in instances like *il-n'nd'* [TAS, III, p. 58]; in some, the *-l* or *-n* was merely elided

alveolar series. The use of a bar printed below the nasal *n* would serve to make the symbol symmetrical with the symbols for the other members of the same series. This *n* would (it must be noted) be acoustically equivalent to the *n* of many Indian speeches; yet, wherever the phonemic difference characteristic of Mal. is not met with, *n* alone may be used for the sound, as in many IA speeches, in Kann. and in Telugu.

and *n'*- was retained, as in *n'an'āḷi* [TAS, V, p. 6-10th c.], *mēn'ōkkina maramum* [ib., VI, p. 143], (beside *mēn'ōkkina* with literary Tam. sandhi). In modern Mal., *n'an'āḷi*, *padin'ālē* are heard with *n'* owing to the influence of the forms *n'āḷi* and *n'ālē*.

(iv) There is regressive assimilation in modern colloquial Mal. *uṇṇān'n'ērattē* [*uṇṇān + n'ērattē*] *rāman'n'āyarē*, *ōṇattun'n'aḷ* [*ōṇattin-n'aḷ*].

12. *-ḷ, -n + n'* :— In literary Tam., both in *vēttumai* and in *alvaḷi* *ṇṇ* is the resultant when the first constituents are monosyllabic with short vowels, while *ṇṇ* appears shortened as *ṇ* when the first constituents are monosyllabic with long vowels, or are dissyllabic.

(ii) In Mal., these rules are not of general application. Apart from instances like the following (of which some are exclusively Old Mal., while others have been handed down to modern times), the sandhi rules of literary Tam. do not operate.

Exclusively Old Mal. are *uṇṇilam* (*uḷ + n'ilam*) [TAS, III, p. 55]; *n'ināḷ* (*n'iḷ + n'āḷ*) [RC, 28]; *n'ināyanē* (*n'il + n'ayanē*) [RC, 175]; *avaṇila* (*avaḷ + n'ila*) [Lil., 3, 21 comm]; *n'aṇāḷ* (*n'aḷ + n'āḷ*) [Bhg, 7, 8]; *uṇṇākkū*, *uṇṇāḍi*, *ōṇṇudalār* [KR, Bāl., 17].

“Crystalised” compounds preserved down till today are *eṇṇa eḷ + n'ey*, *veṇṇa* (*veḷ + n'ey*), *veṇṇiṇṇē*, *eṇṇūṇṇē* (*eṇ + n'ūṇṇē*), *eṇṇāḷi* (*eṇ + n'āḷi*), *kaṇṇiṇṇē*, *kaṇṇōvā*, *taṇṇiṇṇpandal* *pūṇṇūḷē* (*pūṇ + n'ūḷē*).

13. *-ḷ, -ḷ + m'* :—(i) *ḷ* and *ḷ* are respectively changed to *-n* and *-ṇ* according to the literary Tam. rule.

(ii) This change also is found embodied in a few instances, some of which are exclusively Old Mal., like *vānmiki*

[RC, 9], n'anmukhan [KR, Ar, 266], menmolīyā! [RC, 21], poduvāⁿmār [TAS, II, p. 172 ff.] beside poduvā!mār [ib.] tōⁿmēl [RC, 38] rājakkāⁿmar [Dūt.], uⁿmōham etc.

(iii) Modern Mal. preserves some old instances like n'anma, mēnma, uⁿma, veⁿma.

14. -m+n'- :— (i) In Tam. literary sandhi, -m is elided in vēt't'umai and in alvaḷi, except after monosyllabic words with short vowels, in which case there is regressive assimilation of -m to n'.

(ii) In Old Mal. this elision is only rarely represented, in instances like iraṇḍā-n'ā! [TAS, II, p. 173], while the usual practice is to assimilate m to n' so as to produce n'n', as in instances like tuḍaṇṇun'n'ā!.

(iii) The Mal. practice is already foreshadowed in Middle Tam. colloquial instances like vēṇḍun'n'ivan'dattukku [SII, II, p. 121],

(iv) Līl., 3, 18, [nē naḥ] has the illustration maran'n'and'u in the commentary; apparently, the Mal. practice is envisaged here.

15. -m+m- :— In Tam. literary sandhi, -m is elided, generally speaking.

In Mal., this elision is very rare. Bhg has a rare n'iraminnum [4, 18].

16. !+n'- :— (i) Old Tam. shows no change in this context; but Middle Tam. showed the production of ⁿ in instances like vāⁿā!, common in Middle Tam. texts; cf. also kīⁿōkkiya [SII, III, p. 59]

The change is adverted to in Vīracōḷiyam in Sandhi, 18.

(ii) Old Mal. had $k\bar{i}n\bar{o}kkina\ ki\bar{n}\bar{a}r\bar{u}m$ [TAS, VI, p. 143], $v\bar{a}n\bar{a}!$ [RC, etc.] and $p\bar{a}n\bar{i}lam$ [Līl., 3, 21]; and Līl. expressly refers to the change in 3, 21, comm; Mal. colloquial $e\bar{n}\bar{i}kk-< e\bar{l}unilkk-$, also shows the change.

(iii) This change was permanently incorporated in Mal. internal sandhi in the past stems of verb-bases with final $-l$ (see below).

E

Internal Sandhi

1. Glide-developed sounds *y* and *v* in inflexional positions, as in Tamil :— *vaḷi-y-il*, *pū-v-in-āḷ*, etc.

2. Doubling of *-k*, the fourth case ending, in instances like *tī-k'k'ə*, *paḍik'k'ə*, *malai-k'k'ə*, *mēl-kkə*, *aḍalkkə*, *ār-kkə*.

Doubling of *-k* of the postposition *kal* in instances like *tī-k'k'al*, *paḍik'k'al*, *vādilkkal*, etc.

3. Doubling of *l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ṇ*, *y* of monosyllabic bases with short vowels before vowels following, in inflexional and conjugational positions.

Doubling of *-m* of *n'am* in *n'amme*, *n'ammāl*, *n'ammuḍe*, but not in *n'amakkə* or *n'amukkə*.

4. $l+t = t't'$:— (i) *koṭ't'am*, *vet't'i*.

(ii) Causative bases *agaṭ't'*-, etc.

(iii) Past stems *ēṭ't'*-, *viṭ't'*-, etc.

5. $l+t(d) = nd' > n'n'$:— (i) *an'n'ə*, *in'n'ə*.

(ii) Past participles *in'n'i*, *en'n'i*; and past stems *cen'n'*, *kon'n'*-, etc.

6. $ḷ + t = ṭṭ$:— (i) Past stems like *kēṭṭ-*, *kaṭṭ-*,
vēṭṭ-, etc.

(ii) Causative bases *uruṭṭ-*, *puṭṭ-*,
etc.

7. $ḷ + t(d) = ṇḍ$ (i) *uṇḍə*, third person non-rational sing. form of the *kuṛippuvinaḷ* base *uḷ*.

(ii) Past stems: like *viṇḍ-*, *koṇḍ-*,
pūṇḍ-, (of *pūḷ-*).

8. $n + t = t't'$:— (i) $tīt't'a$, $mut't'am$, $pit't'e$.

(ii) Causative base: $tīt't'$ -

9. $n + t (d) = nd' > n'n'$:— $en'n'$ -, $tin'n'$ -

10. $-n + ḍ$ [of $uḍe$] $> nd'$:— $marattīnd'e$, $end'e$, etc.

This $-n-d'e$ is symbolically represented (i) in old $vattēluttē$ inscriptions as $ṇṇṇṇ$ [TAS, VII, p. 142] ;

(ii) as $ṇṇṇṇ$ in a 16th century ms. (of a Mal. translation of *Kural*) ;

(iii) as $ṇṇṇṇ$ in the 18th century *Samkṣēpavēdārtham* ;
and (iv) as $ṇṇṇ$ [with one $ṇ'$ - symbol] today.

11. $ṇ + t (d) = ṇḍ$ — (i) $tiṇḍə$.

(ii) Past stems $kaṇḍ-$, $uṇḍ-$
(of $uṇ-$)

12. $y, r, l, ḷ + k$, :— $pāy-kk-$, etc.

13. $ḷ + n'n' = ṇṇ > ṇ$:— Past stems like $vāṇṇ-$, $vīṇṇ-$,
 $amiṇṇ-$, $umiṇṇ-$, $kēṇṇ-$

14. $d' + t = t't'$:— (i) Noun-bases like $at't'am$,
 $kut't'am$, $ēt't'am$.

(ii) Verb-base like $vat't'$ -.

(iii) Causatival bases like $āt't'$ -,
 $māt't'$ -.

(iv) Past stems like $pet't'$ -, $ut't'$ -,
 $āt't'$ -.

15. $nd' + t-t'$:— Inflexional ending in $kat't'uvāṇiyam$.
[*Lil.*, 3, 29], $kat't'ukiḍākkaḷ$, beside
 $kan'n'ə$, $< kand'ə$.

1. The internal sandhi changes in 15 to 20 are represented here as involving the sandhi action of the element $-t-$. In my view, the action of a morpheme t has to be regarded as primarily initiating the changes, though it is possible that in some types the change was analogically introduced.

16. $g+t=kk$:— (i) Past stems like *pukk-*, *takk-(a)*, *mik'k'-(a)*.
 (ii) Transitivo-causatival *ākk-*, *pokk-*,
 (iii) Noun-bases like *ākkam*, *pōkkə*.
17. $ṅg+t=kk$ —(i) Inflexional ending in *kurakkupaḍa* [RC].
 (ii) Noun-bases like *ṛakkam*, *pokkam*;
 (iii) Transitivo-causatival bases *ṛakk-*, *n'ṛkk-*
18. $mb+t=pp$;—(i) Inflexional ending in *irippeḷuḡə* [RC, 190], *ceppēḍə*, *vēppan'tōl*.
19. $ḍ+t=ṭṭ$:— (i) Inflexional in *āṭṭind'e*, etc. and in *kāṭṭ-ān,a* etc.
 (ii) Noun-bases like *āṭṭam*, *n'ōṭṭam* (< *n'ōḍ-*)
 (iii) Transitivo-causatival bases like *āṭṭ-*, *ōṭṭ-*, *kūṭṭ-*
 (iv) Past stems like *n'att-*, *katt-*, *patt-* (or *petṭ-*)
20. $n+v$ (or b):—(i) *tinmān*
 (ii) *tinmin*
 (iii) *tinmōm*¹
21. $n+v$ (or b) = n_m :— (i) *unⁿmān*
 (ii) *unⁿmin*
 (iii) *unⁿmōm*

1. *tinmōm* [K. Bhāg., p. 42] shows the "vulgar" colloquial assimilation of *n* to *m*. *kun'n'ummēl* (< *kun'n'inmēl*) [TAS, V, p. 52] is common in the colloquials of even the educated classes.

A NEW WORK ON THE CERAS

(A Review*)

BY

V. K. R. MENON, M. A., M. SC. (London)

Mr. Sesha Iyer walks boldly where Prof. Nilakanta Sastri fears to tread. In his monumental work on the Cōḷas, Prof. Sastri successfully resisted the temptation of "finding a continuous story out of the discontinuous material" provided by the Sangam literature. Mr. Sesha Iyer, on the other hand, gives us a complete chronological list of the Cēras of the Sangam period from Udiyan-Cēral (c. 17. A. C.) to Kaṇaikkal Irumpoṛai (c. 286—306 A. C.) along with the names of the contemporary Cōḷas and Paṇdyas. This list is based solely on the three Sangam works: 'Puṛaṇānūru', 'Paṭiṛruppattu' and 'Śilappadikāram.' If his conclusions are correct, the book undoubtedly marks a great achievement in South Indian history.

But the author's conclusions are as hasty as his premises are shaky. He still adheres to his view expressed in 1917 that "Śilappadikāram belongs to the 2nd century A. C., and as he hints² that Pro. Sastri holds this opinion it may be interesting to quote the professor himself :—

"The period covered by the extant literature of the Sangam is unfortunately not easy to determine with any measure of exactness.— The longer epics, the Śilappadikāram and the 'Maṇimēkalai,' by *common consent*, are taken to belong to the closing stages of the Sangam age.³ (c. 400 A. C.) It is not clear how far the incidents mentioned in the epics may be treated as historical and not simply meant to furnish a familiar background to a romantic story."⁴

* "The Cēras of the Sangam period" by K. G. Sesha Iyer.

(1) 'The Cōḷas' Vol. I, p. 5

(2) 'The Cēras of the Sangam period'—p. 111.

(3) The 'Cōḷas' Vol. 1, p. 4.

(4) Ibid. p. 55 (note).

The author admits that his postulated chronology lands him in considerable difficulties. Senkuttuvan for instance, if he were the son of Imayavaramban, must have been a contem-
porary while still actively engaged in warfare. Mr. Iyer there-
fore concludes that the text implies 'decendant' by the word
'son'. But his successor, Adu-Kōtpāttuccēralātan who fasted
unto death at Venṇi is also described in 'Paṭiṟruppattu' as the
son of Imayavaramban; and no explanation is attempted for
this incongruity.

The author claims it as a 'fact of history' that there were
two lines of Cēras ruling simultaneously at Vāñci and Toṇḍi,
though he finds "no warrant for the ¹ suggested disintegration
of the Cēra Kingdom" into three dynasties as suggested by
Pandit ² Raghava Ayyaṅgār, the third one ruling at Māntai.
What exactly he implies by the term '*fact of history*' is not
explained.

The chapter on the "Political, Social, and Religious back-
ground" is readable, but comes as an anticlimax after the
masterful handling of the subject by Prof. Sastri.³ The author
is "quite certain that succession among Sangam Cēras was not
regulated by Marumakkattāyam law," and he even dogmatizes
"when and in what circumstances 'Marumakkattāyam' law of
inheritance came to be followed in Malabar need not now be
investigated." On the other hand I would suggest that a broad
comparative study of the social organisations of the different
communities and tribes of the Orient at the beginning of the
Christian Era, can alone enable us to see through the con-
flicting nature of the evidence presented by the Saṅgam
literature. Even a casual perusal of the treatises on 'Social
Anthropology' by Lowie, Rivers, or Malinowsky would show
that the 'Matriarchate' was one of the earliest forms—according
to Lowie, the earliest form—of social organisation. Matrilineal
and patrilineal communities or clans, with exogamous or endo-

(1) 'The Cēras,' p. 49.

(2) Cēran Sen Kuṭṭuvan by Raghava Ayyaṅgar.

(3) 'The Cōlas'—Ch. IV, "Government and social life
in the Sangam age."

gamous marital relationships, have been known to exist side by side in perfect amity. The unobtrusive transition from one type to the other, of individual families, or even of groups, has been recorded. Tamil Kṣatrias and Sūdras are known definitely to have emigrated into Malabar and gradually accepted the dress, outlook, and matrilineal law of inheritance of that country. Both systems exist among the 'Ezhavas' and Moslems of Malabar, and may serve as yet another illustration of such permeation. That the Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas were patrilineal during the Sangam epoch, does not therefore necessarily lead to the conclusion that the Cēras followed suit. In any case, we do know that even among the Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas, the law of primogeniture was frequently set aside.

Further, the Sangam treatises themselves are by no means explicit on this issue. The author finds it "difficult to believe that the *ancestors* of their race whom Iṃayavaramban and Iḷam-Cēral-Irumpoṛai are urged to ¹ rival...were not their paternal fore-fathers". This difficulty can easily be removed by consulting a reliable dictionary for the word *ancestor*. He is forced to admit that Mr. M. Srinivasa Iyengar and Prof. Somasundara-Bharati (Annamalai University) hold views opposed to his. Prof. Venkiteswara delivered a series of University Lectures at Madras last year in which he asserted that it is clear from the Sangam literature that the Cēras were matrilineal. Under such circumstances it is unfair of the author to have stated that his opponents' "assumptions fell flat on the Tamil world".

The two lengthy chapters on 'Vāñci-Mūtūr' and 'The Date of the Sangam Epoch' may well have been omitted. These topics have been discussed threadbare long ago; and a regurgitation of all the old arguments, is, to say the least, nostalgic in its reactions upon the reader.

Two of the prominent inaccuracies deserve deletion. The author states (p. 94), "We may also note the evidence of

(1) Patirruppattu 14 and 85.

Tirupūṇatura, the town situated on the holy Pūrṇa river. Tirupūṇatura is the residence of the Mahārājas of Cochin". The latter part is true, but the Pūrṇa or Alwaye river is many many miles away. In page 142 he dogmatizes that the "Architecture of the buildings in the Malabar coast reproduces the distinctive features of the architecture of the Mongolian countries, particularly in its temples". This is essentially wrong.

After a very careful study of the book I am led regretfully to conclude that the author's statement in the preface, that "as yet no intelligible account of the ancient Cēra kingdom based on reliable sources has been attempted", remains true in spite of the publication of his book. Ever since Indian scholars have attempted to write the history of the Cēra or Kēraḷa, there have been the 'Tamil' and the 'Malayālam' schools of thought. This linguistic division was understandable, but of late there have been regrettable signs of a territorial cleavage, based on political, rather than on academic differences of opinion. I will give a few instances and leave the reader to draw his own conclusions. The author generalises in his introduction that "Tradition is really human testimony, ..in the absence of trustworthy first-hand evidence, tradition may and ought to be accepted as the ground-work of history." Yet when it comes to the traditions embodied in the "Kēraḷōlpatti" they become a 'legendary mess', a fanciful list' a 'farrago of legendary nonsense'. "All that has been claimed for the work," the author continues, "is that it may supply materials to fill up the gap from the 4th to the 9th century A. C.," and concludes, "Kēraḷōlpatti cannot, therefore, be of any use for our purpose." Conceding the concluding remark, I would suggest that the digression on 'Kēraḷōlpatti' was irrelevant, except to cast aspersions on the unnamed individual who made the 'claim' in the S. R. V. R. Institute Bulletin. (Vol II).

Seṅkuttuvan is said to have given audience to a "Sākkiyān of Paṇavūr, *a town in North Travancore*" -(the italics are mine). Apparently Travancore was well known in the Sangam age just as, according to the author, "The Cēra Kingdom still flourishes like the pay tree"! (p. 156). On another occasion, the author holds that 'ripe old age' among

monarchs is "certainly not unknown", and continues, "In recent history we may instance William I, King of Prussia, the Ex-German Emperor William II, Queen Victoria"—and other European monarchs. He need only have stepped across the Travancore frontier to cite an illustrious living example.

I confess that Mr. Iyer by no means stands alone in this attitude. Kalaḍi, the birth-place of S'aṅkarāchārya; Māmala, of Govinda Marar, the famous contemporary of Thyāgarāja, and many other places as well have been described in Journalistic articles as "till recently belonging to Cochin State". Such sectarianism, however, is unwanted among serious students of Kēraḷa History.

NOTE:-- After this article had gone to the press, the sad news arrived that Mr. Sesha Iyer was no more. He was undoubtedly a most eminent scholar and had made valuable contributions to the archeology of ancient Kerala. A man of strong convictions, he was ever ready to fight doggedly for his theories. It was therefore felt that to withdraw this article, now that his virile pen has ceased to write, would be an act of dis-courtesy to the trojan spirit of this distinguished scholar.



A LIST OF THE RULERS OF COCHIN

BY

T. K. KRISHNA MENON

1. Bhāskara Ravi Varma, A. D. 700.
2. Vīrarāghava Chakravarthi, A. D. 744.
3. Sthāṇu Ravi, A. D. 824.
4. Gōda Ravi Varma, A. D. 912 (reigned for 20 years.)
(On these four more light has to be thrown by further research.)

(From five downwards, the date against each indicates that of his or her demise).

5. Rama Varma, 658 M. E./1510 A. D.

6. Rama Varma, 712/1537.

(Of 5 and 6, a Chambru speaks in eulogistic terms of their prowess and learning. The Chronicles state that 6 was also called Unni Raman Koil. Dr. Day says that he ruled for 37 years.)

7. Vīra Kēraḷa Varma, 736/1561.

(The Chambru speaks of his fame. He was killed by a spy of Vaṭakkaṅkoor).

8. Gōda Varma, 740/1565

(The next Raja Ravi Varma, it seems, only ruled for 14 days. He died in the battle at Puthiya Kāvu.)

9. Rāma Varma, 776/1601

(He was known as the Raja who went to Kāṣi. In those days a pilgrimage to Benares meant untold difficulties. The Rāja died on the way, while Gōda Varma who had gone with him died at Rāmēśvaram.)

10. Vīra Kēraḷa Varma, 790/1615.

11. Ravi Varma, 800/1624 Sept. (Trippoonithura.)

12. Vira Kēraḷa Varma, 810 Mith/1635 July.

13. Goda Varma, 820 Mak./1646 Feb.

From 1 to 13, all the Rajas belonged to the Eḷaya Thāvazhi. No. 13, Gōda Varma, adopted from Palluviruthi, Chāḷūr, Mūtha Thāvazhi and Muringūr (called Muringūr and Māṭattinkal) branches. The last got itself incorporated with the Eḷaya Thāvazhi; that is how the Ruling family got the name of Māṭavamṣam.)

14. (A Rāja from Eḷaya Thāvazhi) 821 Mith./1646 Jan. (Trippūnithurah).

15. Vīṛarayira Varma, (Palluviruthi) 825 Mak./1650 Jan.

16. Rama Varma, (Chāḷūr or Chāzhūr) 831 Edavam./1656 June. (Trichur).

17. Rāṇi Gaṅgādhara Mahā Lakṣmi, (Eḷaya Thāvazhi) 833/1658. (She adopted four young princes from Veḷḷāt swarūpam.)

18. Rama Varma, (Veḷḷāt) 837/1662.

(He and his two immediate anandaravans were killed in the battle of Maṭṭāñchery)

19. Gōda Varma, (Veḷḷāt) 838/1663

(Through the help of the Dutch, the next Raja of Mūtha Thāvazhi got Gōda Varma removed, and gained the gadi.)

20. Vira Kēraḷa Varma. (Mūtha Thāvazhi) 862/1687.

(The Portuguese assisted the Chāzhūr branch. So, he went to Colombo to seek the support of the Dutch. On his way back, he demised.)

21. Rama Varma, (Chāzhūr) 868/1697.

22. Ravi Varma, (Chāzhūr) 873/1698.

(He died at Thiruvalla, where he had gone to supervise the temple affairs.)

23. Ravi Varma, 897/1722. (Trichur).

24. Ravi Varma. 906/1731 (Irinjalakuḍa). The State Manual refers to him as Rama Varma.)

25. Rama Varma, 921 Dhanu/1746 Jan. (Kurikāt)
(Only from here the State Calender list contains the names).

26. Vīra Kēraḷa Varma, 925 Dh./1750 Jan. (Irinjalakuda)

27. Rama Varma, 935 Kan/1760 Aug. (Cochin)

28. Vīra Kēraḷa Varma, 951 Kanni/1775 Nov. (Trippūnitturah)

(He entered into a Treaty with Travancore for the last time in 1761. The State Manual refers to him as Rama Varma.)

29. Rama Varma, 965 Kar./1790 Aug. (Trippūnitturah)

30. Rama Varma, 981 Kanni/1805 Sept. (Trichur)
(Known as Śaktan Thampuram. He entered into the first Treaty with the English on 1 Jan. 1791.)

31. Rama Varma, 984/1809 (Vellārapilly).

32. Vīra Kēraḷa Varma. 1003 Kan./1825 (Trippūnitturah)

33. Rama Varma, 1013 Thulam/1837 Nov. (do)

34. Rama Varma, 1019 Ed/1844 (Irinjālakuḍa)

35. Rama Varma, 1026 Mith./1851 July (Trichur)

36. Vīra Kēraḷa Varma, 1028 Kan./1853 Feb. (Kāśi)

37. Rama Varma, 1039 Mak./1864 Trippūnithurah).

38. Sir Sri Rama Varma, 1063/1888 (do)

39. Sir Sri Veera Kerala. Varma 1004 Chingam./1895 (do)

40. Sir Sri Rama Varma, 1107 Mak. (Trichur) (Abdicated in 1090).

41. Sir Sri Rama Varma. 1107 Meenam (Madras).

In the recently published issue of the All-Kerala Sahitya Parishat Journal No. 4 of Vol. VI), Mr. K. N. Pisharoti refers to certain Rulers of Cochin who were scholars and poets besides being patrons of literary men. Of the dates of some, he does not

say how he came by them. I shall glance at his paper so as to assist future workers in this field. First he refers to Rama Varma who ruled from 740 to 776 M. E. It was he who got Thiru Kuṛal rendered into Malayalam. He composed Rāsa-Krīḍa, a maṇipravāla-kāvya. He was a patron, among others, of Mūkkola Nilakanṭhan Nampūtiri, Mazhamangalam and Mūlāṇḍam Bāla Ravi. Next he refers to Vīra Kerala Varma (776-790 M. E.) who, when he was at Trichur, on his way to engage the Zamorin, induced Nilakanṭha Kavi to compose Thenkailanathōdayam. It is about him that Mēppathūr Bhattathiri praises in his Māṭamahīśaprasāsthi. It was when the poet was living with the ruler at Matilakam that he composed this poem. Next, reference is made to Ravi Varma (897-906) at whose instance Vedantachari wrote the commentary Uthējini. It was at the time of the Ruler whose demise took place in 921 M. E. at Kurikāt that a Parakum-Kūthu was performed. Kuñjan Nambiar participated in it. It took place in 919 M. E. Uṇṇāyi Warriar was a native of Cochin and a dependant of its Ruler. In his article, Mr. N. Pisharoti publishes the introductory verses to Warriar's Nala charitham Kathakali which refer to deities in some of the famous temples of the Cochin State. Kalakkatha Raghavan Nambiar composed his Śākuntaḷam āṭṭakkatha as directed by Vīra Kērala Varma who reigned over Cochin from 936 to 951 M. E. It was the Ruler who demised in 984 M. E. who composed the Sundara Kāṇḍam pāna. Vīra Kērala Varma (984-1003 M. E.), the tradition goes, composed a century of āṭṭak-kathas, 48 of which are listed by Mr. N. Pisharoti. Besides these he has also composed several hymns of surpassing beauty. Arūr Aṭṭithiri, Kallūr Nampūtiripad, Kāllenkulangara Raghava Pisharoti, Muthukuriśśi Uṇṇi Nampūtiri, Etapattikad, Chēra-nellūr Krishnan Karthāvu were his contemporaries and dependants. These have enriched Sanskrit and Malayalam in a large measure basking as they did in the sunshine of a generous royal patron.



A BUDDHA IMAGE AT PARUVĀŚŚERI

By

P. ANUJAN ACHAN

Paruvāśśeri is a small hilly tract lying outside the border of Cochin State, about 21 miles to the east of Trichur. In and around this locality, the State owns extensive lands as properties belonging to the Vaḍakkun'n'āthan temple, Trichur. Not far from the Devaswam office at Paruvāśśeri, on the summit of two small hills separated by paddy fields, stand prominently a Śiva temple and a Durga temple. Just outside the enclosure of the temple of Durga is a small shrine dedicated to Buddha, for whom an image has been set up and daily offerings are made by Brahmin priests even now.

From the photograph published with this note, it will be seen that the image at Paruvāśśeri is none other than a dhyāni figure of Buddha seated on a raised dais with his hands placed on the centre of his lap. The face of the figure has been badly mutilated. Above the head is the holy umbrella in circular discs carved in bold relief meant for protecting the head of Buddha. On either side of the figure stands a devotee carrying something in one hand, supported from below by a dragon (vyāli). In front of the raised dais is seen a *svayambhu* (?) image of the Lord kept garlanded. In front of the dais is placed a circular stone over which offerings are placed for the diety.

The worship of Buddha had been quite common in the west coast for several centuries, remnants of which can still be found in the hilly tracts of Paruvāśśeri. The only material difference that has come about in the form of worship is that the worshippers of Buddha are now the *Hindus* and not those who go by the name of Buddhists.



ON OLD MANUSCRIPTS

BY

R. ANANTHAKRISHNA SASTRI

The libraries of India have secured and are still securing Mss. from different parts of India for the benefit of the reading public and also for printing the rare ones, if sufficient copies are available for collation. The search for Mss. was started a century ago, the credit of this being due to some extent to Sir William Jones at whose instigation the Asiatic Society of Bengal was established at the beginning of 1800 A. D. There were a number of collections before that period, and they were preserved in the places of the Rajas of the country and also in the houses of learned people throughout India.

We do not know when the script was introduced in India. One thing is known, that the immigrant Aryans in India were the last to invent and utilise the script for their literature, whereas the Greeks and the Romans were the foremost in preserving their respective literatures in writing. We find the writings of Plato and Socrates preserved in the Vatican at Rome and other places. We find the writings of a number of great writers preserved in their respective countries. But in India the case was different. The ancient Aryans trusted to their brain from the palmy days of Vedic civilisation down to the Puranic period of the 10th century A. D., and preserved the voluminous literature of Vedas and Śāstras in memory which was transmitted orally from teacher to the student. Of course it looks like a fable for the modern people who have been unaccustomed to carry such a big load of four Vedas and Śāstras in their brains. To clear this doubt, if one goes even today to any Brahmin Village, one can find Brahmans who may not even know how to sign their names but can repeat before the searcher all the Vedas accurately and can tell him also correctly the number of words of Agni that occur in the Rig Veda and other Vedas which he had studied. Such was

the brain power which handed down the Aryan literature from time immemorial to the 9th Century A. D. Megasthenes, the Greek historian, records in his book when he was at Chandragupta's Court for some years before our Christian Era, that "justice was administered orally." In Aśoka's edicts we find the first script in the 3rd century B. C. From that time onwards we find inscriptions about the doings of the rulers of India on stones and copper plates. Pāṇini, the grammarian, knows lipi (script) vaguely, and his successor Vararuchi mentions Yavana (Greek) script which was more prevalent in those days. Even Amara simha of the 6th century A. D. has not described in his Kōṣa the scripts except to mention Lipi. When later on the necessity arose for developing the worldly things in courts and other assemblies, the scripts also began to expand. There is an ancient saying in Sanskrit to the effect that "writing came to exist for seven purposes, viz., 1. writing for commercial purposes; 2. love-writing; 3. Sympathy; 4. writings conveying hatred; 5. writings to express sorrow; 6. happiness; and 7. Dharma Lekhana (to record benevolent deeds)." All Asoka's edicts and successive copper plates belong to the seventh group. When S'rṅgāra and other Rasas had to be expressed, the second type began to spread in the form of kāvya literature. The oldest Manuscripts discovered at present belong to Ayurveda and Jyōtiṣa, which cover types 3 to 6. The last type was the Vedic literature which was strictly an oral tradition till the 10th century A. D. When the Puranas became the order of the day at a certain period, the writing became a professional one and there is mention made in some Puranas how the professional scribes were to be religiously honoured with presents etc. and how the gifts of books (Vidyā-dāna) to individuals and to the librarian were to be made in order to get religious merits. Some Purāṇas like Dēvi and Matsya mention in detail the writings and preservation of books etc., as a religious ordinance. So we may safely say that when one takes the trouble of counting the Manuscripts now existing in public and private collections or libraries, the number will go not only to lacs but to crores, each Manuscript having been copied a number of times. For instance, the copies of Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki copied at different times and at different places go to more than ten thousand in number. I do not exaggerate the number

in this case, as I am a Manuscript worker since my youth. I can even authoritatively say that from a perusal of the passages of the dead manuscripts extracted and preserved in the living works, the number of Manuscripts that disappeared owing to the Manuscript custodian's poverty and other misfortunes like fire, flood, religious fanaticism and plague etc. might have been much greater than those left behind. From the 11th century onwards when our great Ācāryas like Śrī Rāmānuja and other learned people appeared successively in the field of the Vēdānta literature, voluminous works began to appear. Since that period Dharma Sāstra literature also began to develop enormously. After the complete disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth i. e. from the 8th century onward, Srauta literature with its animal sacrifices began to re-assert itself with vengeance in the field, followed by thousands of commentaries and annotations. Thus a large collection of works on various subjects has come out from the 8th to the beginning of the 19th century A. D. The Tantras and Mantras also had their own quota of Manuscripts. Hence we find in India alone an unlimited number of Manuscripts.

As for the writing, our ancestors used two methods: one by super-scribing by coloured liquids on the writing materials, as we do now on paper; and the second by inscribing with a sharp metal instrument on stones, copper plates and palm leaves. The scribes also cultivated writing as an art. Many learned men became scribes, as the profession was a paying one. A fine writer learned in different branches of Sāstras, who did not commit any single mistake in his voluminous writings, was honoured like a god. We find not a single mistake in the Manuscripts of the 9th to 15th centuries; and with one single copy any scholar can prepare a press copy for his edition. I wish I had a photograph with me for producing a copy of such a Manuscript for the benefit of the readers. Afterwards deterioration came in. From the end of the 16th century, illiterate scribes were employed for copying, and the literate neglected the writing practice. The result was that in course of time almost all the Manuscripts

produced between the 17th and 19th century were hopelessly inaccurate and such Manuscripts can only serve as tests by which we can judge the proficiency of scholars who attempt to edit them.

The materials for copying Manuscripts in ancient days consisted of country-made paper (kakada) and of palm leaves, (Tāḍapatra). These latter were found only in certain parts of the country, and so paper was more freely used for writing purposes. The country-made paper Manuscripts prepared by an admixture of red powder (haridra) withstood the attacks of insects longer than palm-leaf Manuscripts, though the latter were tanned and well coated with the application of the juice of Datura. Hence we find a limited number of Manuscripts in palm leaves.

In Kashmir the bark of a tree called Bhurj was used for writing to some extent, and we meet some beautiful Manuscripts in that material. In Assam some Manuscripts were written on the finely prepared bark of a tree called Agaru, and we get a number of Manuscripts of Kāvya, Purāṇa etc. on that material. Some preparation made out of cotton and pith in those days called Toola Patra for writing purposes did not stand long. The country-made paper was the chief material extensively used in ancient days. Such well-prepared Manuscripts still exist, challenging the ravages of climate and time. The longer the time, the more fresh the letters appear. The method of preparing ink is forgotten at present. Ink was called Laksha (lac ink). Even the so-called Stephen's ink fades away after some years, whereas lac ink which our ancestors used, appears brighter as time passes on.

The letters were called Varnas when uttered orally, and when they were converted into writings they were called lipis,—the superscribed ones. Lip and Lib mean 'besmear', and the inscribed ones are called lēkhanas, lik meaning 'to inscribe' or 'to dig'. We can safely group into three divisions all the local scripts used for recording the Sanskrit language in this vast country. The northern group of scripts had its origin

before the Buddhist period and continued till the end of 7th century A. D. when Buddhism disappeared from the land of its birth.

The origin of the script has not been solved as yet satisfactorily. Any way, when once an idea originated and was recognised, systematic improvement of the script was effected gradually. Thus the Nāgara (improved) script is now called by us as the parent of all scripts from the Aśōka edicts to the present well-improved scripts. The Himalayan script of Buddhist literature belongs to the elder branch where the present Tibetan scripts are used. The younger ones are Nandi-Nagari, Deva-Nagari, Sarada of Kashmir, Bengali, Maithili and Gujarathi which are used now in the northern parts. The southern division constituted of Telungu, Dravida, Kerala and Karnataka branches was planned later on independently. To these, however, the present writer has not directed his attention.

The third one is Utkala Script in Orissa country. The letters are round ones, and there is a vast Sanskrit literature in that script from Vēda to Kāvya well preserved in palm-leaf Manuscripts. The Burmese and Singalese Buddhist Manuscripts, inscribed on finely tanned palm-leaves, might be the imitations of the old Utkala round-shaped scripts. All the above scripts belong to the left to right type.

In one of the twelfth century Dharma Sastra works called Kriyākālpadruma which Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar is now editing in the Baroda Series, the author quotes extracts from Dēvi-purāṇa which Hēmadri also repeats: "One should copy in Nandi-Nāgari script in palm leaves with beautiful and clear writing the sacred literature, and present it to a learned scholar....."

This is the only mention of the script Nandi-Nāgari in our sacred works. This Nandi-Nagari script at present seems confined only to Vidyanagar Empire i. e. Bellary, Gokorna, Malnad and Mangalore (Karnataka country). When the great Sāyaṇa, the Vedic commentator, in 1350 A. D., engaged copyists for copying his works at Hampi (Vidyanagar), we find that the paper manuscripts were copied in Devanagari and the

palm-leaf ones Nandi-Nagri scripts. Almost all the palm-leaf Manuscripts which have survived and are now preserved in the Srīṅgerī Maṭh library are in the Nandi-Nāgari script. The total number of the manuscripts in the Maṭha Library is at present 461. Srī Mādhvācārya's birth-place was in the west-coast (Uḍuṅṅi). His writings as well as those of his successors and śiṣyas were almost all in Nandi-Nāgari script. Some of these manuscripts travelled into the Tamil and Telugu countries with their custodians. Owing to want of practice in reading this script, even the possessors of those manuscripts do not utilise them. In Mangalore side, there is a script called Tuḷu, with Tantras and other works. Some of the Uduppi Literary Manuscripts are in that character. At present the Nandi-Nagari has become obsolete.

Two Eras were current throughout India for common use from time immemorial. One was the Vikrama Era called sam-vat-sara started at 56 B. C., and it is observed even today throughout northern India. Another one, the Saka Era, starting from 72 A. D., is adopted by a particularly limited section of people in Bengal and Mahārāṣṭra. We do not know how the two Eras have become prominent, and who the heroes of these two Eras were. Of course there were also local Eras like Nevari Era in Nepal in the north, and Aṅḍu era in the extreme South, in Kēraḷa. The Buddhist Era did not survive in India. Srī Jain Era has survived among the followers of Srī Jina, and, is about 2450 at present. To some extent the Kali Era also was formerly current, but it has ceased to exist today.

The Manuscript writers make mention of the Vikrama Era called Samvatsara. Among the palm-leaf manuscripts discovered so far, the earliest date found is 927 samvatsara i. e. 871 A. D. This is the oldest palm-leaf Manuscript in our possession. There is a collection called Bower's collection which was brought from Eastern Turkistan sometime ago, which the Manuscript scholars attribute to 7th Century A. D. The paper writing and the subject matter have led them to fix the date so early as 7th Century A. D. But no mention of date

is made in the manuscript itself. Next comes 1164 i. e. 1108 A. D. From this date to 1550 A. D. We have dated Manuscripts preserved well in Jain Bhandars. The paper manuscripts begin with the date 1236 samvatsara i. e. 1180 A. D.; But till 1455 A. D. the dated paper Manuscripts are scarce; and from that date both Saka Era as well as Vikrama Era Manuscripts are found, till printing appeared in India. Nearly a century ago the Manuscripts were many, and almost all of them were dated. The wonder is that in Andhra, Dravida and Kerala countries where the manuscripts appeared in large numbers owing to the increase of learning since the Aryan permanent settlement, there is not a single mention of Vikrama or Saka Era recorded by the copyist at the end of his writings. Some latter-day Andhra and Dravida Manuscripts record Prabhava year of 60 years' round, and a few mention Āṇḍu Era of Kerala. There are patriotic people who say their Manuscripts are as old as 2000 years, and some ignorant S'āstris used to tell me when I used to meet them to secure manuscripts for public libraries that theirs were written in some Rishi's time i. e. 4000 to 5000 years back.

In this extremely hot and moisture-ridden country the manuscripts do not survive longer than 500 years though well protected. The Palm-leaf and paper manuscripts which we have now where specially prepared to withstand the ravages of time and are protected by the use of preservatives. In spite of the precautions, time has told upon many of them. The untanned and ordinary paper manuscripts did not stand more than 500 years. Hence we do not get ordinary dated manuscripts which are older than 500 years either in the North or in the South. When a date occurs in the Manuscripts, the scribe invariably quotes at the end of the manuscripts the date of the completion of the copying, the Era, the month, the bright or the dark fortnight, the day, the asterism, the place of the country ruled by the then Raja, and his own heredity if he is a famous man. He also points out for whose benefit the copy is intended and whether it is private or public. This gives us the then current date accurately if we take the trouble to calculate these with the assistance of the nautical almanac. The reference to the then ruling prince in India at that

particular place provides very useful information for our historical purposes, just as we get authentic information from stone and copper plates. In a few manuscripts, the date of the work also is mentioned. As regards the Eras (Samvatsara and S'akha) we find the samvatsara first mentioned by Varāhamihīra and Ārya Bhaṭṭa in their respective works, the dates being 499 and 504 A. D. Before that time we do not know what era was prevalent in India, as we do not have any manuscript records. Again Bhaṭṭōtpala mentions the ninth Century in his works. From the tenth century forward we have plenty of authenticated dates of the Eras. Such is the history of our palm-leaf and paper Manuscripts with scripts and dates.

In Northern India there was a development in the art of drawing pictures from the 13th century onwards. We find now picture manuscripts very finely drawn with different colours on art paper, showing pictures of Gaṇēśa and other gods. In Jaipur side where the art of picture-drawing was developed in the earlier days we find a number of Rāga and Rāgiṇi Manuscripts and well-depicted pictures of Dēvi in Dēvi Māhātmya Manuscripts. There are 24 pictures drawn in fine colours depicting the important incidents of the Bhāgavata stories, and those costly pictures are preserved in the Baroda Library. So also the hundred enchanting Dēvi pictures as depicted by the Great S'ri S'ankarācārya in his soundarya Lahiri work—the finest of the fine—are preserved in the same library; and any one with a taste for the fine arts may go and see them and satisfy his longings. In the south where the palm-leaf manuscripts are predominant, some fine pictures are drawn on palm leaves and on the wooden boards of the manuscripts, showing yantras, chakras, lotus, and the devata figures. Recently, I saw a number of Jain Tirtankara figures drawn very nicely and artistically in a tanned palm-leaf manuscript which is now kept in the Lahore University Library. Crude *Daśavatāra* pictures drawn on palm-leaf manuscripts and on their boards are occasionally met with in the southern manuscripts. In Gujarat and Kathiawar the horoscopes (Kundali) of some great men were prepared with coloured pictures of 12 Zodiacs and of Navagrahas etc., in rolled paper of 20 or 30 feet length. They are to be found in many houses of the old families.

We find in Kerala country alone some old Chinese coins used as buttons (tied with a piece of thread) for manuscripts. These coins are some centuries old. Chinese students might possibly have come to the Kerala country for Buddhist study and might have left the coins there. This is a subject well worth further investigation.

THE DIWANS OF COCHIN

BY

Sāhityakuśalan T. K. KRISHNA MENON

The Diwan is the chief executive officer of the State. Though he has to take orders from His Highness the Maharaja on almost all important matters, yet, as the Prime Minister, he is mainly responsible for the efficient administration of the State. In early days, the offices of the chief minister and of the commander of the army were combined in one and same individual.

Somewhere about 954 M. E., there was a separation of these functions, and the minister came to be called Valiya Sarvadhikariakar. This designation came into disuse, when, in 987 (A. D. 1812) the British Resident Col. Munro, on the requisition of the Ruler, assumed the office of the chief minister. He was, so to say, the first Diwan of the State. He did yeoman service to it. Col. Munro put down lawlessness in the State by rounding up certain dacoits who were carrying on depredations there. Next he created a good administrative machinery, and fixed the pay and pension of the officers. The Kariakars who had charge of the several taluks had to look after the revenue collection, and civil and criminal matters. Col. Munro relieved them of their latter work. To carry on the judicial work, he started courts in Trippunithura and Trichur, and a Huzoor Court with appellate jurisdiction in Ernakulam, while, for policing, he organised a separate staff. He also made strict arrangements for the collection of the land revenue, customs, court fees, and of the produce of the forests under the direct agency of the Durbar. Many of the temples of the State, he, for proper reasons, brought under the Management of the Sircar. He did not neglect the education of the youth of the land; for, in suitable places, vernacular schools were brought into existence. He, by the gradual development of the resources of the country and by the careful handling of its income, was able to pay off the arrears of the subsidy due to the paramount power. There, too, by his efforts he was able to get a substantial reduction. He was a great officer and a very tactful man, and always acted in conformity with the wishes of the Maharaja. His name is a household word in the sister States of Cochin and Travancore.

Captain Blacker, the assistant Resident, and Mr. Nanjappayya were assisting Col. Munro in the administration of the Cochin State. When Munro found it was necessary that an officer should be put in sole charge of it, he suggested the idea to the Ruler, who then appointed Mr. Nanjappayya (993 M. E.) as the first Diwan of Cochin. Mr. Nanjappayya followed the wise policy initiated by Col. Munro. He worked hard and made his subordinates follow his example. To ensure efficiency and to know the state of affairs firsthand, he frequently toured in the country. He instituted Zillah Courts in Ernakulam and Trichur, and changed the Huzoor Court into an Appeal Court, and rules were brought into force for the conduct of the civil and criminal work of these courts. He increased the income of the State by the introduction of a new abkari system, and also by the development of the forests of the State. Medical help of the allopathic kind also was made available for the people, and the Civil Surgeon of British Cochin was appointed as the ex-officio Durbar Physician. Several of the minor outstanding boundary disputes between Travancore and Cochin were amicably settled at a conference of the two Diwans. The survey and settlement of wet lands that he conducted in 996 M. E. is an important event associated with his name. The published report of the operations shows the care and trouble he took over them so as to cause no harm to the people. The accounts prepared at the time were always found to be correct and complete. He opened all the 70 water-pandals and a few of the *uttupuras* closed by Col. Macaulay, an act which gave sincere joy to the Raja and his subjects. He minted a coin called *puthen* which was in circulation till the time of Mr. Rajagopalachari.

On his death in 1000 Medam, he was succeeded by Mr. Seshagiri Rao, who was then the Divan Peishkar. Though he was not as skilful and tactful as his predecessor, he was a thoroughly honest officer. His only aim was to carry on the regular administration in a peaceful manner. But he was thwarted even in this innocent attempt. By a mild protest against his master's order to stop the allowance to the consort of the previous Ruler, he incurred the displeasure of the Raja which necessitated his leaving the State in Medam of 1005.

(To be Continued.)

TIRUKKURĀḶ IN MALAYĀḶAM

[A 16th century Ms. containing the Tamil text and the MalayāḶam translation]

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

Editor's Introduction

1. The existence (in the Pāliyam Library) of a sixteenth-century palm-leaf Ms. containing the Tamil text of KuṛaḶ and a Mal. prose translation thereof was brought to the notice of KēraḶa scholars by Mr. Paliath Anujan Achan (the Government Archaeologist of the Cochin State), through a paper of his contributed to the "Proceedings of the second session of the All KēraḶa Literary Conference" (pages 159 to 164). Mr. Achan also published a few specimens of the text of the Ms. in his Archaeological Report for the year 1109 M. E.

He has now been kind enough to place the whole Ms. at my disposal for publication in instalments in the columns of this Bulletin. I take this opportunity to express my thanks to him.

II. The Ms. contains the full text of KuṛaḶ (13 30 couplets) and its Mal. translation, inscribed in Mal. characters throughout. There is no attempt made to distinguish the metrical feet or the prosodic divisions of the Tamil verses. Each of the Tamil couplets is followed immediately by a prose rendering in Mal. The headings of the different chapters and sections are also given in Tam. and Mal. Every group of ten couplets receives separate serial numbering, the serial numbers being inserted at the end of the Mal. renderings. The serial numbers of the verses starting from the commencement of each chapter are also inserted at the end of each decad. Though the palm-leaves show signs of decay and discoloration, the writing thereon is on the whole in a fairly good state of preservation, and the characters employed are bold and legible.

III. It should fill the heart of every Malayāli with legitimate pride to know that this perhaps is the very first among the translations (into a foreign language) of the immortal work of the great Tamil “poyyil pulavan” who has commanded the esteem and reverence of generations of readers from his own time down till today.

European scholars like Beschi, Graul and Ellis popularised the Kuraḷ in the West through translations of portions of the work; but it was Pope who brought out (in 1886) a full-length text and English translation with critical notes. Other English renderings have appeared in India subsequently; and I know also of a Hindi translation (of portions of the work), that appeared a few years ago. The present Mal. translation is centuries older than any of these, and the preparation of a full Mal. rendering of Kuraḷ in the 16th century bears eloquent testimony to the wisdom and the breadth of outlook of that Malayāli patron of letters who perhaps wanted his countrymen to share with him the delights of the eclectic philosophy of life embodied in the work.

IV. All that could be gleaned from the present Ms. regarding the date and the circumstances of its composition is contained in the following statements in the tail-piece:—

“ഇതി തിരുവള്ളപ്പയൻ¹ സമാപ്തം—കൊല്ലം 770-മത വൃശ്ചിക ഞായറ 28നു എഴുതി— തിരുവള്ളപയൻ 1330—ഇതിൽ അറത്തിൽപ്പാൽ ഇല്ലറവും തുറാവവും, കൂടെ 380— പൊരുളപ്പാൽ 700—കാമത്തിൽപ്പാൽ 250—ആകെ 1330.

വള്ളവരിട്ട നൂലുവഴി കവിവ്യാഖ്യാനം മലയാളത്തിൽ സംസ്കൃ... എഴുതിച്ചത രാമവർമ്മ കവിരാജൻ—എഴുതിയത അയിക്കര ഇട്ടിമാർ കോത പണിക്കര ഹരി”

The eminent Kēraḷa poet-scholar, Ullūr, has tentatively suggested (Vijñāna Dīpikā, IV. p. 202) that the Rāma Varma referred to in the Ms. may have been the King of Cochin of that name—an illustrious saint and patron of letters—who ruled from

1 Tiruvalluva-p-payan is one of the names by which the work is known. This appears as Tiruvullappayan in the Ms.

740 M. E. to 776 M. E. Uḷḷūr has reconstructed (as far as materials permit) the history of this king's saintliness and literary patronage; and in the course of this reconstruction of the king's personality, reference is made to a Chidambaram stone inscription wherein the king's gifts to the temple are set out. The contacts which this King appears to have established between himself and Tamil n'āḍ probabilise the view that the translation of the Kuṟaḷ was made under his auspices.

Though after the days of ഇളങ്കോടുകിരം, and of the later ചേരമാൻ പെരുമാൾ നായനാർ and കലശേഖരൻ, the influence of Tamil literary culture considerably declined in the West Coast—as is evident alike from the general trend of literary development in Kēraḷa and from some of the observations and *obiter dicta* in the commentary on Līlātilakam—it is quit probable that the contacts with Tamil culture were now and then renewed in at least some centres of learning. The political relations of Travancore with the Pāṇḍyas, the story of the poet Kambar's visit to Kēraḷa and the tradition that even Eḷuttaccan came under the influence of Tamil Vaiṣṇavite philosophy, point to the possibility of Tamil literary influences having trickled through here and there even at a time when Kēraḷa literature had attained its own distinctive efflorescence. In any case there is nothing improbable in the suggestion that a most distinguished patron of letters like രാമവർമ്മ who was at once a Maecenas and a Rājarṣi may have of his own accord or under the inspiration of Tamil scholars in his court, encouraged the propagation of Tamil classics like the the Kuṟaḷ.

V. The original Tamil version in the present Ms. contains, aside from scribal errors, a number of Malayaḷam peculiarities and Tamil colloquialisms. I would single out here a few types like the following, reserving a full list of these for one of the appendices to this work:—

- (i) Basal final a for Tam.-ai: വേണ്ടാമ (4), ഇടംപ (5), ഇവ (360).
- (ii) Accusative-e for Tam. -ai: താളെ (3), ഇറത്താരെ (22)
- (iii) The tendency to use i after y : പൊയിപ്പിൻ (13), മനംതുയിണെ (for മനംതുയ്ക്കൈ).

(iv) Vowel-changes of the following types :—പെടം (501, 412 etc.); ഇരിക്കപ്പെരിൻ (for ഇരുകപ്പെരിൻ in 403); അരുതു (for അരിതു in 377); ചെരിതു (for ചിരിതു in 412), ചെറുമൈക്കം (for ചിറുമൈക്കം in 505); തിരിതു (for തെരിതു in 23); തിരിവാൻ (27).

(v) ai for ei (ey) in ചൈവാർ (26); ഐത (for എഴു in 516); മൈപ്പൊരുൾ (for മെയ്പ്പൊരുൾ in 356).

(vi) ഉണരപ്പെറ്റു (for ഉണരപ്പാറ്റു in 11); also പോലെ (for പോല in 435), കെടെ (for കെട).

(vii) The absence of Tamil literary sandhi in types like the following:—

തേരൽക്ക (for തേരുക in 509); ഉയൽപ്പാലതു (for ഉയപ്പാലതു in 40); അതൽക്കരിയൻ (518); തേരാൻ തെളിവു (for തേരാൻറെളിവു in 510); വാൻനോക്കി (for വാനോക്കി in 542); എല്ലാ മഴയെ (for എല്ല മഴയെ in 15); etc.

(viii) -വ്- instead of -മ്-, in ആക്കവം (31, 32); ചെൽവവം (30).

(ix) The use of forms without അളപെടെ.

(x) The use of the Tamil colloquial on-glide in യെന്നെത്താനം (416).

(xi) Other Tamil colloquialisms like പോതു (for പോഴ്തു in 412); ഇൽവാക്കൈ (for ഇൽവാഴ്കൈ in 41); ചേതു (for ചെഴു in 388); ചോരുവു (for ചോർവു in 405); ചാരുവായി (for ചാർവായ് in 15).

VI. On the other hand, the language of the Malayalam translation also contains Tamil forms and constructions here and there owing to the influence of the original : forms like ഉലകത്തുക്ക beside others like ഉമ്മതിനം ; ചേർത്തവർ beside ചേന്നവർ; tensefinites with and without personal endings; the wholesale adoption of Tamil constructions.

By the side of these pure Tamilisms and a number of traditional old Malayalam forms, there are many racy colloquial expressions and words which deserve the attention of the student of Malayalam. I shall be discussing them later in an appendix to this work.

It is not possible now to find out clearly whether the Malayālamisms in the Tamil original (of the present Ms.) were due to its having already been current among the Malayāli scholars in the west coast. If other dateable west coast Mss. of the Kuṛaḷ are discovered, one might be in a position to clear this point. So far as I know, other west coast Mss. of the original or of any Malayālam translations have not so far been reported.

Some of the Malayālam translations have not so far been reported.

Some of the Malayālam renderings are short and summary, aiming more at the reproduction of the substance than at a literal interpretation. Elaborate explanations like those of Parimēlaḷagar are nowhere attempted. While the translations of a few couplets here and there appear to me to be far too inadequate to bring out all the implications of the original, there are others which strikingly reveal new perspectives; and it is possible that some of these new interpretations may be of use to the students of the Kuṛaḷ. There is little doubt that the renderings, such as they are, might have served the purpose of giving the Malayāli an idea of the wealth of wisdom that lies in this great Tamil classic which has been described as “iruvinaikku marun’du.”

VII. The palaeography is, as is to be expected in a 16th century Ms., that of $\text{അയ്യപ്പത്തു}^{\circ}$, though Sanskrit sounds are not always represented by the special symbols of $\text{അയ്യപ്പത്തു}^{\circ}$, presumably on account of the influence of the തമിഴ് forms of the Tamil original.

The symbols are more or less the same as those used today except for the following:

(i) There is no ചറുക്കല anywhere; and the symbols for short e represent both the short and the long varieties of this vowel.

(ii) While the pure consonantal sounds ര, ശ, ഞ, ന , are represented as in modern writing, a similar upstroke appears for ഴ° also, connecting the termination of the symbol with the old “ പള്ളി ” at the top,

(iii) The സംവൃത ഉ^o has no distinctive symbol.— The absence of the ligatures (or subscripts) for ഉ (as in എൻറവാറ; പൈയ്യ വാഴിപ്പതും; ചെയ്യിൻറത പഴി, etc.) perhaps indicates, particularly in pausal positions, the Mal. ഊ.

(iv) The conservative symbol ൽ appears very often of the “spread-contact” ന്ന [=n'n'] in this text; but ന്ന is also met with in instances like the following:— ധമ്മവാനാരെന്ന [=ആരെന്ന^o] (37), ചെയ്യേണ്ടുന്നതെല്ലാം (40), വരിന്ന (787), കല ഹിക്കിന്നത (1287), ഒഴുകുന്ന (1287).

(v) Only one ൾ-symbol appears when Tamil ൽ is reproduced, or when the symbol ൽ is used conservatively for Mal. ന്ന [=n'n']; and in these instances the പള്ളി for ഏ precedes ൽ, whenever it is used.

(vi) On the other hand, the Mal. singular “sixth-case” ending with the voiced alveolar stop appears invariably with two ൾ-symbols, and the symbol for എ is placed between ൽ and the first ൾ-symbol, in as ഭഗവാൻറെ, എൻറെ, etc.

(vii) In internal positions, ൹ appears beside ക; old ന്ക beside ക; ൹പ beside സ്വ; ൽപ beside സ്വ. But ണ, ണ, ഞ, are uniformly used in internal positions. ഞ sometimes stands for old ന്ച, as in ഇഞ്ചൊല്ലം (for ഇൻചൊല്ലം).

(viii) The symbols for kū (modern കൂ) and tū (modern തൂ) appear respectively as കൂ and തൂ.

The symbol for rū (modern രൂ) appears here both as രൂ and രൂ, the higher level of the final outward bends distinguishing the latter from the symbol for tū (noted above).

(ix) The doubled മ is represented by the lower half of the symbol (for മ) being written below a full symbol for മ.

(x) The symbol for \underline{a} has two of the initial curvatures (in the symbol for \underline{a}) placed on the same level, with one perpendicular up-stroke at the end.

(xi) ഓ appears sometimes with the leftward bend for u shown inside (as for short ഓ), while at other times the modern ഓ itself is used (with the leftward bend shown outside).

(xii) The symbol \underline{a} (for the short sound) alternates with ഓ .

(xiii) Both ഓ and ഓ appear.

(xiv) The pure consonantal value of Tamil ഓ is represented by the symbol ഓ which also stands for ഓ .

(xv) The ഓ symbol ഓ alternates with a symbol ഓ embodying a dot (= Tam. ഓ) at the top.

(xvi) Other minor peculiarities relate to the symbols for sounds like ഓ , ഓ , etc.

VIII. So far as the original is concerned, there are two well-known editions: one with the commentary of Parimēlaḷagar, and another with the gloss of Maṇakkudavar.

The original, as reproduced in the present text, follows the scheme of Parimēlaḷagar in the arrangement of the stanzas.

IX. In the footnotes, I have pointed out "mistakes", colloquialisms, Malayāḷamisms and variations (from the text of Parimēlaḷagar) in the original text, and (ii) embodied here and there comments of mine on the translations and on a few linguistic peculiarities.

X. The version printed below faithfully reproduces the matter in the Ms. (both text and translation) except for the following:—

(a) The long \bar{e} and \bar{o} are distinguished from the short vowels.

(b) A few punctuation marks are introduced in the Mal. renderings.

(c) Symbols in the Ms., for which types are not available in the Press, are represented by the corresponding symbols used today.

(d) The matter enclosed within square brackets and preceded by an asterisk mark is introduced by me to fill in gaps.

The matter enclosed within small brackets forms interlineations made by the scribe himself.

The prosodic divisions of each Tamil couplet are not marked off in the printed text below, since the original Ms. contains no such divisions.

The phrase ഇതിൻ പൊരും occurring after each Tamil verse and the expression എൻപൊറു at the end of every Mal. rendering are omitted in the printed version.

The colloquial forms and other peculiarities of the Mal. renderings are left completely unaltered.

For convenience' sake, the serial numbers are consecutively set out at the beginning of each Tamil verse in the text printed below.

Text and Translation

ക ട വ ൂ വ റ ഴ ^൧ ത്ത

1. അകരമുതലവെഴുത്തെല്ലാ മാതിപകവൻമുതരേയലക— (ഇതിൻ) പൊരൾ—

എഴുത്തുകെല്ലാം അകാരമുതൽ; ഉലകത്തിക്കെല്ലാം ആദിപക
വൻമുതൽ എൻറവാറ.

2. കുറത്തനാലായപയനെൻകൊൽ വാലറിവനറാരൊഴൊരണിൻ—¹

എല്ലാനൂൽകളേയും കുറത്തിനാൽ പലമില്ല ആതിപകവൻ¹
താളത്തെൊഴാതവട്ക.²

3. മലർമിചൈയേകിനാൻമാണ്ടിചേന്താർ³ നിലമിചൈനിടുവാഴ്വാർ—

മലരിന്മേലേകിനാൻഅടിയെച്ചേന്താർക്കു അഴിവെൻറി വാഴ്⁴
വർ

4. വേണ്ടുതൽ വേണ്ടാമയില്ലാൻഅടിചേന്താർക്കു യാണ്ടുമിടുപയില—⁵ ⁶

വേണ്ടുകയും വേണ്ടാഞ്ഞേയും ഇല്ലാതവൻഅടിയെചേന്താർക്കു തുവ⁷
മില്ലൻറവാറ.

1 വാലറിവനറാരൊഴൊരണിൻ [വാലറിവൻ + നറാരൾ + തൊഴൊരൻ
+ എനിൻ].—The അളവെടെ in തൊഴൊരൻ is not embodied in the Ms.

2 താളത്തെൊഴാതവട്ക.

3 ചേർന്താർ

4 The ഴ appears without the full upward stroke; this sometimes
stands for ഴ and at other times for ഴ.

5 ചേർന്താർക്കിയാണ്ടു.— The ൂ is left out; and further the Tamil
കുറിയലികരം is not shown.

6 ഇടുവൈ.—നടുവ is a Malayalamised form (as the final vowel
indicates); such Malayalamisms occur in the original text, while conversely
Tamilisms are met with in the Mal. translations also.

7 The visarga sign is left out.

5. ഇരു¹ചേരിരുവിനെയുംചേരാതി²
റെവൻപൊരുചേർപുകഴ്³
പിരിന്താർമാട്ടു—

നൽവിന തീവിന രണ്ടും രംശ്ചരനെസ്തുതിപ്പോക്ക്ക ഇല്ല⁴.

6. പൊതിവായിലൈന്തവിത്താൻപൊയിതിരൊഴുക്കെന്നറിനിൻറാർ നീടു⁵
വാഴ്വാർ—

പ[ഞ്ചഇ]ന്ദ്രിയങ്ങളുറ്റതുനീക്കി നെറിനിൻറാർ നീടുവാഴ്വാർ.

7. തനക്കുപമെയില്ലാതാ⁸ (ൻറാ) ചചേന്താക്കല്ലാൽ⁹ മനക്കവലൈമാററല¹⁰
രിതു—

ഒൻറിനാലും ഉപമ ഇല്ലാതചനടിയെ ചേരാതവക്ക്ക മന
ദ്രവംമാറാതു.

8. അർവാഴിയന്തണൻറാ¹⁰ ചേന്താർക്കല്ലാൽ പിറവാഴിനിന്തലരിതു—

ധർമ്മക്കടലാകിയ ഭഗവാൻറെറ പാദത്തിൻകൽ ചേന്നവക്ക്ക
പിറവിക്കടൽ നീന്തുകഇല്ല.

1 ഇരുവിനെയും

2 ചേരാവിറെവൻ [ചേരാ + ഇറെവൻ....]

3 പുരിന്താർ

4 The translation here is but a summary; the meanings of ഇരുചേർ qualifying ഇരുവിനെയും and of പൊരുചേർ qualifying പുകഴ് are not brought out.

5 പൊതി

6 പൊയ്തീർ.—The pure consonant യ് is found represented very often in this text with ഇ following.

7 ഒഴുക്കെന്നറി.—The use of ന് in the present Ms. is due to the Mal. സംസാരി of മ് + ന് = ന്.

The Mal. rendering here again is a mere summary.

8 The east coast Tam. versions show ഉവമൈ.

9 ചേർന്താർക്കല്ലാൽ the final ന് is due to literary Tam. സംസാരി which is not followed in this text in many instances.

10 ചേർന്താർക്കല്ലാൻ പിറവാഴി.....The റ് of ചേർന്താ - is omitted; the sandhi change of ല് to റ് (before പ്) is also lacking. പിറവാഴി is പിറ + ആഴി; പിറവിക്കടൽ in the translation brings out the substance and the derivative meaning of the expression.

9. കോളിൻപൊതിയിൽകണമില്ലവേ ¹ എൻകണത്താൻറാളെ ²
വണംകാത്തലൈ—

പഞ്ചൈലൈ പൊതിപ്പാവെയിലു ³ ഗുണമില്ല ഭഗവാൻറെ
ശ്രീപാദത്തെ വണങ്ങാതെ തലൈക്ക.

10. പിറവിപ്പൈരുകടൽനീതുവർ ⁴ നീന്താർഇറവനടിയേരാതവർ —
ഇറൈവനടിയെ ചേർത്തവർ പിറവിക്കടൽ നീന്താർ; ചേരാ
തവർ നീതുവർ. ⁵

വാൻചിറപ്പ—മഴയെടെ ഗുണം

11. വാനിൻറുകവഴംകിവരുതലാറാനമൃതമെൻറുണരപ്പാറു — ⁶ ⁷
മഴയടുത്തവണ്ണം പൈയ്താൽ ഉലകത്തുക്കൃതമാം.

12. തുപ്പാക്കു തുപ്പായ തുപ്പാക്കി ⁸ തുപ്പാക്കു തുപ്പായതുമഴൈ—
നിറത്തിനും ഗുണത്തിനും ഉമ്മതിനും ഉണർവായതും മഴ. ⁹

1 കോളിൻപൊതിയിൽകണമില്ലവേ.— The literary Tam, sandhi changes are not embodied; the doubled ള് for short ല is due to the influence of Mal.

2 താളൈ.

3 The translation here is not clear. പരിമേലഴകർ's interpretation is "The heads which fail to bow down in reverence at the feet of the Great Lord who is possessed of the Eight Virtues, are as worthless as palsied senses." മണക്കടവർ gives 'like a doll devoid of senses' as the meaning of കോളിൻ പൊതിയിൻ

4 ഇറൈവൻ.

5 The rendering here reverses the construction in the original. The verb നീതം in the original has the meaning "to swim across (and reach the other bourne);" but the meaning associated with നീതുക in the Mal. rendering of No. 8 and with നീതം in the translation of the present couplet is "to struggle in the waters of the sea of births and deaths."

6 അമിഴ്തം.

7 ഉണരൻപാറു [ഉണരൽ + പാറു].

8 തുപ്പായതുമഴൈ.—മ്മ in മഴൈ shows Mal. സന്ധി—

9 The phrase നിറത്തിനും ഗുണത്തിനും brings out the force of തുപ്പായ, while ഉമ്മതിനും (= ഉണർമതിനും) explains തുപ്പായതും.

13. വിണ്ണിൻറുപൊയിപ്പിൻ ¹ വിരിനിർവിയനലകത്തുണ്ണിൻറുടറുംപശി—

മഴ പൈയ്യായ്യിൽ വിശ്വത്തിൻകെലൈ ജീവപശിവരുത്തും.

14. ഏറിന്റാർളുവർ ² പുയലെന്നുംവാരിവളുംകന്റിക്കാൽ—

മഴപ്പൈയ്യായ്യിൽ ഉഴുവാൻ വശമല്ല.

15. കെടുപ്പതും ³ കെട്ടാർച്ചാരുവായി ⁴ മറാംകെയെടുപ്പ ⁵ തുമല്ലും ⁶ മണയ്ക്കൈ—

ലോകത്തിൽ പൈയ്യാതെ കെടുപ്പതും മഴ; പൈയ്യാവാഴിപ്പതും മഴ.

16. വിശ്വംപിറുളിവിഴിനല്ലാൻ ⁷ മറാംകെപശ്വംപുറാറചൈകാൻപരിത—

മഴ പൈയ്യായ്യിൽ പുല്ലുപോലും മുളയാ.

17. നെട്ടുംകടലുംതന്നീരമൈകൻറും ⁸ തടിതെഴിചിത്താൻ ⁹ ന്കാതാകിവിടിൻ—

മഴയില്ലായ്യിൽ അറമില്ലാത കടലും കരെയും.

18. ചിറപ്പൊടു ¹⁰ പുശനൈ പെല്ലാതു വാനംവർക്കുമ [*ൽ] വാങ്ങാർക്കമീണ്ടു—

മഴ ഇറല്ലെയായ്യിൽ അലാകരവും പുജയും തേവർക്കും ദേവകരക്കും ഇല്ല.

1 പൊയ്പ്പിൻ.

2 The force of വിരിനിർവിയനലകത്തു “the wide world girt by the sea” appears to have been summarily condensed in the translation through വിശ്വത്തിൻകെലൈ.

3 കെടുപ്പതും.

4 ചാർവായ്.

5 എടുപ്പതും.

6 എല്ലാമണയ്ക്കൈ.— According to literary Tam. സന്ധി, the final മ് of എല്ലാം is elided before മ് following.

7 അല്ലാൻ.—ൻ is due to literary Tamil സന്ധി.

8 തന്നീരമൈ [തൻ + നീർമൈ].

9 എഴിലി താൻ.

10 [വറക്കും + എൽ].

19. താനന്തവമിരണ്ടുംതംതാ ¹വിയന്മലകം വാനംവഴംകാതിനിൻ—
മഴ പൈയ്യാഴ്യിൽ താനവും തപവുംമാകിയ രണ്ടുമില്ല.

20. നീരിൻറമെയൊതുലകിനിൻയാരിയാക്കും ²വാനിൻറമയാതൊഴുക്കും ³
നീരില്ലാത്ത ഉലകം പൊറാതുമുലകത്തിലുള്ളവർക്കാചാരവും ⁴
മില്ല.

⁵നിന്താർ പെരുമൈ-ആചാരം വേർവിടാതെ തപസ.....

21. ഒഴുക്കത്തുനീത്താർപെരുമൈ വിഴുപ്പത്തു ⁶വേണ്ടും പനിവറുണിവും—
എല്ലാന്നൂൽകളേയും അറിഞ്ഞ അനാചാരത്തെ നീക്കിനത ⁷
തെളിഞ്ഞവരുടെ അറിവ.

22. തുറന്താർപെരുമൈതുണൈകുറിൻ ⁸ വയുത്തുറന്താറെയെണ്ണിക്കൊണ്ടുറ—
ലോകത്തിൽ മരിച്ചവരെ എണ്ണാമെംകിലേ ⁹തപോവനരുടെ
പെരുമൈയെണ്ണാവു.

23. ഇരുമൈവൈകൈതിരിനീണ്ടുംപുണ്ടാർപെരുമൈ ¹⁰പിറകിറുലകം—
ജനനമരണമറിഞ്ഞു ധർമ്മം ചൈയ്യാവനക്കു മീതേ ¹¹മേലോക
ത്തുമില്ല.

1 വഴകാതെനിൻ [വഴകാതു + എനിൻ]

2 അമൈയാതുലകെനിൻ [ഉലക + എനിൻ]

3 അമൈയാതു

4 The translation ആചാരം for ഒഴുക്ക agrees with the interpretation given to it by മണക്കുടവർ and commonly associated with it; പാമേലഴകർ interprets ഒഴുക്ക literally as 'water flow', though he refers to the other interpretation also in his commentary.

5 നിന്താർ. - The stroke for 'o' is wrongly used in the Ms.

6 പനവറുണിവും [പനവൽ + തുണിവും]

7 The Mal. rendering is imperfect.

8 തുണൈകുറിൻ

9 വയുത്തുറന്താറെ [വയുത്തു + ഇറന്താറെ]

10 തെരിത്തു

11 The idea conveyed by മേലോകത്തുമില്ല is not expressed or implied in the interpretation of പാമേലഴകർ or മണക്കുടവർ.

24. ഉരണന്നംതോട്ടിയാനോരൈത്തുംകാപ്പാൻ വരണന്നംവൈപ്പുക്കോല

1
വിത്തു—

2
പഞ്ചഭൂതത്തെ അറിവെന്നും തോട്ടിയാൽ കാപ്പവൻ സ്വർഗ്ഗത്തി
ലേക്കു അവനെ വിത്ത.

25. ഐതവിത്താനാറാൽ അകൽവിചുംപിലാർകോമാൻതുന്തിരനേശാ
ലുംകരി—

3
4
പഞ്ചഇന്ദ്രിയങ്ങളെങ്ങടക്കിയവൻ വലിയ ഇന്ദ്രസമം
(സാക്ഷി)

26. ചെയൽക്കരിയചൈവാർപെരിയർ ചിറിയർചെയൽക്കരിയചൈ
6
കലാതാർ—

അരിമയാകിൻറത ചെയ്യും പെരിയവർ; എളിയവ
ചെയ്യിവർ എളിയവർ.

27. ചുവൈയൊളിയുടാചൈനാറമെൻറൻതിൻവകതിറിവാൻകട്ടേ ഉലക—
7 8
പഞ്ച ഇന്ദ്രിയങ്ങളുടെ നിലയറിഞ്ഞവനേ ലോകവാൻ.

1 ഓർവിത്തു (= ഒരു വിത്തു)

2 ഐത്തു is translated as പഞ്ചഭൂതം; but here it has the meaning പഞ്ചേന്ദ്രിയം; see No. 25.

3 അകൽവിചുംപുളാർകോമാൻ "the supreme lord of those residing in the wide heaven."

4 വലിയ ഇന്ദ്രസമം is an incorrect rendering, this appears to have been noted already in the text, since the word സാക്ഷി is introduced below the line here. The correct idea is that the lord Indra could bear testimony to the might of those who have subdued their senses, the allusion being to the curse pronounced on Indra by the sage Gautama.

5 ചെയ്വാർ; cf. ഐത for എയ്ത in 516, and ചെയ്യായ്കിൽ in the translations of Nos. 13, 14, 15.

6 ചെയ്കലാതാർ.

Note the absence of literary Tam. sandhi in ചെയൽക്കരിയ, and the doubling of ക.

7 എൻറൈൻവകൈ (എൻറ + ഐതിൻ + വകൈ)

8 തെറിവാൻ

28. നിരൈമൊഴിമാന്തർപെരുമൈ നിലത്തു മരൈമൊഴികാട്ടിവിടും—
തപസ്സുള്ളവരുടെ വചനം വേദമൊഴിയായിരിക്കും.

29. കണമെന്നുംകന്റേറിനിൻറാർബകളി ¹ ² കണമേയും കാത്തലരിതു—
തപസ്സുള്ളവരുടെ കോപം ഒരുത്തരാലും തടത്തുകൂടാ.

30. അന്തണരമ്പോരവോർ ³ മറെറുവ്യയിർക്കുംചെന്തൈമപ്പുണ്ടൊഴുക
ലാൽ—
എല്ലാവുയിർക്കും അന്യ ചെയ്യയാൽ തപോതനരേ അന്തണര.
അറം വലിയുറത്തൽ—³ധർമ്മത്തിൻറെ വലിമ ഇത.

31. ചിറപ്പീനും ചെൽവവുമീന ⁴ മറത്തിനുംകാക്കവുമില്ലെയുയിർക്കും—
മോക്ഷത്തേയും ⁶ഭവീഷകെയും കൊടുക്കും; ⁷ഉയിർക്ക കാവൽ
ധർമ്മതിന മീതെ ഇല്ല.

32. അറത്തിനുംകാക്കവുമില്ല ⁸ ⁹ യതൈനമറത്തലിനുംകില്ലൈകേടും—
ഒരുവനുക്ക ധർമ്മതിന ¹⁰മീതേയോരുയാക്കവുമില്ല; ¹¹അതു
മറക്കിൽ കെടുമതുപോലേ ഇല്ല.

1 The use of the form തപസ്സുള്ളവരുടെ is a summary of കണമെന്നുംകന്റേറി നിൻറാർ “of those who have scaled the peak of saintliness;” the idea conveyed by കണമേയും “even for a moment” is also lacking in the translation.

2 വെകളി

3 വലിയുറത്തൽ

4 ചെൽവവുമീനം (ചെൽവം + ഉം + ഇനം). —

5 അറത്തിനുള്ളകാക്കമൈവനോവുയിർക്ക (അറത്തിൻ + ഉള്ളുക + ആക്കം + എവനോ + ഉയിർക്ക)

6 ഭവീഷക stands for ചെൽവം; the word looks like being related to Skt. ഭവീഷ്യ, or it may be a blend of Tam. പവുഷ and Skt. ഭവ്യം or ഭവീകം.

7 ആക്കം in the original means ‘increase’, ‘prosperity’; കാവൽ in the translation is a derivative signification.

8 അറത്തിനുള്ളകം.—

9 ആക്കമം.— The use of വും is a Mal. feature.

10 അതനെ

11 മറത്തലിനുള്ളകം

33. ഒല്ലംവകൈയാലറവിനെയോവാതേ ചെല്ലംവായി എല്ലാം ചെയൽ—
 1
 ധർമ്മത്തെ ഒഴിയാതേ യൊരുവനക്കു ആകുംവണ്ണം ചെയ്തു.

34. മനസ്സുകൾമോചിലനാതൽ അന്നെത്തറനാകലനീർമൈപിറ—
 2
 മനസ്സിൽ അഴുക്കു കൂടാതേ ചെയ്യീൻറ ധർമ്മത്തിന (മേലേ ഒരു ധർമ്മമില്ല) മേ ധർമ്മം.

35. അഴുക്കാറവാവെകളിയിനാച്ചൊന്നാൻകമിഴുക്കാമിയൻറതരം—
 3 4

5
 മനസ്സുകൾമോചെയും കോപവും കടിഞ്ഞൊല്ലും ഇല്ലാതേ ചെയ്യും ധർമ്മമേ ധർമ്മം.

36. അൻറിവാമെന്നാതറഞ്ചെയ്തു മററതുപൊൻറുംകാൽപൊൻറാത്തുണ്ടൈ—
 6
 മരിക്കുംനാളെക്കു ചെയ്തുകൊള്ളാം ധർമ്മം എൻറു നിന്നെയോതേ ധർമ്മം ചെയ്തു; അത ഉയിർക്കഴിയാത തുണ.

37. അറത്താറിതുവെനവേണ്ടോ ച്ചിവികൈപൊറുത്താനൊടുർത്താനിടൈ—
 7
 ധർമ്മവാനാരെന്നചോതിക്കേണ്ടോ; തണ്ടിൽ ഇരിക്കീൻറവനേയും ചുമന്നനടക്കീൻറവനേയും കണ്ടറിഞ്ഞുകൊൾക.

1 ചെല്ലംവായ്

2 ആകലനീര പിറ

3 അഴുക്കാറവാ (അഴുക്കാറു + അവാ)

4 ഇഴുക്കാവിയൻതരം (ഇഴുക്കാ + ഇയൻറതു + അറം)

5 മനസ്സുകൾ ആശയം

6 അറം ചെയ്ക

7 ചിവികൈ.—The implication is that the man riding on the palanquin enjoys the fruits of the good deeds of his past birth, while the bearer expiates the sins of his past karma.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

രണ്ടു സാഹിത്യനായകന്മാർ (Two Literary Stars): By A. D. Hari Śarma, Ernakulam. With an introduction by Śrīmati T. C. Kalyāni Amma. Price Rs. 1-4-0. Pp. vii, 259 (Illustrated).

The book under review deals exhaustively with the life and the literary activities of (i) Kēraḷa Varma, Valiya Kōyil Tampurān, C. I. E. and (ii) his nephew, Professor Rāja Rāja Varma of Travancore.

The author gives us a very interesting account of the above two literary stars hailing from the South, connecting their relationship with the family of the Raja of Parappanad in British Malabar. In 1788, during the invasion of Tipu Sultan, three male and five female members of the family of the Rāja of Parappanād are said to have fled to the South and reached Trivandrum, where they were cordially received by the then Raja of Travancore, Rāja Kārtika Tirunāl. Since the 'refugees' did not somehow find it congenial to go back to their home in British Malabar even after Tipu had returned to Mysore and found his grave there, the Rāja of Travancore gladly placed at their disposal a permanent abode at Chaṅganāṣṣēri in the present *Lekṣmīpurattu Koṭṭāram*, which originally belonged to the Rāja of Vaḍakkumkūr. In due course, through the will of Providence, both these royal families became bound by marital relationship; and the Parappanād Rājas soon became consorts to the royal Princesses of Travancore. Thus the eldest son of the youngest of the five ladies that fled to Travancore during Tipu's invasion of Malabar was made to enter into wedlock with the Travancore Princess, Gowri Lekṣmi Bhāi. The reputed scholar and musician, Rāja Svāti Tirun'al, who became the ruler of Travancore in 1829, was the son born of this marriage. Thus the bond that came into existence between the Parappanad and the Travancore royal families proved to be, in after years, a source of unending help to the growth and development of the art and literature of Kēraḷa.

The author of the book, therefore, rightly describes the two "literary stars" as the two *Kalpakas* that have been nurtured and made to blossom on account of the tender care of the Maharajas of Travancore in the Lekṣmipuram Palace.

We invite the readers to the several chapters of this interesting book, which the author has dedicated to Mahākavi Uḷḷūr S. Parameswara Iyer.

P. A. A.



NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A curious article¹ about the legends connected with the Sucīndram temple has appeared under the title, "*Where Trial by Ordeal once prevailed*".

The antiquity of the *site* of this historic temple is of course undisputed. But the surviving structures are all comparatively modern, the imposing Gōpuram being an ordinary example of the late Dravidian type of architecture. It contains numerous inscriptions which have been studied and carefully discussed in the pages of the "Travancore Archaeological Series" and which leave little doubt that this Gōpuram was built by Tamil architects during the period of the Nāyaka domination of Vēṅṅād. A popular rendering of the temple legends has also been given by Miss E. G. Hatch in her excellent guide book to Travancore.

Trial by ordeal existed not only at Sucīndram but also at numerous other temples in Kēraḷa, and it is a fact recorded in history that these trials were abolished by statute in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The author is old enough and high-caste enough to have either read about this temple, or to have visited it long before "the recent Temple Entry Proclamation.....(which) has brought to light many interesting facts about the temples in the State."

A few examples of Mr. Iyer's penmanship may be quoted as examples of unscientific writing on archaeology. Speaking about the Gōpuram he writes, "This massive structure has nothing Western either in design or in its material.....The whole Gōpuram is covered with exquisite and delicate carving in masonry which would extort admiration from the Westerner *who has not seen a temple in Southern India.*"— (The italics are mine).

¹ Article by Mr. A. Padmanabha Iyer in the "Quarterly Journal of the Mythical Society," Vol. XXIX, No. 1.

The paragraph on 'Trial by Ordeal' is brief. "When (ghee) is in a boiling condition, the *guilty* person would be asked to dip the finger thrice.....If the hand has not been affected in any way,he or she is adjudged *innocent*." And now comes the concluding remark, His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin passed through this ordeal when he gave his assurance of friendship with the Ruler of Travancore."

The insinuation contained in that sentence is as patent as it is absurd. The Raja of Cochin who is alleged to have gone through this ordeal,—the title 'Maharaja' has only been recently given to the Cochin Royalty by the British Government,—was never *accused* or considered *guilty* by the illustrious Raja of Travancore. The two monarchs entered into a defensive and offensive alliance in 1761 A. D. "The Cochin Rajah, having requested the assistance of the Travancore Rajah, to drive the enemy away and to extend his territories as formerly....."¹ Tradition exists that the Cochin Raja also committed himself by *Oath* before the deity at Sucindram to fulfil the terms laid down in the treaty; and it is needless to add that they have ever afterwards been kept up by both parties.

The incident has therefore no connection whatsoever with the trials by ordeal held at Sucindram temple; and the intentions of the author in including it in his article are, to say the least, questionable.

It is to be regretted that this article should find a place in the respected columns of the Journal of the Mythic Society.

V. K. R. MENON.

¹ Cochin Sircar Records, Mss., dated 26-12-1761.



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