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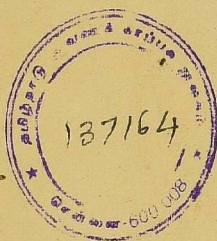
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# Kerala Society Papers.

SERIES 3.

## Some Travancore Dynastic Records.

• Second Series.

(By M. Rajaraja Varma Raja, M. A., B. L., Vice-President of the Kerala Society.)

In the first series of records published in the *Kerala Society Papers*, Series I, I gave the chronology of the sovereigns of Travancore from A. D. 1544 to 1667. I referred there to the several adoptions made during the period. The records bearing on them I propose to publish in this second series. These records come from the same source as the former ones and form part of the self-same *paditharam* (scales of customary expenditure) accounts.

In Document No. VIII of the first series (p. 18 *ante*) mention was made of an adoption in 750 M. E. (A. D. 1574-75) of Prince Cheriya Rama Varma and a Princess from the Thrippapur Swaroopam in Attingal to the Chiravay Swarupam. This Prince Cheriya Rama Varma had his estate in Malikara, a village in the Kudukulam taluk. What the necessity or occasion for this adoption was is not apparent. On subsequent occasions also, no reason is mentioned for the adoptions. Usually an adoption is resorted to only when there is no direct heir to continue the line of succession. Under the Marumakkathayam law, it is unusual to adopt

male members, as their children are not members of the tarawad (family). But in the absence of a competent person to manage the tarwad, male members are sometimes adopted to avoid an interregnum which would arise if the birth of an heir to the female member adopted were to be awaited. It is also unusual, if not against the *Sastras*, to adopt married members with or without issue. The Chiravay Swarupam was governed by the *Marumakkathayam* law of succession, and hence, I surmise, a Princess was adopted to continue the line and a Prince to fill the throne.

Another point deserves mention. Adoption is made only from the kindred, that is, from families of the same class or caste if not of the same clan. Hence Thrippapur and Chiravay Swarupams must have been kindreds or branches of the same clan. If the theory that the Chiravay Swarupam migrated from the Tamil country is correct, it has to be assumed that it changed its system of inheritance from Makkathayam to Marumakkathayam after this migration.



The first document of the second series is dated the 26th Panguny 754 M. E. It is marked A in the Appendix. On the 19th Kartiga 754 M. E., Martanda Varma assumed (p. 8, No. 6) the headship of the Chiravay Swaroopam (*Vide* Document IX of the first series, pp. 18, 19 *ante*). Four months after his accession, on the 26th Panguny, Princes Rama Varma and Aditya Varma were adopted into the Chiravay Swaroopam. The ceremony took place at the Kuzhithura Koikal (see above). The document does not say to what families the adoptees belonged. Nor does it give any reason why, so soon after the adoption of 750 M. E., it was found necessary to resort to it again. It is significant that this time two male members alone were adopted. It may be presumed that it had to be done owing to the death of Cheriya Rama Varma adopted in 750 M. E. and the want of a male issue to the Rani taken along with him. As to the family from which the new adoptees were taken, it may be surmised that they belonged to the Thrippapur Swaroopam, in one of the branches of which we find the names (Rama Varma Ilamur & Aditya Varma of Nattalam) of these two Princes along with the lady who was adopted in 750 M. E. (*Vide* p. 18 *ante*, Document VIII of the first series).

The second Document marked B in the Appendix is dated the 9th Tai 797 M. E. It records a tripartite adoption between the Thrippapur Swaroopam, the Chiravay Swaroopam and the Pokam Thayvazhi Senior branch. The arrangement was come to and the agreement executed at the Pullikode Koikal, Trivandrum. Ravi Varma (p. 10, No. 11) was then the

Sovereign (*Vide* p. 10 *ante*, Document XV of the first series). He was the head of both the Chiravay and Thrippapur Swaroopams. These two Swaroopams had already become consanguineous by previous adoptions. In this adoption, Ravi Varma of the Thrippapur Swaroopam and head of the Chiravay Swaroopam, Prince Martanda Varma (Anusham star), two Junior Princesses of Attingal born in the Atham and Ajilam stars were adopted into the Pokam Thayvazhi senior branch, where there were two members viz., Virakerala Varma born in the Moolam star and Alifa Varma born in the Makayiram star. Virakerala Varma senior member of Pokam (see above) and Aditya Varma were adopted into the Thrippapur Swaroopam at the same time and both the Sovereigns Ravi Varma Senior member of the Chiravay Swaroopam, and Prince Martanda Varma sponsored this arrangement.

From the nature of this document it may not be amiss to surmise that these adoptions were effected more in view of political than of family necessity. For, in the present instance, we find that there were both male and female members in the ruling family at the time of the adoption. It was therefore done to consolidate the interests of the several branches. I am confirmed in this inference by the third and fourth documents in the series marked C and D in the Appendix. Document C is an agreement executed in 797 M. E., the same year of the adoptions mentioned *supra*, between the head of the Chiravay Swaroopam and Vira Kerala Varma head of the Pokam Thayvazhi to the effect that the latter will

not act any more without the assent of the former, the senior brother, and will not co-operate with any one who acts against him. In this document mention is made of the Elayadathu Swaroopam, i.e., the royal family of Kottarakkara, near Quilon in Travancore.

The next document is marked D in the Appendix. It is dated the 3rd Adi 798 M.E. It also records another mutual adoption, this time between the Thrippapur Swaroopam and the Kunnummel Elayidam Swaroopam (of Kottarakkara), and the Chiravay Swaroopam. The second one evidently is the Elayidam Swaroopam referred to in the agreement concluded in the previous year. This document states that King Ravi Varma head of the Chiravay Swaroopam adopted Vira Kerala Varma born in the star Pooyam, of Kunnummel Elayadam Swaroopam and the latter took three male members of the Chiravay Swaroopam and three female members of the Attingal or Thrippapur Swaroopam as members of the Elayadam Swaroopam. The names of these members are enumerated in the document. They are (1) King Ravi Varma; (2) Martanda Varma born in Anushasana; and (3) Raja Varma born in the star Swathi, (4) Attingal Senior Rani born in the star Pooram, (5) Attingal Junior Rani born in the star Atham, and (6) a Princess born in the star Makayiram. The transaction was effected at Paruppu-koikal in Trivandrum and the auspicious hour is also mentioned.

Till now adoptions were made within the limits of the State. They effected the amalgamation of the Chiravay, Thrip-

papur, and Kunnummel Elayadam Swaroopams and Pokam Thiruvazhi (senior branch) by bonds of kinship. There can be little doubt now that this device was resorted to for the consolidation and security of the ruling family. The next attempt was to bring in Cochin also into alliance by the same method. Document E in the Appendix records two adoptions of members of the Vellarappalli family into the Attingal family. Vellarappalli is the original home of the Cochin royal house. These events took place on the 23rd Vaikasi 805 M.E. and 27th Purattasi 805 M.E. The record enumerates the members of the family at the time of the second adoption and specifies the exact relationship to them of the adoptee re-named Ravi Varma:—(1) nephew of the ruling Sovereign Ravi Varma; (2) younger brother of Prince Martanda Varma; (3) Son of Chithira Thirunal, Senior Rani and Atham Thirunal, Junior Rani of Attingal; (4) brother of Ayilyam Thirunal, First Princess and Pooram Thirunal, Second Princess, Attingal; (5) elder brother of Rama Varma Kochunni Pandarathil and of Aditya Varma Kochunni Pandarathil who had been adopted on a former occasion; and (6) uncle of Makayiram Thirunal, Princess of Attingal. Thus there were nine members, both male and female, in the family at the time. The adoption was made after securing the consent of Lakshmi Amma, younger sister of the adoptee's mother, and after changing his name to Ravi Varma. *Datta Homam* (sacrificial fire for adoption) was lit by Kakkad, who is even now the hereditary priest of the Travancore Royal House. The particular



name of the adoptee is not given, and in the document he is referred to as Koil Pandarathil, and Raja Koil Pandarathil, which are merely titles of honour. Another fact worth noting is that, among the persons who decided upon the adoption, and to whom obeisance was paid by the adoptee, is the head of Chethunganad (Quilon). From Document No. XV (p. 21) of the first series dated 755 A.D., it will be found that the senior and one junior member of Chethunganad were called in by King Ravi Varma to settle the disputes of the Sri Padmanabha temple in Trivandrum and that they were initiated into the Trippapur Swaroopam which had sway over the temple. Chethunganad Kallikka Swaroopam had thus become allied to the Travancore ruling family. Soon after the adoption, Ravi Varma the adoptee was required to perform the funeral obsequies of Pooram Thirunal, the Senior Rani of Attingal (*Vide* also Document D) on the tenth day after her demise. This was done to cement the relationship created by the adoption rather than for want of a natural heir to the deceased. This inference is inevitable as there were eight or nine surviving members in the family as seen from the list given above.

This document is important in more respects than one. In the first place, it shows the equality of status between the royal houses of both Travancore and Cochín. Secondly, to cement the unity of distinct families of equal status, the expediency of adoption was resorted to instead of marriage alliance. Thirdly, the adoption of 805 M.E., was not the sole instance of adoption from Vellarappalli,

but there was a previous adoption in 805 M.E. of one Rama Varma Kochunni Pandarathil and Aditya Varma Kochunni Pandarathil (*Vide* subsequent Document F also). Fourthly, the position of the adoptee in the family was exactly specified, evidently because he was brought in from a separate stock.

It would have been significant if any confirmatory record could have been found in Cochín for these transactions. There is however no reference to them either in the Cochín or the Travancore State Manual. This foreign adoption is therefore brought to light for the first time and deserves further investigation.

The next document in the series, marked F in the Appendix, records a third adoption from Vellarappalli, Cochín. Unlike the previous records, it gives the reason for the adoption. The long reign of King Ravi Varma came to an end in 838 M.E. He was succeeded by King Rama Varma. (See *ante*, p. 12, No. 10). He died on the 12th Purattasi 847 M.E. (*vide* Document XVI, p. 25 of the first series). The document now under reference is dated the 20th Chingam 847 M.E. It states that King Aditya Varma, having performed the funeral rites of his predecessor, viz. King Rama Varma, was unable, owing to indisposition, to continue the *sraddha* after the 4th day. In the absence of a younger member to perform the *deeksha*, i.e. the daily offering of oblation for a full year, messengers were sent to fetch Rama Koyil Pandala from Ullarappalli (Vellarappalli). This Rama Koyil Pandala is stated to be the nephew of King Aditya Varma. He came to Kalkulam the then capital, and was

performing the *sradha* of the deceased king. Then he was asked to come to Trivandrum by the commands of King Aditya Varma, Ayilyam Thirunal Senior Rani of Attingal, Makayirun Thirunal Junior Rani and Aswam Thirunal, First Princess. The messenger sent was one Edathara Devan Thirivikraman (a Brahmin). Rama Koyil came accordingly and stayed in the Sripadam Kottal, Trivandrum. A dispute then arose, regarding the adoption of Rama Koyil, among the members of the family and Kerala Varma of Pokam Thayvazhi who was also present at Trivandrum. But after discussion it was amicably settled. Evidently the cause of dispute arose on account of Rama Varma of Pokam Thayvazhi who had probably been put forward as a candidate. Rama Koyil along with another called Kochu Rama Unni Pandarathil were adopted for Iraniel Chinganallur Palace. The ceremony of the first adoption was performed at Krippukoikal, Trivandrum, early morning on the 20th Ani 847 M.E. Tuesday, when the moon was in the Makam star and the day of the moon was Panchami of the bright half. The second adoption took place the very next day, Wednesday 21st Ani.

There are several interesting points to be noted in this record. Firstly, how did Rama Koyil become the nephew of King Aditya Varma? Is this Aditya Varma is the same as the one mentioned in document E with the surname of Kochu Pandarathil, then this Rama Koyil should also be the nephew of the adoptee from Vellarappalli who was given the name of Ravi Varma. In any case, the members of the Vellarappalli family were it seems

treated as kinsfolk from whom persons could be indented upon when needed for Travancore.

Secondly, why was not advantage taken of the members of the Poka Thayvazhi and why was a candidate from far away Cochin preferred to them? The record shows that there were present at Trivandrum at least two members of the Poka Thayvazhi at the time, viz., Kerala Varma and Rama Varma. Discussion also appears to have turned on that point between the Sovereign, the Attingal Rani and Poka Thayvazhi Kerala Varma. The record does not give any indication except that the amicable settlement was to take Rama Koyil as the heir to Iraniel Chinganallur.

Thirdly, Iraniel Chinganallur near Kalkulam, the capital at the time, appears to have been the demesne of the heir to the throne, as may be inferred from allotments of lands to the Princes of the blood, about which I have come across certain documents. These I hope to publish later on.

Fourthly, the use of the word *deppan* meaning 'to adopt' is curious. It shows the ingenuity of the scribes to coin words or shorthand symbols for the occasion.

In the introduction to the Padappan published as No. 3 in the *Srimulam Malayalam Series*, Mr. S. Parameswar Aiyar states that one Raghavan Koyil alias Ramun Koyil was the chief minister of Rani Gangadhara Lakshmi of Cochin at the time of the Dutch invasion and he is said to have been a native of Travancore. In the text of the Padappattu it is stated



to be a *Vasakovil*, i. e. a Kshatriya who is not a ruler.

Again, there is the following passage there :

“മറിവറിഞ്ഞാമർകോയിലുണ്ടായൊരു

വിളിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതൽപേരുകക്കാരെല്ലാം.

(*vide* pp. 27 and 34). This last event took place sometime after the 27th Makaram 837 of the Kollam era :—

“ഇതുകാലം കൊല്ലമിന്നാലുത്തര

മതിന്നുമേലിൽ മുപ്പതു മേഴും ചെന്ന

മകരമാസത്തിലിരുപത്തേഴായി

പകച്ചിടത്തൊളിനമറിഞ്ഞാലും.

സിമിപ്രതിപദം ധവളമായതു

കത്തുകമായനാളഴകിയായിലും

കന്തരിക്കേടുകവെള്ളയാകമാഴ്ചയും

ഒരുമിച്ചുളിനം മുടിഞ്ഞരചന്ദ്രൻ.

ചരിഷഭോവിച്ചപകയോർതമ്മെയും

ചരിച്ചാമർകോയിലുമൊളിച്ചുപോയ്.

മരുവിക്കോതവർമ്മരോടൊരുമിച്ചു

മുറിവിന്നചില ചികിത്സചെയ്താൻ

മരിച്ചുലത്തകളിന്നു രാത്രിയിൽ”

This event is mentioned in the Cochin State Manual also (*vide* p. 91) where

name is given as Raghavan Koil. Rama Koyil was adopted into Travancore in 847 M. E. i. e. 10 years afterwards according to our record. Whether this Rama Koyil is the same as the one mentioned in the Patappattu requires further evidence.

Again, in the Cochin State Manual it is stated “when the latter (— Rama Varma, the prince adopted from the Chazhur branch) died six years later, it was generally thought that his death made the way clear for the Muttā Thayvazhi princes. But the Portuguese and the Travancore prince Ramana Koil were not disposed to acquiesce in this arrangement” &c. (page 87). This was in 1656 A. D. (631 M. E.) i. e. 16 years before the adoption mentioned in document G. It presupposes an earlier connection between Rama Koyil's family and the Travancore ruling house and it is this perhaps that documents E & F as well as another *ola* of 806 M. E. record. Further investigation in the archives of Cochin and Travancore may, it is hoped, clear up the mystery.

— M. R. V. K.

## SUMMARY.

(By T. K. Joseph, B. A. L. T.)

DOCUMENT A, dated 26th Panguni,  
754 M. E. (A. D. 1579).

Adoption from the (?) family into the Chiravay family.

Date—754 Panguni 26 (A. D. 1579).

Place—Kulittura Palace.

Adopters—Not mentioned. Martanda

Varma (A. D. 1578-92) was then ruling as Chiravay head.

Adopted—

1. Rama Varma (perhaps Rama Varma of Irali who reigned from 1609—1610 A. D.)
2. Aditya Varma (perhaps Aditya Varma who reigned, 1610 A. D.)

DOCUMENT B, dated 9th Tai 797 M. E.

(A. D. 1622)

1. Adoption from the Chiravay family into the Pokattu senior branch.

*Date*—79(7) Tai 9, Sunday, Uttrattali, 5th day of first fortnight (A. D. 1622.)

*Place*—Pallikattu Palace in Trivandrum.

*Adopters*—

1. Vira Kerala Varma, Mulam star, of Pokam or Pokattu senior branch.
2. Aditya Varma, Makayiram star, of the same branch.

*Adoptees*—

- I. Ravi Varma of Truppappur family, head of the Chiravay family. (He ruled from A. D. 1610 to 1611).
2. Martanda Varma, Anilam star, (adopter No. 2, Doc. E).
3. Junior Rani of Attingal, Attam star, (adopter No. 5, Doc. E).
4. Junior Rani of Attingal, Ayilyam star, (adopter No. 6, Doc. E).

- II. Adoption from the Pokattu branch into the Truppappur family.

*Date*—The next day, Monday, Uttrattali.

*Place*—(name lost). Perhaps the same as that of the previous adoption.

*Adopters*—

1. Ravi Varma, head of the Chiravay family, (adopter No. 1 of the previous adoption).
2. Martanda Varma, (adopter No. 2 of the previous adoption).

*Adoptee*—Vira Kerala Varma, head of the Pokattu branch, (the same as adopter No. 1 of the previous day's adoption).

DOCUMENT C, dated 797 M. E.

Two treaties between Rama Varma (*sic* for Ravi Varma), head of the Chiravay family and Vira Kerala Varma, head of the Pokattu branch.

- I. Vira Kerala Varma agreed not to see or make peace with the Ilayidattu family (i. e. the royal family of Kottarakkara, north of Trivandrum) without Ravi Varma his eldest brother (by the above adoption) nor join with those who do so.

- II. Ravi Varma agreed not to make peace with the Ilayidattu family without Vira Kerala Varma, nor side with the latter's nephews (junior princes) and those of his own family and molest him.

Both mutually agreed not to dishonour the *ardhapranadhishtana* (what is this?) and swore by the feet of the God Tekkin Perumal, i. e. Mahadeva of Srikandeswaram temple (in Trivandrum) and the goddess (Bhagavati) of Palkkulangara temple (in Trivandrum).

DOCUMENT D, dated 3rd Adi, 798 M. E.  
(1623 A. D.)

- I. Adoption from the Kottarakkara family into the Truppappur family.

*Date*—798 Adi 3, Thursday, Tiruvonam, 3rd day of second fortnight, Mannirasi (A. D. 1623).

*Place*—Kattippu Palace in Trivandrum.

*Adopter*—Ravi Varma, head of the Chiravay family. (He reigned 1610 to 1662 A. D.)

*Adoptee*—Vira Kerala Varma, Puyam star, head of the Kunnummel Ilayidattu (i. e., Kottarakkara) family.



16. Adoption from the Chiravay and Truppapur families into the Kunnummel Ilayidattu family of Kot-tarakkara.

*Date*—798 Adi 3 (as above).

*Place*—Perhaps the same as above.

*Adopter*—Vira Kerala Varma, head of the Ilayidattu family.

*Adoptees*—

1. Ravi Varma, Revati star, head of the Chiravay family (1610 to 1662 A. D.)
2. Martanda Varma, Anilam star.  
(See Doc. B and E).
3. Rama Varma, Swati star.
4. Senior Rani of Attingal, Puram star.
5. Junior Rani of Attingal, Atham star.
6. Another princess, Makayiram star.

DOCUMENT E, dated 27th Purattasi, 806 M. E. (A. D. 1630).

1. Adoption from the Vellarappalli family presumably into the Attingal family.

*Date*—305 Vaikasi 13 (A. D. 1630).

*Place*—Attingal Palace.

*Adopters*—

1. Ravi Varma, Revati star, head of the Chiravay family (786 to 838 M. E., or 1610 to 1662 A. D.)
2. Martanda Varma, Anilam star, of the Chiravay family. (See Doc. B and D).
3. Senior Rani of Attingal, Puram star. (Died 806 Purattasi 18)
4. Junior Rani of Attingal, Chittira star.
5. Junior Rani of Attingal, Attam star.

6. Junior Rani of Attingal, Adityam star.
7. Junior Rani of Attingal, Puram star.
8. Itunni of Attingal, Makayiram star.

*Adoptees*—

1. Rana Varma, Asvati star, young prince of Vellarappalli family, Cochin.
2. Aditya Varma, Attam star, young prince of Vellarappalli family, Cochin.

These two adoptees were sons of Lakshmi Amma Pandarathil, also called Lakshmi Nampirattati, of Cochin, sister of Unni Kerala Varma of Jayasimhanad of Quilon, who must have been adopted from the Vellarappalli family of Cochin to the Quilon family.

- II. Another adoption, that of Raja Uttiradam star, from the Vellarappalli family decided upon. (See below, VI)

- III. Senior Rani of Attingal, Puram star, (No. 3 above), died 806 Purattasi 18.

- IV. Unni Kerala Varma of Jayasimhanad (see above) came to Attingal Palace, 806 Purattasi 24, and agreed to the above adoption of Raja Uttiradam star, son of another sister of his (elder to Lakshmi Amma Pandarathil above) from the Vellarappalli family to the Attingal family. (This Unni Kerala Varma from Cochin is probably the same as Unni Kerala Varma of Document XV of the first series).

V. Anashmi Amma Rani (see above) came from Coclin to Kulimadam Palace in Attingal and agreed to the above adoption. (The mother of the adoptee was probably already dead.)

VI. Adoption from the Vellarappalli family to the Attingal family.

Date—806 Purattasi 27, Wednesday, Swati, 2nd day of first fortnight, Makaram rasi.

Place—Attingal palace.

Adopters—not specified; presumably Ravi Varma, ruling king, head of the Chiravay family and the Senior Rani of Attingal, Chittira star, and others.

Adoptee—Raja Koil Pandarathil, Puradam star, of Vellarappalli, who is renamed Ravi Varma before adoption. His original name is not given in the document.

Relationship of the adopted Ravi Varma.

1. Nephew to Ravi Varma, head of the Chiravay family, i. e., the ruling king (No. 1 in adopters' list above).
2. Younger brother to Martanda Varma (No. 2 in do.).
3. Son to Senior Rani of Attingal, Chittira star (No. 4 in list), and also to Junior Rani of Attingal, Attam star (No. 5 in list).
4. Brother to Junior Rani of Attingal, Ailyam star (No. 6 in list), and also to Junior Rani of Attingal, Puram star (No. 7 in list).
5. Elder brother to Rama Varma and Aditya Varma both adopted from Vellarappalli in 805 M. E.

6. Uncle to Ittunni, Makayiram star (No. 8 in list).

VII. *Homa* (sacrifice) performed by so-and-so of Kakkad house. (This so-and-so shows that the present ola is a copy or abstract of an older one.)

VIII. The tenth day *homa* ceremony connected with the death (on 18th Purattasi—806 M. E.) of the Senior Rani of Attingal, Puram star, performed by the adoptee Ravi Varma on 27th *idem*, and offerings of money (100 fanams) and Quilon silk (2 pieces) made to the goddess of Vellarappalli.

DOCUMENT F: a fragment similar to Doc. E.

DOCUMENT G, dated 20th Ani, 847 M. E. (A. D. 1672).

I. Rama Varma, head of the Chiravay family died on 12th Purattasi, 847 M. E. (A. D. 1671). (This is most probably the young prince Rama Varma, Asvati star, adopted by Ravi Varma from Vellarappalli, in Cochin, on 13th Vaikasi 805 M. E., 42 years before. Rama Varma ruled from 838 to 887 M. E., or 1662 to 1671 A. D.)

II. Aditya Varma, his successor as head of the Chiravay family performed the deceased king's *homa* ceremony at the Sri Padam Palace in Trivandrum for 41 days, but could not continue it for the usual



period of one year owing to ill health. (This is most probably the young prince Aditya Varma, Attam star, adopted by Ravi Varma from Vellarappalli, Cochin, on 13th Vaikasi 805 M. E. or 1630 A. D. (He ruled from 1671 to 1677 A. D.)

III. No other princes in the family. So Aditya Varma's nephew Rama Kovil Pandala was brought from Vellarappalli in Cochin. He continued the ceremony at Kalkulam (even before he was formally adopted) on 20th Ani, 847 M. E., or A. D. 1672).

IV. Rama Kovil (Pandala) was then brought to Sri Padam Palace in Trivandrum by command of the following:—

1. Aditya Varma, head of the Chiravay family (ruled A. D. 1671—1677), then at Sri Padam Palace in Trivandrum.

2. Senior Rani of Attingal, Ayilyam star (probably adopter No 6 of Doc. E), then at Karuppu Palace in Trivandrum.

3. Junior Rani of Attingal, Makayiram star (perhaps adopter No 8 of Doc E), then at Avanacheri (in Trivandrum?).

Junior Rani, 3rd in rank, of Attingal, Asvati star, then at Idattara Madam in Trivandrum.

Kerala Varma of the Pokattu or Pokattu branch of the royal family, who was then in Mutanpatti (മുതൻപട്ടി). Madam in Trivandrum, objected to the adoption of Rama Kovil and seems to have wanted

Rama Varma of the Pokattu branch to be adopted.

VI. Finally it was decided to adopt—

1. Rama Kovil Pandala to the royal palace, and

2. A Brahmin child, brought up by the Junior Rani, 3rd in rank, of Attingal (to which palace or family?). The child appears to have been called Kochu Rama Unni Pandarathil.

VII. Adoption of Rama Kovil Pandala to the royal palace.

Date—847 Ani 20, Tuesday, Makam star, 5th day of first fortnight, Sadhyaniyayoga, Simha Karana, morning, Idavam rasi (A. D. 1672)

Place—Karuppu Palace in Trivandrum.

Adopter—Aditya Varma, head of the Chiravay family.

Adoptee—Rama Kovil Pandala of Vellarappalli, in Cochin.

VIII. Adoption of a 'Piramanakkunju', i. e. a Brahmin child brought up by the third Rani of Attingal. The child was called Kochu Rama Unni Pandarathil.

Date—847 Ani 21, Wednesday, Makam star, Mithunam rasi (A. D. 1672)

(The record is incomplete.) The adoption of a Brahmin child into the royal family is an unusual transaction. We do not know whether these two adoptees, Rama Kovil and Kochu Rama Unni Pandarathil ever came to the throne. Who is the Rama Varma inserted between 871 and 904 M. E. in Travancore Archaeological Report, 1099, p. 50?

DOCUMENT H, referring to events of 169 and 871 M. E.

*Tiruman* or sacred thread ceremony, presumably of Aditya Varma adopted from the Kolattunad family of North Malabar is mentioned in the heading of the old. (The document is incomplete).

II. A rebellion of the people in Trivandrum (or Kotarakkara?), perhaps as a result of which Kerala Varma, head of the Chiravay family, the ruling king, died at Pullikkode Palace at night on 22nd Adi 871 M. E. (A. D. 1696).

III. The Senior Rani of Attingal, the other members of that family, and those of the Kalkkulam (i. e. the Chiravay) family, caused his obsequies to be performed by Aditya Varma of Kolattunad.

IV. The affairs of the family were managed by the surviving members, probably because Aditya Varma was a minor.

V. The Senior Rani of Attingal did something for the Kolattunad ... (?) The record ends here. Probably she caused the sacred thread ceremony of the adoptee Aditya Varma of Kolattunad to be performed.

- T. K. J.

#### DOCUMENT A.

Adoption of Rama Varma Aditya Varma into the Chiravay royal family on 26th Panguni 754 M. E.

[ഭാല മ, മുൻവശം.]

1. ശ്രീരാമ

2. വെമ്പ

1. കഴുത്തു കൊവികൽ ഇരുന്ന നയി നാർ രാമവർമ്മാ

2. ഇരുന്നളിയിട്ടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലും ആതിരുന്ന

3. വർമ്മാ ഇരുന്നളിയിട്ടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെയും

4. ചിറവാതൊരുവത്തിൽ തെത്തുപക്കയിൽ പടിഞ്ഞാറൻ പട്ടിത്തട്ട.

I. ഞാമിൻ അ. - അ.

2. പ. കുനി മാ-താ മമന്ന. O

I

1. കഴുത്തു കൊവികൽ ഇരുന്ന നയി നാർ രാമവർമ്മാ ഇരുന്നളിയി

2. ടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലും മെ. പ. ടി ആതിരുന്നവർമ്മാ ഇരുന്നളിയിട

3. ത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലും കൂട നാളതു ചിറവായി തൊരുവത്തിൽ തെത്തു

4. പക്കയിൽ പടിഞ്ഞാറൻ വകെക്കു തിട്ട.

II

1. നാൾ മ കളിയിലുള്ള മ

2. തെങ്ങാ എണ്ണ ഇ-ട-ങ്ങ-ഴി മ

3. തളിപ്പഴം 6

4. കരുളി ക. ല 11

III

1. ഉണക്കൽ. അ-രി ഇ-ട-ങ്ങ-ഴി പ. ക. മൾ വീരക്കാട്ട് നെ-ൽ ഇ-ട-ങ്ങ-ഴി 6

2. പക്കൽ അ-രി ഇ-ട-ങ്ങ-ഴി നൂക്ക പ. ഇ-ട-ങ്ങ-ഴി നാലര വീരക്കാട്ട് നെ-ൽ മൾ 12

3. നെ-ൽ വക നെ-ൽ മൾ ഇ-ട-ങ്ങ-ഴി 6

4. ആ-കെ നെ-ൽ മൾ ഇ-ട-ങ്ങ-ഴി വെണ്ണ (ചിൻവശം എഴുതിച്ചു)





## RI

1. (.....) വർഷം രത്തിലും നയിന്നാർ  
മാർത്താണ്
2. (.....) തെത്ത കൊള്ളുകയിൽ ഏഴു  
നിന്ന തെത്തെ ചെലവ.
3. (.....) ത. ചാലും തിരട്ടാ  
തിയം
4. (.....) കൊമ്പിക്കൽ ഇലക കെട്ടിൽ
5. (.....) കുറും

## T15

1. വിളം കിണറിയും
2. നിലവിളക്കു
3. വിളക്കിനെ തെക്കോട്ടു എണ്ണ
4. കിണറികളെ നിലിപ്പും
5. നിന്നാഴ്ന്നെ-ൽ ഇ-ട-ക്ക-ഴി
6. നിറമക്കൊലിനു നെ-ൽ ഇ-ട-ക്ക-ഴി

## IV

1. ടി അട്ടമക്കിലിയത്തിനു അ-ഗി ഇ-  
ക്ക-ഗി ട്
2. മക്കക്കിട ചെപ്പു കണ്ണാടി അമ്മാ  
നെ
3. വെററിലൈപാക്കു പള്ളിപ്പലക
4. വിരിപ്പാൻ പ-ണം റ പ-പ്പററ  
ചെക്കൈ റ
5. കാളം പല്ലന്തൊട്ടം പ-ണം റ
6. മുർത്തം പണം റ

## V

1. பஜ்ஜ மரம்  
உ. பூவ் பூவ்  
உ. நெற்று  
2. வகை.  
1. ஞாந்மெ ஞா-எடி.

## I

1. രാണം തെക്കേടത്തുവാതിയ - ഞം
2. ആക ഇവക തെത്താലെ ക്കെ
3. കരുണകരപ്പിരിയിൽ വൈപ്പൻ ക-
4. ഞംകരുണ-വ-വരൻ നകൻ

- 4 வயம் கொடுத்ததினாலு.  
[சேஷன் குழந்தையிலு.]

DOCUMENT C.

Treaty between Rama Varma (sic for Ravi Varma), head of the Chiravay family and Vira Kerala Varma, head of the Pokam branch. Date 797 M. E.  
[അംഗം, 2000000]

1. மாண்புமிகு கல்வி
2. அமைச்சர்.
1. மாண்புமிகு கல்வி

## I

1. നയിന്നാർ മുതലായ ചിറവാഴ മുതലായവയിൽ
2. ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലും വീരകൈരള വർമ്മ
3. പൊക്കത്തു മുതലായവയിൽ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലും
4. കൂട ഏഴുതിയ മൊഴി കാലൈ (മത്) മൊഴിയായിരുന്നു—
5. ഇളയയെക്കൊണ്ടവത്തിൽ കാണുക താനും ചെയ്തുക

## II

1. നാം ചെയ്യുംപോൾ ചിറവാൽ മുതൽ അണ്ണൻ കൂടാതെ
2. കാൻകയം നിരക്കും ചെയ്യുന്നില്ലാ എന്നും
3. യിവാളോടുകൂടി കൂടുന്നില്ലാ എന്നും
4. അത്തപ്പിറാണ അതിട്ടാത്തതിൽ താഴെ ചെയ്യുന്നില്ലാ
5. എന്നു എഴുതിന മൊരിക്കലെയും

## 11

1. விரைந்தவயல் உபாகந்து V. துற. V.  
பள்ளத்திலெலக
2. ஸ்ரீபிகைத்தன காசிலெலக



മൊഴി ആവിതു:—

3. ഇളൈയ്ക്കത്തൊരുവത്തിനൊടു നിന്നുകൊ  
പൊരും പൊകത്തു
4. മുത്തഅടികളെക്കൂടാതെ നിരക്കുന്നതും  
മില്ലാ,
5. പൊകത്തായ് വഴിയീൽ നാനന്ദവ

[ഭാല ച, പിൻവശം]

1. അവരെയും എടുത്തു പിടിച്ചു അടിക  
ളൊടു ഉപത്തിരിക്കുന്നതും
2. ഇല്ലാ, അതുപിറന്ന അതുനത്തിന്ന  
താഴ്വ ചെയ്യുന്നില്ലാ എന്നു
3. എഴുതിന മൊഴിക്കാലേ ച
4. ആക ഇമ്മൊഴിക്കാലേപ്പടിയെ നി  
പ്പാൻ താഴ്വ ഇല്ല.

II

1. എൻറെ തെക്കിൻ പെ-രുമാൾ ശ്രീപാ  
തം താ[ൾ]ഴ്വ ഇല്ലാ.
2. നയിനാർ ശ്രീകണ്ടച്ചരത്തു മ[ക]ാ  
തെവർ ശ്രീപാതം താ[ൾ]ഴ്വ ഇല്ലാ.
3. പാൽക്കുളങ്ങരൈ പകവതിശ്രീപാതം

[Unfinished]

[ശേഷം എഴുതില്ല]

DOCUMENT 1 D.

Adoption from the Kunnummel Ilayidam  
or Kottarakkara family into the Ru-  
ppappur family and vice versa on 3rd Adi  
798 M. E. (For details see Summary.)  
[ഭാല ച, മുൻവശം]

1. തെത്തുകൊണ്ട

2. വ. കൈ.

1. ഞാൻവെ ആണ്ടു
2. ആടി മാ-തം നന്ദ.

1. നാളതു വിയാഴ്വർ ചുമ്പു തിരുവിവ  
ണവും അമാരപട ചുമ്പു
2. തിരുതികയും അന്ന കന്നിരാവികൊ  
ണ്ടു നയിനാർ ഇരുവി വർമ്മ-
3. രാജ (ചി) റവായ് മുത്തിരുന്നരുളിർ  
ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ
4. തിരുവനന്ദപരത്തു കരുപ്പൊല വക്ക  
ൽ തെക്കെ പിറത്തു
5. ഇ പങ്കുകെട്ടിൽ എഴുന്നരുളി ഇരുന്നും
6. പൂലം തിരുനാൾ തിരുഅവതാരം  
ചെയിതു അരുളിയ

II

1. നയിനാർ വീര കരുവർമ്മരായ കന്ന  
മെൽ ഇളൈയരത്തു
2. മുത്തിരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാര  
ത്തിലെ തിർപ്പപ്പ
3. തൊരുവത്തിൽ ഉടയതാക തെത്തു  
കൊള്ളുകയിൽ, ടി നയിനാർ
4. ഇളൈയരത്തു മുത്തരുന്നരുളിയ യിട  
ത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ
5. രൈപതി തിരുനാൾ തിരുഅവതാരം  
ചെയിതു അരുളിയ നയിനാർ

III

1. ഇരുവി വർമ്മരായ ചിറവായ് മുത്തിര  
ന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ
2. പണ്ടാരത്തിലെയും, നന്ന ശ്രീരുനാ-  
ൾ തിരുഅവതാരം ചെയിതു
3. അരുളിയ മാത്താണ്ടവർമ്മ ഇരുന്നരു  
ളിയ തിടത്തിൻ
4. പണ്ടാഴ്വിലെയും, ചൊതി തിരുനാ-  
ൾ തിരുഅവതാരം
5. ചെയിതു അരുളിയ നയിനാർ രാമവ  
ർമ്മാ യിരുന്നരുളിയ

[ഭാല ച, പിൻവശം]

I

1. (ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെയും, പൂലം  
തിരുനാൾ തിരുഅവതാരം ചെയിതു

11

- III

- IV

2. പുരട്ടാതി മാ-ത്തം ചെയ്തെ. 0

## I

- II

1. பள்ளாரத்திலும், விதிவிரதிகளால்  
உடைய இடங்களிலும் இருக்கின்ற  
சத்தியம்
2. பள்ளாரத்திலும், அந்தரங்கமான  
அந்தரங்கமான வெயிலுடைய இடங்களிலும்  
கொண்டிருக்கின்ற
3. இருக்கின்ற சத்தியம் பள்ளாரத்திலும்  
அந்தரங்கமான வெயிலுடைய இடங்களிலும்  
கொண்டிருக்கின்ற
4. வெயிலுடைய இடங்களிலும் இருக்கின்ற  
சத்தியம் பள்ளாரத்திலும்  
அந்தரங்கமான வெயிலுடைய இடங்களிலும்  
கொண்டிருக்கின்ற



5. പൂരം തിരുനാൾ തിരു അവതാരം ചെയ്തതുള്ള യെ ഇളയ പാലിൽ ഇരുന്നതുള്ളി

### III

1. ദത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലും മകയിരം തിരുനാൾ തിരു അവതാരം ചെയ്തതുള്ളിയും ഇട്ടുണ്ണിപ്പണ്ടാരത്തിലും കൂട [X]
3. തിരുവിളാംപററി അതളി കൽപ്പിച്ചു, കൊച്ചിയിൽ വെള്ള [൧൦] ചുറ്റം
4. കൊവിൽ പള്ളി കൊവിൻമ്മാർ കൂട്ടത്തിൽ നൈയിനാർ ഉണ്ണി
5. കെരളവർമ്മരായ ചെതങ്ങനാട്ടു [ചാല ൧, പിൻവശം]

### I

1. മുത്ത പണ്ടാരത്തിലെ കൂടിപ്പറമ്പായ രായ ചെല്ലമിത്തർ പണ്ടാരത്തി
2. ലെ മക്കളായ നാച്ചപതിനാറുപറമ്പരായ കൊച്ചു പണ്ടാരത്തിലയും, O
3. അത്തം തിരുനാൾ ഉടയ ആതിഥിയ വർമ്മ കൊച്ചു പണ്ടാരത്തിലെയും
4. കൂടാ വൃന്ദി ആ-ണ്ടു വൈകാചിമാ-തം മന്ന- ആരൊക്കൾ കൊയിക്കൽ

### II

1. നിന്നും തെത്തുകൊണ്ട ചെഴും, ടിയാർ കെട്ട പെരയയുടെ മകളായ [\*മകനായ\*]
2. ഉത്തിരാടത്തിൽ മക്കൾ [—] പിറന്ന പാലാവ കൊയിപ്പണ്ടാരത്തിലെ
3. തെത്തുകൊണ്ടെന്നമന്നം പറഞ്ഞ സമ്മതിച്ച ഇരുന്നെടത്തു, പൂരം
4. തിരുനാൾ തിരു അവതാരം ചെയ്തതുള്ള യെ ആരൊക്കൾ മുത്ത പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ
5. പരട്ടാതി മാ-തം മന്ന- മുടിഞ്ഞതളിയ തിരുച്ചുഴവിൻ നൈയിനാർ

### III

1. ഉണ്ണി കെളവർമ്മ ചെതങ്ങനാട്ടു മുത്ത പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ ടി മാ-തം മന്ന- ആരൊക്കൾ

2. കൊയിക്കൽ എഴുന്നമളിയ ചെഴും, ടി പാലാവ കൊയിപ്പണ്ടാരത്തിലെ തെത്തുകൊള്ള
3. വാൻ കൈ കൂട ന്വെച്ചിച്ചു പറഞ്ഞ നിന്നും ടി കൊവിലുട ചിററമ്മ ആയ
4. ലെക്കുടി നമ്പിരട്ടാതിരി മേള പിറയ്മ്മ കൊച്ചിയിൽ നിന്നും ആരൊക്കൾ
5. കഴിമടത്തിൽ ഇരിക്കയിൽ ടിയാർ കെട്ടാട സമ്മതിച്ച നാൾ പതി ആഴച്ചയും

### IV

1. ചൊതിയും പുറവ പക്ഷത്തു തിതിയയും അന്ന മകരം രാമികൊണ്ട
2. തെത്ത കൊള്ളകയിൽ ആരൊക്കൾ കൊയിക്കൽ കിഴക്കെ നൊട്ടിയിൽ
3. ഏഴ് മേളി ഇരുന്ന തെത്തൊലയും എഴുതിച്ച
4. ഇംവി വർമ്മരൻറ തിരുനാൾപ്പെരയും ഇട്ടു, [ചാല ൨, മുൻവശം]

1. ചെ ഇ രാ-മ
2. ചെ യം.

1. വൃന്ദി ആ-ണ്ടു
2. പരട്ടാതി മാ-തം മന്ന- O

### I

1. നൈയിനാർ ഇരവിവർമ്മ ചിറവാ മുത്ത ഇരുന്നതളിയടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക
2. മരുമകനായും, മാത്താണ്ടവർമ്മ ഇരുന്നതളിയടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെ
3. കൈ അന്നപനായും, ചിത്തിര തിരുനാളുടെ ആരൊക്കൾ മുത്ത പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക
4. അത്തം തിരുനാൾ ഉടയ ഇളയ പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്ക മ

നായും, ഇല്ലാത്തതിനാലുണ്ടായ  
ഇല്ലാത്തതിനാലുണ്ടായ  
6. ഇല്ലാത്തതിനാലുണ്ടായ  
കുടുംബത്തിനായും

1. രാമവർമ്മ കൊച്ചുപണ്ടാരത്തിലെ  
കുടുംബത്തിൽ വർമ്മ കൊച്ചുപണ്ടാ  
രത്തിന്റെ മകളായും [\*ഉം] മകയിര  
ത്തിന്റെ മകളായും

2. ഇടുങ്ങി പണ്ടാരത്തിലെക്കു അമ്മാവ  
നായും തെത്തു കൊള്ളുകയിൽ,
3. കക്കാട്ടു ഇന്നാനക്കൊണ്ടു കാക്കമം  
വെയ്യിപ്പാൻ തിക്ക ഭൂവ ഭണ്ടാക
4. കൊണ്ടു മുപ്പവഴി മുറുമായെ നമസ്സ  
രിച്ചു, പൂര തിന്നുമാലയ
5. ആററങ്ങൽ മുത്തപണ്ടാരത്തിൽ മു  
ടിഞ്ഞുവളിയ

III

1. പത്താം തിരുവനന്തപുരം ഇടു  
ങ്ങി കൊയിൽക്കൽ എഴുത്തുവളി
2. ഇരുമ്പുവർമ്മ കിഴിയിൽ തെത്തു കൊ  
ണ്ടു ചെക്കട തെത്തു
3. തെയിവത വെള്ളാറ്റപ്പള്ളി പകവ  
തിൽ പത്തു കവി പണം മര
4. ചാറ്റത്തുവാൻ കാല്ലപ്പട്ട  
[പിൻവശം എഴുത്തില്ല]

DOCUMENT. F.

This refers to the two adoptions of 805  
and 806 mentioned in Document E.  
[രണ്ടു മ, മുൻവശം Left half lost]

I

1. മുത്ത കൊവിൽ ഇരുമ്പുവളിയ തിടത്ത  
ൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ

2. കുടുംബത്തിനായും പട്ടാമി [ത] നമ്പ  
രാട്ടത്തിരി
3. അമ്മപണ്ടാരത്തിൽ പണ്ടാര അമ്മ  
[ത] നമ്പരാട്ടത്തിരി
4. രാമവർമ്മ കൊച്ചു ഇടുങ്ങി പണ്ടാര  
ത്തിലെയും
5. അത്തം നാ-രാ പണ്ടാര അമ്മ [ത] നമ്പ  
രാട്ടത്തിരി

II

1. പണ്ടാരത്തിലെയും മൂന്നാം വൃത്തി മ  
തു വൈകാചി മാ-തം മനസ്സ
2. ആററങ്ങൽ കൊയിൽക്കൽ നിൻറ  
തെത്തു കൊണ്ടതിൻറ ചെഴ
3. ( )  
ഉത്തിരാട്ടത്തിൽ
4. ( )  
തെത്തു കൊണ്ടതിൻറ ചെഴ
5. എൻ ( )  
പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ
6. ചെ(യ്ക്ക)വളിയ ( ) നമ്പരാട്ടത്തിൽ

III

1. ഇ(ട)ത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ മു( )  
മതു പുരാട്ടാതി മാ-തം
2. ( ) മുടിഞ്ഞുവളിയ തി[ചെ]ര  
വിഴവിരു നയിനാര
3. ഉണ്(ണി) കൊളവർമ്മരായ ചെത  
[ത] നമ്പരാട്ടത്തിൽ
4. മുത്ത കൊവിൽ തിരുമ്പുവളിയ ഇടു  
ത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ
5. ടി (മാ-ത) മു( ) ആററങ്ങൽ കൊ  
വിൽക്കൽ എഴുത്തുവളിയ  
[കാല മ, പിൻ വശം. No writing on  
right half.]

There is another one also about the  
adoption of 27th Purattasi 805 M. E.,  
mentioned in Documents E and F.



DOCUMENT G

Adoption of Rama Koyil, prince of Cochin (Vellarappalli) on 20th Ani 847, and of a Brahmin child called Kochu Rama Pandarathil on the 21 st.

[ശാലഭം, മുൻവരം]

1. ഇരമ
2. ചെയം.
3. തെത്ത
4. പടപ്പി വക.
1. കൊച്ചിയിൽ വള്ളാരപ്പള്ളികൊവിൽ
2. പണ്ടാരത്തിലെയും ആറങ്ങൽമുനാ മറ്റയിൽ നിന്നും
3. വളത്തുകൊണ്ട കൊച്ചിയിൽ ഉണ്ണിപണ്ടാര
4. ത്തിലെയും കൂട തെത്ത കൊണ്ടുവന്നു
1. പാർവ്വ ആണ
2. ആറിമാ-രാ-വരം. O

I

1. നയിനാർ ആതിത്തവർമ്മരായ ചിറ വായ മൂത്ത
2. ഇരുന്നള്ളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ
3. തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു ശ്രീപാകത്തുകൊ യിക്കൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി
4. യിരുന്നാമുനാറ രാമവർമ്മാ ചിറവായ മൂത്ത ഇരുന്ന
5. തളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ ടി ആണ്ടു പുരട്ടാതി മാ-തം

II

1. മറന്ന മുഴഞ്ഞുളളുകയിൽ പുണ്ണിയാ
2. നിരപവിച്ച, ടി ആണ്ടു ആതിത്തവർ മരായ ചിറവായ
3. മുത്തഇരുന്നള്ളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലൈക്ക

4. ആലത്തിയമാകകൊണ്ടു നാൽപ്പത്തെ നിന്ന തിരപ്പാലി
5. നിരത്തുകെയിൽ, മൊങ്ങയിട നിര പടപ്പാൻ

III

1. ഇളമുറഇല്ലാഴി കൊണ്ട ടി ആതിത്ത വർമ്മരിടെ മരുമകനായ
2. രാമകൊ [വി]യിൽ പണ്ട [—]ലൈ വിത്തുവാൻ
3. ഇളാരപ്പള്ളിയിൽ
4. ആളയച്ചവരുത്തിവെച്ചു അതിനക്കീഴ് നിരപവിച്ച കർക്കളത്തുവരുത്തി
- 4 കർക്കളത്തു മകതെവരം കൊവില, പെൻറെ
- നിരപ്പിക്കെട്ടിൽ

[ശാലഭം, പിൻവരം]

I

1. ഇരുന്നും തിരുവലിയും ഇ(ടുവിക്ക)യിൽ,
2. നടിനാർ ആതിത്ത(വർമ്മരായ) O
3. ചിറവായ മൂത്ത ഇരുന്നള്ളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ
4. പണ്ടാരത്തിലും,

II

1. ആയില്ലിയം തിരുന്നാറ തിരുഅവതാരം
2. ചെയിതള്ളിയ ആറങ്ങൽ മുത്തകൊ വിൽ ഇരുന്നള്ളിയ
3. ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലും,
4. മകയിരം തിരുന്നാറ തിരുഅവതാരം

III

1. ചെയിതള്ളിയ ഇളയ കൊവിൽ ഇരുന്നള്ളിയ
2. ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിലും,

3. അച്ചവതി തിരുന്നാരം തിരുത്തുവതാം  
രം ചെയ്തിനുള്ളിയ
4. മൂന്നാം മുറ ഇളയ കൊവിൽ ഇരുന്നരു  
ളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ

IV

1. പണ്ടാരത്തിലും കല്പിച്ചു
2. രാമ കൊയിലിലും കടിക്കൊണ്ടു
3. വെട്ടാൻ ഇടത്തറെ നെവൻ തിരു  
വികിരമനെ
4. കൽപ്പിച്ചു കാർക്കളത്തു അയച്ചു തിരു  
വനത്തുപുറത്തു വരുത്തിവെച്ചു

[കോല 6, മുൻ വരം]

1. ച. ഇരാര

2. ചെതം.

1. തെത്തു

2. കൊണ്ട വക.

1. വ്യാർമു ആണ്ടു

2. ആനി മാത്തം മരിൻ.

0

I

1. ടിയിൽ ശ്രീപാകത്തു കൊയിലാൻ കി  
ഴക്കെ പള്ളിയായിൽ
2. ഇരിക്കുകിൽ, പൊകത്തായ്വരിയി  
ൽ കെരളവരം
3. തിരുവാനന്തപുരത്തു ( )ൽ
4. മുടൻ പാടിമ (ടത്തിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി

II

1. യിരിക്കുകയും, നാമിനാരം ആതിത്ത  
വർമ്മരായ
2. ചിറവായ് മുത്ത [—] ഇരുന്നളിയ  
ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ
3. ശ്രീപാകത്തു കൊയിലാൻ എഴുന്നരു  
ളിയിരുന്നു, (ആറ)ൽ
4. മുത്ത കൊയിലിൽ [—] ഇരുന്നരു  
ളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ

III

1. പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ കരുപ്പുകൊയിലാൻ
2. (എഴുന്നരുളിയിരുന്നു,
3. (ടി ഇളയ കൊവിൽ ഇരുന്നരുളിയ  
ഇടത്തിൻ
4. (പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ ആവ 4. ന. > ചെ  
രിയിൽ എഴുന്നരുളിയിരുന്നു,  
[കോല 6, പിൻവരം]

I

1. ടി മൂന്നാമുറ ഇളയ കൊവിൽ ഇരുന്ന  
രുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ
2. ഇടത്താ മടത്തിൽ എഴുന്നരുളിയിരു  
ന്നു തെപ്പ കൊണ്ട് O
3. പിണക്കം വന്നുകയിൽ പറഞ്ഞു തെ  
ളിഞ്ഞു പൊകത്തായ് വഴി
4. രാമവർമ്മരെ യെരുന്നിറ അറച്ചു, രാമ  
കൊവിൽ പണ്ടാരലെയും

II

1. മൂന്നാമുറയിൽ ( )ൽ വളത്തുക  
ണ്ട കൊച്ച രാമ ഉണ്ണി പണ്ടാരത്തി  
ലെയും
2. കൂടെ തെത്തു നിരവവിപ്പാൻ കൽപ്പി  
ക്കയിൽ
3. ഇരുന്നിയ ചിങ്ങനല്ലൂർ വകെക്കു രാമ  
ര കൊവിൽ പണ്ടാരലെയും
4. തെപ്പാൻ തിരുവാനന്തപുരത്തു കരുപ്പു  
കൊയിലാൻ ഇടക്കുട്ടിൽ

III

1. തെക്കെ തളത്തിൽ ഇരുന്നും നയി  
നാരം ആതിത്തവർമ്മാ ചിറവായ്
2. മുത്ത ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാ  
രത്തിലും
3. കൂടെ എഴുന്നരുളിയിരുന്നു കൊയിലാൻ  
ലെയും



4. ടി തെക്കേ മുള്ളത്തിൽ വരുത്തി റെ  
 ലൂ ടി ഞാണ്ടു ആനി മാ-തം രധിരം

IV

1. ചെമ്പ്രാങ്കിയും മകവും പൂർവ്വ പി  
 ക്ഷതത
2. പഞ്ചമിയും മിതനിയ [നിജ or  
 ലൂ?] നി(ത്തിയ)യൊകവും ച.ര
3. അരണവും അന്നു ഉതിച്ചു ഇടവും ര  
 മിക്കൊണ്ടു
4. തെത്തു (നിരൂപവിക്ഷയി)ൽ പടിഞ്ഞാ  
 [ചല ത, മുൻവരം]

1. (ഇ)രമ

2. ചെ യം.

1. തെ തു

2. കൊണ്ട വക

1. പൂർവ്വ ആ-ണ്ടു

2. ആനി മാ-തം രധിരം.

I

1. വിളക്കും കിണപതിയും
2. (നി) വിളക്കും
3. (വിള) പ... എന്ന്
4. കി(ണപ)തിക്ക കതവിപ്പും
5. അഷ്ടമങ്ങളിയം

II

1. പള്ളി പലക
2. ടിയിൽ വിരിപ്പാൻ ചെലൈ
3. നിരമാഴി
4. നിരമരൈക്കാൽ

III

1. വൊറിഡപാക്ക.
2. പള്ളിപ്പലകെയിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളി
3. തിരുനാം താനും
4. കൊടു വാരഴിയ കൊണ്ടു

IV

1. ടിയാൻ കൊടുപ്പാൻ ഇടത്തു വ  
 പ-ണം
2. മുകിർത്തം പള്ളിയാ...  
 പ-ണം
3. കെഷിക്കട്ടിയെക്കുറായ
4. മതമകനാട്ടാൻ പ-ണം

I

1. ( ) താനും കിട...  
 ചെയിത( )
2. (നയിനാർ) ആതിശിയ വർമ്മരായ  
 ചിറവായ മൂലം
3. (ഇരുന്നരു) ഉിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടം  
 ശിരൈ
4. ആററക്കൽ മൂത്തകൊവിൽ ഇരുന്ന  
 രളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ

II

1. (പണ്ടാരത്തി)ചെയും റണ്ട (
2. ( ) മാ എന്നു തിരുനാമം
3. ( ) തന്ന ഇരുന്നരുളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ
4. (പണ്ടാരത്തി)ൽ പണ്ടാരമത്തിൽഎ  
 ഴുന്നരുളി
5. മൂനാ മാ (ഇളയകൊ)വിൽ ഇരുന്നരു  
 ഉിയ ഇടത്തിൻ

III

1. (പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ) ആ ചു (വതി) തിരുനാ  
 രം ഇരുന്നരുളിയ
2. (ഇട)ത്തിൻ (പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ) ശ്രീം. 10  
 കത്തു കൊയിക്കൽ കിഴക്കേ
3. പള്ളിയറയിൽ എഴുന്നരുളിയിരുന്നും,  
 ടി ആ-ണ്ടു ആനി മാ-തം രധിരം
4. പൂതനാക്കയും മകവും മിതിനം രാ  
 ചിക്ക വൈകാമി മാ-തം കാർത്തിക
5. തിരുഅവതാരം ചെയിത രളിയ

## IV

1. ചരവിവർമ്മ (ഇ) എന്നുള്ളവ ഇടത്തിൽ
  2. പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ ടി ആറങ്ങൽ മൂന്നാമൻ ഇളയ
  3. കൊവിൽ ഇരുന്നള്ളിയ ഇടത്തിൻ പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ
  4. നിന്നും വളത്ത പിരമാണ കുഞ്ഞിനെ യം കൂട്ടിക്കൊണ്ടു
- (The next ola is missing)

## DOCUMENT H

Mentioned King Kerala Varma, head of the Chiravay family, who died on 22nd Adi (8)7 (M. E. (A. D. 1699), and also Aditya Varma of Kolattunad, probably an adopted prince. Kerala Varma was reigning in Ani (8)79 also.

[കോല. മ. മുൻവരം. End lost]

(പ) ടിത്

2. (തരം)

1. തിരുമാടവുപൊണ്ടു ചുചിന്നിരത്തു എഴുന്നള്ളി
2. ടി നയിനാരെ കാൺകയിൽ പ(ടിത്തരം)-

## I

1. തെ(ര)വചെ കൂ(ടി) മുപ്പം വാളിച്ചുതുറിക്കുവെ
2. (പു)ഴമ്പൻ മരു ആനി(മാ-തം-നം) ആറങ്ങൽ മുത്തുകൊവിൽ
3. ഇരുന്നള്ളിയ യി(ട്ടത്തിൽ) പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ കൊട്ടാരം
4. കരെ എഴുന്നള്ളിയ രക്ഷയിൽ, ടി കെളവർമ്മരായ

## II

1. ചെറവായ മുത്തുതുരുന്നള്ളിയ യിടത്തിൻചണ്ടാരത്തി(ലും?)
2. തൊരുവചനങ്ങളും കൊട്ടാരക്കരമെഴുത്തു മുക്കുകാട്ടി
3. ഇഴയെയിടത്തൊരുവത്തിലെ കാരിയവും പറഞ്ഞുവച്ചു തിരുവനന്ത

4. പരട്ടുരുഴന്നു രണ്ടുതുറിക്കൊവെ, നാട്ടി

[Column III lost]

[കോല. മ. മുൻവരം]

1. വീടുകൾ (ചുട്ടാച്ചു) പാടി ( ) ഉപതിര(ങ്ങരം)
2. നെളയതുറകൊണ്ടു (പു)ഴാമ മരു ആടിമാ-തം രുചന- അന്ത(മിച്ചു)
3. തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു പാട്ടിക്കൊട്ട കൊവിൽ തെക്കെ (മുക്കത്തു)
4. വെഴിയിലിന്ന ( ) വട്ടികലന്നിരവ വിച്ചുമുടിഞ്ഞുള്ളകയി(ൽ)

## II

1. ( ) നം ആറങ്ങൽ മുത്തുകൊ(വിൽ)തുരുന്നള്ളിയ യിടത്തിൻ
2. (പു)ഴാമത്തിലും ആറങ്ങലും കൽക്കളത്തും ഒളളതൊരുവ
3. അളം കൂ(ടി) കൊലത്തിരുനാട്ടിൽ അതിത്ത(വ)ർമ്മരെ
4. (കൊൺ)ട്ട വെഴുകിറയെയും ചെയിച്ചു പണ്ണി(യാകം) നടന്ന

## III

1. ചെഴം തൊരുവചന എല്ലാപെരും കൂട കൽക്കളത്തു
2. വന്ന തൊരുവകാരിയം അന്നഴിച്ച ഇരികൊവെ നയിനാരം
3. ആറങ്ങൽ മുത്തുകൊവിൽ ഇരുന്നള്ളിയ യിടത്തിൻ
4. പണ്ടാരത്തിൽ നിന്നും കൽപ്പിച്ചു കൊലത്തിരുനാട്ടി (ൽ)

[The rest is missing]

This King Kerala Varma of 869 and 871 M. E. is the same as Vira Kerala Varma (of 871 M. E.) head of the Chiravay family mentioned in the Travancore Archaeological Report for 1099 M. E., p. 50 (Appendix F.). He died at Pulikkode palace.

— T. K. Joseph.



## PULLIKKOTTA PALACE.

Pullikkotta, left unidentified in *Kejala Society Papers*, Series I, p. 29, vol. 2, is a compound about 3 miles from the north of Trivandrum town. There is no palace there now, although according to the following extracts there was one in this compound about 125 years ago. See also Document H above, which shows that the palace was in existence in 871 M. E.

Extracts from the *Travancore Land Revenue Manual* vol. V, Trivandrum, 1916, pp. 80 and 177.

[P. 80. Palace Records.] അളിചെ  
യ്ക്കു ശാസ്ത്രം എന്തെന്നു ചൊല്ലുന്നതി  
ന്നു കൊല്ലം നൂറ്റാണ്ടു ചൊല്ലുന്നതിന്നു  
മറ്റു..... ഇന്നാളാൽ തീപത്തുനാളേ  
വഞ്ചിബാലരാമവർമ്മ കലശേഖരപ്പേരും  
ഈ നാ..... തിരുവനന്തപുരം ഭേശ  
പുല്ലിക്കോട്ടവിളാകം സ്ഥലമാക നാം ഇ  
ക്ക.....

[Pp. 176, 177. Mathilagam Records.]

അളിചെയ്ക്കു ശാസ്ത്രം ആയിരത്തി മുപ്പതു  
ററു ഇരുകുട്ടികളിൽമേൽ ചെല്ലുന്നതിന്നു  
കൊല്ലം നൂറ്റാണ്ടു ചൊല്ലുന്നതിന്നു  
..... ഇന്നാളാൽ കീഴ്പ്പേരൂർ തീപത്തുനാ  
ളേസ വഞ്ചിബാല കലശേഖരപ്പേരും കിരീട  
പതി മന്നെ സുൽത്താൻ മഹാരാജാ  
രാജ പാ തർ ഷാജിജെജ് ആയ നാം.....  
തിരുവനന്തപുരം ഭേശപുല്ലിക്കോട്ടവിളാ  
കം സ്ഥലമാക നാം ഇരിക്ക.....

(ഇരിക്ക = ഇരിക്ക, ഇരിക്കുമ്പോൾ)

T. N. S.

THE DATE OF KULASEKHARA  
ALVAR.

I read Mr. Sēsha Aiyar's reply in the last issue (pp. 111, 112)

The Alvar's birth, according to a certain document, took place in Kali 28 Jovian year Parabharva in the month of Masi on Thursday, Sukla dvadasi, Punarvasu asterism. Mr. Sēsha Aiyar contends that it must be Kali 3628 (current) 11th Masi. But he admits that dvadasi began only at 10 A. M. 12th Masi. Yet he says:—"The popular notion would be, as explained above, that the birth took place on dvadasi day." If the Alvar was born on the 11th Masi night and dvadasi began on the 12th noon, no popular notion can by any means place his birth on dvadasi. Mr. Sēsha Aiyar's contention is that if we take the statement regarding the Tithi to be wrong the above date fulfils the other requirements. Take the Jovian year or any other item as wrong, you will find some other suitable dates. Either take the document as it is, or reject it altogether. We cannot arbitrarily take some item as wrong and others as correct.

K. N. Daniel.

7-11-'29.

REPLY.

I am afraid that Mr. Daniel's suggestion, courageous though it be, is not practical. *Falsus in uno falsus in omnibus* is not a maxim that can be accepted with benefit by persons engaged in the investigation of problems connected with ancient South Indian chronology, especially when they have to rely for result on tradition. In regard to birth, the year, month, and asterism are the most essential particulars; and these alone are usually mentioned. Even the week day and certainly the tithi or lunar day are left out as non-essential. It is only in later traditions

relating to Kulasekhara, recorded by later historiographers, that the week day and lunar day are mentioned; and my attempt has been to find a date which while satisfying the year, month and star given in the earlier traditions will also satisfy, as far as possible the data supplied by later hagiology. This is the method of concilience of results, which is accepted by logicians. I do not say that my date is more than tentative; but that is the most satisfactory date that I can see. In that date it is only the *tithi* that in strictness

is wrong according to astronomical calculation; but if we believed the later hagiographer's word backward and arrived at the lunar day—a process not infrequently adopted—we could easily explain the mention of Dvadasi instead of Ekadasi. Besides, the popular mind would have associated that day with Dvadasi, as I have already explained. To my mind there appears to be no difficulty in accepting the date; but, of course, it is open to others either to accept or to reject it.

10—XI—27.

K. G. Sessa Aiyar.

## Brahma Pratishtha

(By T. K. Joseph, B. A., L. T.)

*Brahma Pratishtha* is a Sanskrit metrical account of the introduction of Kanarese Brahmins into his kingdom by King Udaya Varma of Kolattunad, the northernmost of the ancient principalities in the Malayalam country. The colophon of the work indicates that it is only a portion (*aṅga* *akaraṇa*) of a work called *Kerala Mahatmya* (=the glory of Kerala). According to the colophon this section of the work, *Brahma Pratishtha* (=the settlement of the Brahmins), is included in *Udaya Varma Charitam* forming part of *Kolarashira Varnanam* (=a description of Kolattunad) in *Kerala Mahatmyam*. This is the colophon: ഇതി ശ്രീ കേരളകാരുണ്യം കൊല്ലരാജാവു മേയ്ക്കുമ്പരിത ബ്രഹ്മപ്രതിഷ്ഠാചരിതം സംപൂർണ്ണം. But an edition of *Kerala Mahatmya* in Malayalam characters by Seshu Sastri (Trichur, 1912) does not contain this section. The 80th chapter of this edition (pp. 163, 164),

however, refers to the introduction of some northern Brahmins into his kingdom by a king of the Madhya Khanda (the middle division) of Kerala.

*Brahma Pratishtha* consists of 122 verses in *anushtub* metre, followed by the colophon quoted above and ends with the following sloka (the 123rd).

കമലാകരമഖ്യം ത-  
ദ്രോണാദേന കമലാലീക-  
ലാലസിതീ ഹരം ദൈവം  
ദൈവമഖ്യം നന്മനോവത്.

Rodhonta here is Chirakkal, a portion of Kolattunad. Since the sloka is in praise of a deity of that place we may suppose that the author was a native of Chirakkal, perhaps one of the Chirakkal Rajas reputed for their learning. A Sanskrit poem called *Desyashatakam* (=eight slokas on the Desi or Kanarese Brahmins) has two slokas appended to it, the last (the tenth)



of which makes mention of a detailed history (in two chapters) of Udaya Varma of Kolattunad who brought the Kanarese Brahmins, written by a member of his own family. The opening verse of *Brahma Pratishtha* is in praise of Sri Rama of Cherutalattu (ചെറുതാലാട്ടം) temple, called Krusadha Kshetra by the author of the *prakarna*. Cherutalattu is in the Chirakkal taluk, North Malabar.

The *prakarna* is in the form of a dialogue between some Brahmin enquirers and Suta of the *Puranas* while he was in the great temple at Rushabhadi (Trichur in Cochin). Suta recounts to them the story about *devabrahma pratishtha*, i. e., the erection of temples and settlement of Kanarese Brahmins in Kolattunad, as narrated previously by Narada the famous Rishi to a *gandharva* called Suprabha who was very curious to know the story of the new kind of Brahmins whom the latter saw in Kolattunad while aviating over Kerala.

Narada prefaces his story with a list of five kings, eight Samantas and five Sudra chiefs among whom the eighteen divisions of Kerala were distributed by Cheraman Perumal<sup>1</sup> before his pilgrimage to Mecca (slokas 11 to 15).

They are the following:—

A. *Cheraman's sisters' sons* (Kshatriyas).

1. Malayesa, i. e. King of Calicut.
2. Koulinges, i. e. King of Cranganore.
3. Parpasa, i. e. King of Parappanad.
4. Puralipati, i. e. King of Kottayam in North Malabar.
5. Nimbasa, i. e. King of Beypore.

1. The *prakarna* uses the word Cheravada (ചെറവാട) for the usual Cheraman.

B. *Cheraman's sons* (Samantas).

1. Kolesa, i. e. King of Kolattunad usually known as Kolattiri.
2. Kupakesa, i. e. King of South Travancore.
3. Poralesa, i. e. King of Polanad who is usually known as Porlattiri.
4. Erulesa, i. e. King of Ernad.
5. Mahodaya, i. e. King of Cheraman's capital near Cranganore.
6. Kurumbesa, i. e. King of Kurumpranad.
7. Venesa, i. e. King of Venad, or Quilon.
8. Adryabdhipa, i. e. King of Calicut, the Zamorin.

C. *Five Sudra Prabhus, or Naii chiefs.*  
Their names are not given.

Traditionally there were eighteen kings in Kerala, five of whom were Kshatriyas known collectively as *Aivali Kovil* (or five Kshatriyas), and eight Samantas called *Envali Samantas* (or eight Samantas). The list given above tallies with tradition as far as the numbers of the Kshatriyas and Samantas are concerned. But we cannot be sure that the author of *Brahma Pratishtha* has given the names of the Kshatriyas and Samantas correctly. Most probably he has not.

Of the above Kshatriyas and Samantas, Cheraman or the Chera King and the King of Venad (Quilon) figure in the copper-plates of the Quilon Tarisa Church (circa 880 A. D.). Cheraman, & the kings of Venad and Ernad are mentioned in the famous Cochin Jew's copper-plate of 1085 A. D. But the kings of Venpalanad, Valluvannad and Nedumpurayarnad mentioned in the above Jewish plate are

not in the list given above. Iravi Kortan's copper-plate of 1320 A. D. mentions not only Venad and Ernad, but also Odunad and Valluvanad.<sup>(2)</sup>

Cheraman, and the six kings of Venad, Odunad, Vempalanad, Ernad, Valluvanad and Nedumpurayarnad, who figure in the above documents must have been seven of the eighteen most important rulers of Kerala. But the *Prakarama* omits some of these from its list, and includes some minor rulers who were very probably prominent in the politics of the author's days. He had no reason however to omit the king of Valluvanad or Vellattiri of Arangod, who had even so recently as 1743 A. D. "the privilege every twelve years of sending notorious murderers to the feast of Mamanga, the right to conduct which, so he says, has been taken away from him by the Zamorin contrary to all right and justice."<sup>(3)</sup> Perhaps the king of Valluvanad is one of the five Nair chiefs in the list, whose names are not specified.

Of the king of Cochim, the first in the list (on p. 136) Van Gollennesse says: "The king is a Kshatriya by caste and the head of the Chodircur faction and without fear of contradiction the noblest of all the Malabar kings, being a sister's son and consequently the only and true heir of Cherum-Perumal."<sup>(4)</sup>

Joao de Barros (16th century), Faria y Sousa (17th century), William Bakker

jacobsz (1716 A. D.) and Van Gollennesse (1743 A. D.) have given us detailed lists, more or less complete, of the Malabar rulers of their days. The indigenous works *Keralolpatti* and *Keralamahatmya* also mention the names of the rulers of Kerala. The unpublished Sloane MS. (in Portuguese), 2748 A., British Museum, London, has another list on folios 2 r to 4 v. All these differ from one another and it is impossible to gather from them the names of the eighteen principal kings of ancient Kerala.

"The chief Kings or Emperors of this Mallavar," says the Sloane MS. (translation kindly supplied to me by the Rev. Fr. H. Hosien, S. J.) "excepting the Caimals, Nambures, Elledos, and Nanbaddis, are three: to wit, the King or Emperor of Cochim; the King or Emperor of Saomorim; the King or Emperor of Travancor."

Besides these three Kings of Cochim, Sammorim and Travancor, there is the King of Tanor, whose Kingdom is surrounded by the King of Saomorim; and, when the King of Saomorim must get himself crowned as such, this King of Tanor is he who must crown him, and he is the true and lawful King of Cochim, of blood royal and noble."

Besides the above (viz. the king of Cochim, the Zamorin of Calicut, the king of Travancore and the king of Tanore or Tanore called Vettathunad) there are the following:—A (5)

1. King of Vadakkumkur otherwise called King of Kaduthuruthi (കടുതൂരൂർ)

(കടുതൂരൂർ)

5. The bracketed portions in Lists A to L are my own additions.

(1) See *Malabar Christian Copper Plates*, Travancorum, 1935, and *Malabar Miscellany* in *Indian Antiquary* for January, 1929.

(2) See *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1911, p. 65, No. 35 in Van Gollennesse's Memorandum of 1743.

(3) *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1911, p. 60.



2. King of Parappur (പാപ്പൂർ near Beypore).
3. King of Charipallicura (perhaps Charipalissery in Puluvadi taluk).
4. King of Idappalli (ഇഡപ്പള്ളി in North Travancore).
5. King of Tekkumkur (തെക്കുംകൂർ in central Travancore).
6. King of Purakkad (പുറക്കാട് near Alleppey on the Travancore coast).
7. King of Quilon (in Travancore).
8. King of Thulchal coille (തൂൽച്ചൽക്കോയിൽ in Central Travancore or തൂൽച്ചൽക്കോയിൽ in Cochin?)
9. King of Cherraillem (perhaps ചെറൈലം, Cheralayam).
10. King of Mangad (മാങ്ങാട് or ആലമാങ്ങാട് in North Travancore).
11. King of Parur (പാറൂർ or പിണ്ടിയിൽ പാറൂർ in North Travancore).
12. Nambidi (നമ്പിടി: there are several chiefs with this title)

"The kings who wear the crowns are the following:—"

## B

1. King of Cochin.
2. King of Tanore (or Vettathunad).
3. King of Charipallicura (See A, 3)
4. King of Parapulle (perhaps Parappur, near Beypore)
5. King of Charaillon (perhaps ചെറൈലം)
6. King of Tilluchur coille (perhaps Trichur Koil in Cochin).
7. King of Quilon (in Travancore).
8. King of Velangallur (വേലംഗല്ലൂർ or ആലിംഗല്ലൂർ, related to the Cranganore royal family). "In this kingdom the Christians have no Church."
9. King of Cranganore.

"Only the King of Cochin may wear the royal crown in all the kingdoms of Malla-

var as Emperor and supreme Lord of them.

The Kings who do not wear a crown are the following:—"

## C

1. The Zamorin (of Calicut).
2. King of Tekkumkur or Kottayam (in Central Travancore).
3. King of Vadakkumkur or Kadashuruthi (in North Travancore).
4. King of Tiruvankode (Travancore). "This king is very powerful."
5. Nambidi. (See A, 12)
6. King of Mangad. (See A, 10) This King at first was Caimal of the King of Cochin."

"These Kings, all of them, have no constant wives, and of their own, as is the case of the Bramane Kings, otherwise called Nambures, and they are the following:—"

## D

1. King of Idappalli.
2. King of Purakkad.
3. King of Parur

"The Kings who are equal in blood are the following:—"

## E

1. King of Cochin.
2. King of Upper Cranganore.
3. King of Velangallur (See B, 8)

The Kings of lower blood and less noble are the following:—"

## F

1. King of Tanore.
2. King of Parappur
3. King of Charapallicura.
4. King of Trychul Choile.

The Kings of lesser blood and less noble are the following:—"

## G

1. The Zamorin (of Calicut).
2. King of Tekkumkur or Kottayam (in Central Travancore).
3. King of Vadakkumkur or Kadayathuruthi.
4. King of Cheraiillon. (See A, 9).
5. Nambidi. (See A, 12).
6. King of Mangad (or Alangad).
7. King of Ballanata Nanbiatari (probably King of Valluvanad). "In this kingdom there is no Church."

"The Kings, Princes and Caimals who are in these Seras, and in the Empire of Chochim, who are creatures and confederates of the King of Samotim, are the following:—"

## H

1. King of Idappalli.
2. King of Upper Cranganore.
3. King of Tekkumkur or Kottayam (in central Travancore).
4. Kaimal of Ambalakad (അമ്പലക്കടവു കൈമൽ).
5. Kaimal of Ollanatte, or Enamaqua (എറണാകുളം നല്ലത്തോട്: Ulapad or Enam-nakkal).

"The Caimals and Nambares subject to the King of Cochim are the following:—"

## I

1. Kaimal of Cherigate (perhaps Cheriyakattu Kaimal: ചേരിയക്കട്ട കൈമൽ).
2. Kaimal of Chalakkudi (ചാലക്കുടി).
3. Kaimal of Kuratti (കുറട്ടി).
4. Kaimal of Anchikkaymal (Ernakulam). "In this land is my Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel."
5. Kaimal of Chennamangalam (ചെന്നമംഗലം).
6. Kaimal of Thellatao palli (തെല്ലതാവല്ലി). Turuthurpalli, near Cochin, with a synagogue).

7. Kaimal of Ullur (perhaps Ollur). "where there is no Church." But there is a Church there now, with an epitaph of 1726 A.D. Ollur is near Trivandrum in Cochin. Does the author mean Ulloor: 223?
8. Kaimal of Parappuram (പാറപ്പുറം). "Here too there is no Church."
9. Nambiar of Bellanatti (ബെല്ലനാട്ടി നമ്പ്യാർ).
10. Ilayadu of Churupatti?
11. Ilayadu of Pallacathehere (പാലക്കാട്തെരേ).

"Besides all these Kings and Caimals, there is also a King of Pallacathehere," (പാലക്കാട്ടേമല: Palghat) "very rich, and very powerful, of the same Mallavar nation, [and] distant from this Serra, to wit, a six or seven days' journey: which country or kingdom is one of very great trade and commerce: and of a very proud race, though he be of low blood and pedigree among all the noble families of the Malavar Kings, Caimals, &c."

Having now treated of the Mallavar Kings Caimals, &c., we must at present deal with their rites and customs. The Kings who wear the cords crossed from the right shoulder to the left side, are the following:—"

## J

1. King of Cochin.
2. King of Tanore.
3. King of Upper Cranganore.
4. King of Velangallu. (See B, 8).
5. King of Purakkad.
6. King of Idappalli.
7. King of Parur.
8. King of Parappur.
9. King of Caripullipura (?).
10. King of Tulli Chiraide Coil (?).



"These Kings, all of them, may not eat flesh-meat, or fish, nor drink wine of any kind, and, if they do the contrary, they do not lose their nobility and pre-eminence, except the following Kings:—"

K

1. King of Purakkad.
2. King of Idappalli.
3. King of Parur.

"These are Branmenes and Nanbure dignities and blood," as are among us those of sacerdotal dignities. These only may perform gentile duties and ceremonies in the houses of their pagodes, as also other Branmenes, who are of the caste of the Nanbures, though they be not titulars or of blood royal (of royal title or blood?).

These Branmenes Kings marry their wife only once (*sic*) and their sons are their heirs and successors. And the other Kings, who are not Branmanes, marry one wife and may have intercourse with many; and, though they marry many, they do not withal contract any kindred, not even with the children of their own wives; but only the children of the sisters of the said kings are successors and heirs of the said kingdom, and not their own children, because of the great liberty with which women and men have intercourse among themselves. True, if one of these wives of the Kings consort with a man of low birth, one who be not her equal, the said Queen loses her caste, nobility and greatness.

"Besides these Kings who wear the cord crossed in token of their nobility and estate, there are other Kings who are only of Nayfe caste and race, I mean of noble race, gentlemen (*cavaliers*), and men of arms. They are the following:—"

1. The Zamorin.
2. King of Tekkumkor.
3. King of Vadakkunkar.
4. King of Mangad, *Mangal* Tirunulpad  
மங்கலத்திருநல்பட்டினம்.
5. King of Cheraillan (சேரையன்),  
"and other Kings, with Caimas, named  
"Nave, Nanbure" (*sic* for Nanbyars;  
see 1. of "and Elledos"—(Sloane MS.  
2748 A, fol. 2r—4v.)

According to the Rev. Fr. Hosten, S.J., the date of the MS. is A. D. 1676 or after. The remark in List C, 4 that the king of Travancore is very powerful may apply to Martanda Varma the founder of modern Travancore, who ruled from 904 to 933 M. E. (1729-1758 A. D.). If it does the MS. must be assigned to that period.

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We now go back to the *prakarana*. The most important of the eighteen rulers of Kerala was the king of Kolattunad. Udaya Varma of that kingdom once waged war with his enemies and caused to kill Brahmins and incur the sin of Brahma-hatya (Brahminicide). In order to expiate that sin he made up his mind to give gifts to the Brahmins. But the Namburis of Laxshmi Grama, i. e., Perinchellur, and other villages declined to accept the sinner's gift, and in consequence he cast about for other Brahmins who would accept his expiatory gift.

There were at that time some Kanarese and Tulu Brahmins in Tiruvalla (in Central Travancore), who were the pupils of Vishnu. His idol had been brought by the Tulu Brahmins from the

River Gandaki a tributary of the Ganges, to Gokarna on the West Coast. It was unfortunately lost in the Gokarna river while the Tulus passed it, and with the help of some of the Kanarese Brahmins of Gokarna they lifted it out of the water. Both the Tulu and Kanarese Brahmins together took it to Tiruvalla and settling down there officiated as pujaris of the image. The Tulus belonged to the Srivalli *gramas* and the Kanarese to the three *gramas* of Idukunchi, Vilakkur and Gudubanta (called Gunayati in the *Brahma Pratishtha*).

In the year 220 M. E. (A. D. 1044-45) indicated by the chronogram *nararatna*, Udaya Varma who had been on the lookout for Brahmins who would receive his expiatory gifts, sent messengers to Tiruvalla and took to his kingdom 237 families of Kanarese Brahmins (known as Tiruvalla Desis) belonging to 14 houses of the three *gramas* already mentioned. These willingly received Udaya Varma's gifts along with his sin of *Brahmahatya*. The gift included two new temples one at Krasadhab (Cherutalathu in Malayalam) and the other at Arhastha (Arathil in Malayalam) besides lands and money. These Brahmins were also given precedence in his kingdom over the Namburi Brahmins already settled there. These Namburis, however, ostracized the Kanarese Desis<sup>(1)</sup> on account of their having done puja to Vishnu in Tiruvalla according to the Pancharama and Kapalam

es, and of having accepted the sinner's gifts.

The Kanarese Brahmins of Kolattunad were ill at ease and continued in the state of ostracism for a long time. Then one day a *yogi* called Nityananda came to the temple of Cherutalath from Badaryasrama along with four disciples and began to perform his puja in it. But the Desis ousted them from the temple and the *yogi* went away having cursed them. Some of the elders among the Desis then overtook him on his way and entreated him to remove the curse. "Another *yogi* would be here in a year, and he would," he said, "deliver you from my curse if you would please him."

On his way back from Cherutalathu temple Nityananda was entertained by Madhava Bhatta (a Kanarese Brahmin), who learned from the *yogi* a certain form of *dhyana* (contemplation) and some *mantras* and rituals (*tantras*). Nityananda went away to the north, and Madhava doing puja to the God (Siva) of the village called Gunayati (Gudubanta) according to Nityananda's instructions and rites became endowed with the eight *aiswaryas* (or divine faculties) and the eighteen *vidyas* (or forms of ancient lore). Thereafter he was given the title of Pandita at a meeting of learned men held at the Vakruraka temple (not identified).

Subsequently Madhava Pandita came one day to Kolattunad on his way to the Tirunelli temple in Wynad, in a palanquin borne by *bhutas* (spirits). The Kanarese Desis then approached him and told him the whole story relating to Nityananda's curse and their ostracism.

(1) Desis or Desasthas are those who live in *desas*, as opposed to the *gramas* of the Namburis, who are called *gramis* or *gramabharas* as distinguished from Desis or Pottis.



He advised them not to accept any more expiatory gifts from the king and promised to rid them of their curse on his return from Tirunelli.

Madhava Pandita proceeded to the Tirunelli temple to perform the *pinda* ceremony for the souls of his departed ancestors. On his arrival he found a dead dog on the rock (called *Pindappara*), on which *pinda* had to be offered, and immediately bringing it back to life, offered *pinda* on the purified stone and gave Kanarese Brahmins of (his own) Haika sect the right of performing *pinda* ceremonies at that temple. Soon after the miraculous resurrection of the dog there came a voice from heaven praising Madhava Pandita and calling him Madhava Acharya.

Madhavacharya then went to the temple at Truchchambaram (in North Malabar). There he found his palanquin abandoned by the *bhutas*, and divining that the reason for it was the continued acceptance by the Kanarese *Desis* of his own race, of expiatory gifts from Udaya Varma, he too cursed them and went to the Cherutalathu temple.

Udaya Varma and the *Desis* approached Madhavacharya. He was very angry and went away in disgust. The king and the *Desis* followed him and finally succeeded in extracting from him a promise of restitution. "Come to the next meeting at Gokarna", he commanded, "and I shall see what I can do for you." He then reached Gokarna and became Vidyaranya Muni.

Then in the month of Kumbha in the year 264 M. E. (1133 A.D.) a great meeting of kings and *yatis* (ascetics) and the Brahmins of the 64 *gramas* of Kerala was held in the Gokarna temple. Udaya Varma and his Kanarese Brahmins also went to the meeting and presented their case before the assembly. These Brahmins were then taught the four *Vēdas* and obedience to the dictates of the assembly they gave gifts in expiation of their guilt. They were thus purified, and to them were joined 237 families of orthodox Kanarese Brahmins belonging to ten houses from 13 *gramas*. Udaya Varma now had 477 families of Kanarese Brahmins in all. All these, belonging to (14+10) 24 houses of main families from (3+13) 16 *gramas*, were *yajurvedis* and of the *bodhayana sutra*. They were all Haikas too. The 240 *Desis* swore before the assembly by the God Mahabala of Gokarna, on 27th Kumbha, 264 M. E., that they would co-operate with their new associates (the 237 families from Gokarna) in all religious and social functions and intermarrying with them, remain as one united people or lapse into their former degenerate state if they should break their promise.

Udaya Varma then gave gifts to God Mahabala and presents to Vidyaranya Swami and others and returned happy to his own kingdom along with the (237+240) 477 families of Haika Brahmins. His brother Ravi Varma, his eight ministers<sup>(7)</sup> and his subjects were glad of their return. The 237 families were

(7) The King of Kolattunad had a council called Enmaryogam, the council of eight persons.

settled in four *desas* (districts) and the 240 in five. Houses, temples and lands also were granted them by the king. The above nine *desas* are between Nilayaram in the north and Cherutunnu in the south, Perinchellur in the east and Payyanhur in the west. Udaya Varma went further and made the language, dress and customs of his Kanarese Brahmins the same as those of the orthodox Namburis of Perinchellur *grama*, and appointed some Namburis of that *grama* as *Smarthas* and *Vadikas* to his Brahmins. The king performed the *hiranyagarbha* ceremony, gave *mahadana* and other gifts, and finally went to heaven (died) after having long enjoyed the pleasures of life along with the Kanarese Brahmins that he had introduced into his country, and with the Namburi Brahmins of Perinchellur.

After the demise of Udaya Varma his Kanarese Brahmins have spread over the whole of Kerala and live as pujaris. In consequence of their having done puja to the God (Vishnu) of Tiruvalla (according to the Pancharata and Kapala systems) and of the abandonment of their original home (in the Kanarese country) the other Brahmins (remaining in the Kanarese *gramas*) do not regard these Desis as belonging to their *gramas*.

Narada thus concluded his story and returned to Satyaloka, and Suprabha the listener went to the house of Chitraratha, king of the gandharvas.

There is a poem of 10 slokas called *Desyashitakam* which gives a summary of the *Brahma Pratishtha* story narrated above. The *Ashtaka* story is as follows.

Udaya Varma of Kolattunad grew very haughty on account of his wealth and insulted the Namburi Brahmins of Lakshmi Grama (Perinchellur) as well as their God Rajarajeswara. Consequently all his religious ceremonies had to be discontinued and he became childless. On consultation with his brother Ravi Varma and his ministers, he went and bathed in the Ganges and brought away 8000 *saligramas* (holy ammonite shells) from the Gandaki (a tributary of the Ganges). On his way back he visited King Mayura Varma of Gokarna (and returned to Kolattunad. He then went again to Mayura Varma (with the necessary materials) and (having exhibited his prowess) by repairing in one night a tank there called Koditirtham, bought from the king 14 houses of Kanarese Brahmins and returned to his kingdom.

They comprised 237 families. Udaya Varma built houses for them in five *desas* (districts) and settled them there. He built also the Cherutalathu temple for them, and changing their language and mode of dress, gave them riches and titles of honour. The 8000 *saligramas* were installed in the temple of Raghunatha (Sri Rama) and the king caused puja to be done to them by his new Brahmin colonists. He built also many other temples for Subrahmanya, Siva and other deities, and gave them as gifts to his new Brahmins. Udaya Varma made them the authorities of the temples of Sri Rama, the Sun, Durga, Subrahmanya, Hanuman and other deities and performed the ceremony of *hiranyagarbha* according to their instructions. Later on came the relatives of those Brahmins, and the king



settled them in four *desas* (or districts.) After both these colonists were thus settled in (9+4) nine *desas*, others came from Gokarna. These Kanarese Brahmins also were allowed to settle down in all parts of his kingdom.

In spite of Udaya Varma's having thus peopled his kingdom with Brahmins he remained childless because he had insulted God himself and the Namburis. He was sorry because those Kanarese Brahmins were devoid of Keralan manners and customs. In his distress he went to Perinchellur and propitiated the Namburis there with gifts. They blessed him and thereby children were born to him. The Namburis of Perinchellur were appointed Smarthaas and Vaidikas of the Kanarese Brahmins after the manners and customs of the latter were made the same as those of the Namburis. With these two kinds of Brahmins (the Namburis and the Desis) Udaya Varma lived a long life and went to heaven after a glorious regn. (Here ends the eighth sloka).

In course of time the Desis spread over the whole of Kerala and have been appointed pujaris in temples by the Namburis and the other people of Kerala. The Desis marry their girls to Kanarese Brahmins who come from Gokarna, and even now retain their (Kanarese) manners and customs. The above *Ashtaka* (or poem of 8 slokas) was composed by a Brahmin (probably a Desi) after duly consulting the larger history of Udaya Varma in two chapters written by one of his own family. (Here ends the tenth sloka).

The chief divergences between the *Pratishthha* account and the *Ashtaka* account and the additional details in the latter may now be noted. In the first place, the author of the *Ashtaka* introduces a new personage, Mayura Varma. Secondly, the *Ashtaka* makes the king buy the first colony of 237 families belonging to 14 houses from Mayura Varma, while the *Pratishthha* makes the king bring them from Tiruvalla. This difference may be explained by assuming that the author having no idea about the relative ages of Mayura Varma and Udaya Varma put in that king's name also because he was well-known to tradition as the person who brought Brahmins to the region north of Malabar. We may suppose that the episodes of the partition of Kerala, of the image of Vishnu brought from the Gandaki river, and of Nityananda Yogi, Madhavacharya and the Gokarnam conference are not found in the *Ashtaka* because it is avowedly nothing more than a *samkshepa* (or summary) of the *Pratishthha*, several expressions from which are in fact repeated in the *Ashtaka*.

The God Rajarajeswara<sup>[8]</sup> mentioned in the *Ashtaka* is the God of a temple in Talipparampu (Perinchellur) built (presumably) by some king called Rajaraja (perhaps a Cheraman Perumal or Chera King). The famous temple at Tanjore built by Rajaraja Chola (A. D. 985-1018) is called Rajarajeswaram. It is not impossible that this Rajaraja, who is known

[8] Chapters 32-34 of Seshu Sastri's edition of *Kerala Mahatmyam* (Trichur, 1912) describe the God Rajarajeswara and his temple at Lakshimpuram (i.e. Talipparampu).

to have conquered Coorg bordering on Kolattunad and some parts of Kerala, built a temple at Talipparampu and called it Rajarajeswaram.

The *Ashtaka* mentions also (according to my interpretation of "Lakshmi-grāma dvijendranāthi, Adadhipatim, Rajarajeswaram cha") the *adhipati* or lord of the Namburis of Perinchellur. This lord was probably the headman of the *grāma* known from a *Keralolpatti* as Nayaka Namburippad of Puliapparampu house in Perinchellur grāma. Nayaka means leader. This Namburi Nayaka<sup>(9)</sup> is mentioned also in *Kerala Mahatmyam* (1912), p. 77, sloka 21, as lord of the Namburis of Lakshmipuram.

Udaya Varma of Kolattunad who according to *Brahma Pratishttha* was alive from 220 to 264 M. E. (A. D. 1044 to 1089), may or may not be the Udaya Varma to whom (according to a *Keralolpatti*) the Perumal who went to Mecca (or Makta Desa according to *Kerala Mahatmyam*, 1912, pp. 137, 138) gave Kolattunad. Bhaskara Ravi Varma who reigned from A. D. 1047 to 1105 or even later was Perumal of Kerala when Udaya Varma of *Brahma Pratishttha* and *Desiyashta* was reigning in Kolattunad. Bhaskara Ravi is sometimes called the last Perumal of Kerala.

And who is this Mayura Varma of the *Ashtaka*? There is a Kadamba king of that name famous in Kanarese and Mahratta legends preserved in the Mackenzie MSS. According to the Kanarese tradition Mayura Varma's son

Changanagada introduced a large colony of Brahmins into Kerala, Tuluva, Haigiri,<sup>(10)</sup> Koppaka, and Corada before Parasurama came with his Namburis of the 64 grāmas of Kerala. The Mahatta tradition says that Mayura Varma king of Kerala and Sourashtra (i. e., K. thiawar), not satisfied with the social status of the Boyijati Brahmins introduced into Kerala by Parasurama sent for other Brahmins from Hai-Kshetram (Ahiichchatram?) and settled them in different parts of his kingdom. The date of this Mayura Varma (or these two Mayura Varmas?) is not known, nor is there any Mayura Varma (known to me) who was a contemporary of our Udaya Varma of circa 1050 A. D.

According to the *Brahma Pratishttha* account Nityananda Yogi and Madavacharya *alias* Vidyaranya were contemporaries of Udaya Varma of Kolattunad. Nothing is known about Nityananda and his date. There is the well-known Dvaita teacher Madhavacharya, born near Udipi in South Kanara in 1119 A. D. He lived in the 12th century, some time after Udaya Varma of the 11th century.

One cannot be sure whether the combination of dates and names in the *Pratishttha* and *Ashtakam* is reliable. It is quite possible that the authors of the two metrical accounts merely recorded tradition which had already made a mess of well-known names, events and chronograms. Further researches may throw light on Udaya Varma and his alleged contemporaries.

(9) കായം പരമേശ്വരൻ | നായകൻ നാമം ഉണ്ടാകുന്നു. സമ്പന്നൻ | നായകൻ സമ്പന്നൻ.

(10) The Desa introduced into Kolattunad are called Hai'as in *Brahma Pratishttha*. Haigiri and Haika may be one and the same place.



## RANAKIRTI TATAM

A SOUTH INDIAN WARRIOR OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

(By I. K. Joseph, B. A., L. T.)

The accompanying portrait is a pen-and-ink sketch of a warrior of the eighth century A. D., sculptured in low relief on one of the broad faces of a stele of black granite discovered at Aramboli in South Travancore by the late Prof. Sundaram Pillai, M. A., the pioneer of archaeological investigations in Travancore. "Recognising its antiquity and historical importance, he got the stone bearing it removed to the Trivandrum Museum, where it" was until about a decade ago "set up on the southern side of the western or the main gate, exposed to wind and weather." (*Trav. Arch. Series I*, p. 153). It is now fixed in the northern verandah of the Museum, still at the mercy of the wind and weather. It bears the earliest datable stone inscription discovered in Kerala and deserves better attention in the matter of preservation. The inscription may be completely effaced by weathering action in a few years more.

The epitaph on the reverse is in Vattelutu and runs as follows:—

1. ஸ்ரீ கோமாதேவையம் இ
2. ருபத்தேழாமாண்டு, கோம
3. னர் படை விழுந்து புறத்து
4. ிட்டிழுக்க, கரைக்கோட்டை அழி
5. யபான்வா, பெருமானடிக்குள்
6. ன்பு மிக்ஞா இரண கீர்த்தியு
7. ம் அமர்க்கழி உள்
8. ட்டி நெற்றைச்செவகர், கோட்
9. டை அழியாமைக்காத்தேறி
10. ந்து, பலரும் பட்ட இ
11. டத்து இரண கீர்த்தி உள்
12. விட்டுச்செவகன், கொழுது
13. ிக்கற்றத்துப் பெருவுர்
14. த்தாதம், பெருந்திணை, ஆ
15. த்சிரத்தாற் பலசொடுங்
16. குத்திப் பட்டாசு செய்
17. துக்க மோளி ம்

## TRANSLATION.

In the twenty-seventh (regnal) year of King Maran Chadayan, when the Chera King's army committing havoc freely outside Vilinjam came to destroy the Karai-kkottai fort, the single servitors (body-guards) of the interior, Ranakirti and Amarkkali, having excessive devotion to the king, fought saving the fort from destruction, and many died. Where they died the noble Tatam also of Peruvur in Kollam-kuttam, a servitor (or henchman) of the interior (with the title) Ranakirti, the crown of those exalted through victory died rashly thrusting many.

## NOTES.

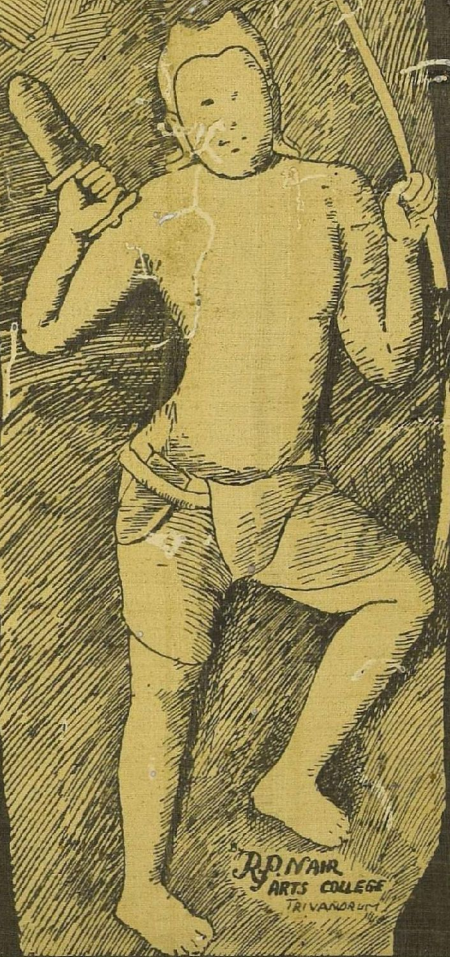
According to Gopinatha Rao Maran Chadayan, the Pandya king reigned about 770 A. D. (See *Trav. Arch. Series I*, 157). Vilinjam, about 8 miles south-east of Trivandrum was an ancient historic sea coast town. This inscription contains the earliest reference to the town and the fort there. Karaikkottai (not identified) must have been somewhere near Aramboli where the cenotaph stone was originally set up. Ranakirti (renowned in war) and Amarkkali (one who excels in war) are titles.

My reading and interpretation of the Ranakirti epitaph differ in several important points from those given by Gopinatha Rao in *The Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. I, pp. 158-159.

The bas-relief <sup>(1)</sup> of Ranakirti Tatam (see plate opposite) gives us an idea of the Dravidian warrior's dress and arms of ancient days. His ear lobes have big holes. In olden days men too used to have big holes to their ear lobes, as we see from descriptions by travellers, statues of South Indian kings, and the well-known Portuguese picture of "the king of Kochin riding on an Elephant attended by his Nays." s."

(1) For other ancient figures of South Indian warriors sculptured on stone see plates opposite pp. 178 & 360 of *Epigraphia Indica*, IV (1893-37).

RANAKIRTI SATAM  
A SOUTH INDIAN WARRIOR  
OF THE 17TH CENTURY



R. D. NAIR  
ARTS COLLEGE  
TRIVANDRUM



## Perumal Pallivanavar

(By Vidvar P. K. Padmanabha Paikam)

Kerala the land of Parasurama is rich in its traditions, antediluvian customs, and curious social distinctions. More than everything else it affords ample scope for the survey and scrutiny of the antiquarian. Apart from mythology and tradition which are for the most part the outcome of superstition and idle imagination the history of Kerala has not yet been brought to the searching daylight of reason in a pure, impartial and scientific spirit.

Who were the Perumals that reigned supreme in our land for centuries? With whom did that illustrious line of rulers come to an end?

Remote from the ancient capital of the Perumals, in an out-of-the-way village close to the backwaters of Vempanad, lay deep in the bosom of the floor of an old dilapidated building, the statuette of Pallivanavar, a famous Perumal of Kerala. Tradition says that the Perumal retired to this village named Neelamperoor, after renouncing the glory and the pleasures of this transitory world, to spend the evening of his life in religious contemplation.

On what ground can such an assertion be justified apart from the traditional belief, the historian may ask. All impartial critics unanimously admit that the people of Kerala are more conservative than their brethren in the other parts of South India. In such a community it is absolutely certain that no custom can crop up without the sanction of ortho-

doxy especially in matters touching religious functions. Hence the attention of the reader is invited to an important custom associated with the functions of the Pooram festival held annually at the temple of Neelamperoor, soon after the Onam days of the month of Chingam.

Tradition connects the origin of Pooram with the coming of Pallivanavar to this place. The original trustees of the temple used to begin the functions of Pooram after formally getting the verbal sanction of Pallivanavar who presided over all those functions. This custom is still in its full force. The eldest members of Alappurath and Puranatt, two of the families of original trustees, walk towards the building which in days gone by was dignified by the presence of Pallivanavar, and formally pray in silence for royal sanction to begin the Pooram functions. The enthusiastic multitude of visitors and all those who take an active part in the Pooram celebration, will be watching the ceremony with bated breath and a solemn silence pervades the whole atmosphere. The functionaries of this ceremony of silently praying for sanction behave in such a way as to indicate the awful and august presence of the Perumal. Hence tradition and custom both evidently bear testimony to the fact that the Perumal Pallivanavar took up his residence in Neelamperoor in a remote age.

It was from the floor of the aforesaid old building that the present statuette







[illegible]

അതിന്റെ അനന്തരം പറഞ്ഞതു നിന്ന ആശാസ്യകരം വന്നു. ഒന്നുഭാജൻ, ഒന്നു ഭട്ടവാണൻ, ഒന്നു ഭട്ടാവിജയൻ, ഒന്നു ഭട്ടമായുരൻ, ഒന്നു ഭട്ട ഗൊപാലൻ, ഒന്നു ഭട്ടാനാരായണൻ. ഇങ്ങിനെ ആശാസ്യകരം വന്നു പറഞ്ഞു, നിങ്ങൾക്കു ഖൈരലുൻമാരെക്കൊണ്ടുള്ള സങ്കടം ഒഴിവാക്കാൻ പൊക (പോക്കു) നാണെന്ന് പറഞ്ഞതിന്റെ ശേഷം ഇതു ശാസ്യകളും ബ്രാഹ്മണരും ഉൾപ്പെടെ പൊതുമാർക്കുപക്ഷേ പെരുമാളുകളെക്കുറിച്ചു പെരുമാളുടേതു പറഞ്ഞു അല്ലെങ്കിലും യന്ത്രിയുപയോഗംകാട്ടിയതെന്നു പറഞ്ഞതിന്റെ ശേഷം ഇതത്രെ നെരോകുന്നതെന്നു പെരുമാളുടേതു പറഞ്ഞു. എന്നാറെ ശാസ്യകരം പറഞ്ഞു, എങ്കിലും ഖൈരലുൻമാരും ഞങ്ങൾക്കു കൂടി വാദിച്ചാൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു തൊരറുപൊക്കെ നെരവരികിൽ ചെക്കുളുടെ നാലും മുറിച്ചിനാട്ടിന്നു അട്ടിപ്പള്ളവന്നെ പറഞ്ഞു. ഖൈരലുൻമാരുമായി വാദം ചെയ്തു ഖൈരലുൻമാരുടെ യുക്തിയും വീണ്ടു, നെരവരുടെ നാലും മുറിച്ചിനാട്ടിക്കളവാതും ചെയ്തു.

പ്രകൃതിയെ പറ്റി പലതരത്തിൽ വാദം ചെയ്യുന്നതെന്നു വ്യക്തമാക്കുന്നു.

[illegible]

അയ്യോ അസ്ഥാനത്തെ മരൊത്തത്തനെ  
വാഴിച്ചതും (താൻ) മക്കത്തിൻ പൊക്കയും  
മറ്റും. അതുകൊണ്ടു ബെന്യമിൻനായെ ചെര  
മാൻ പെരുമാൾ മക്കത്തിനൊരു പൊയി  
സ്വർത്തിന്നല്ലെന്നു പറയുന്നു. 'ആപ്പൊഴെ  
(അപ്പൊഴയതു) ചെരമാൻ പെരുമാളല്ലാ  
തെ (അതു) കെട്ടു രാജാവു, ശേഷം നാലു  
പെരുമാൾ വഴിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞു, അഞ്ചാമതു വാ  
ണപെരുമാൾ ചെരമാൻ പെരുമാളെന്നു  
രാജാവു. ശേഷം ഒന്നു വാണു, കൂല ശെഖര  
പ്പെരുമാൾ. ആ വഴിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞ ഉടലൊടെ  
സ്വർത്തിന്നു പൊയിതു. പുരുയിസമു

ശ്രദ്ധം എന്ന കവി. തിരുവഞ്ചുക്കുളം മുക്കാ  
 ൽവട്ടം ഭാഷാസ്തം കവി. യവിടെ നിന്ന പതി  
 നെട്ടു വത്സരം ചെല്ലുംബൊറം കലശെമ്പ  
 ശ്വേതമാളുടെ സ്വഗ്ഗാരാഹണം. അപ്പുത  
 മാറും നാട എല്ലാവർക്കും പകത്തു കൊടുത്ത  
 നിന്ന കാരണം, ഇനിയൊരിക്കൽ ബഹുമാ  
 ന്ന്മാരുടെ പരിഷ്കരണ വന്ന രാജാവിനെ ഭ്രാമി  
 പ്പിച്ച സമയം പുലമ്പിച്ചുവെന്ന് വരികിൽ  
 ബ്രാഹ്മണർ പരമേശ്വരൻ-പൊക്കെണ്ടിയം.  
 അത ബാരുതനെ കല്പിച്ചു, എല്ലാവർക്കും  
 കാതം വെച്ചു ഖണ്ഡിച്ചുകൊടുത്ത, അയൽ  
 പക്കത്തുതന്നെ വാഴ്ത്തിയിരിക്കുമാറാകണം.  
 ഭരതനെ നന്നെ കൈ-ഭാഷയിൽ ഇക്കമ്മു  
 മിക്കയിച്ചുകൊൾകും. പുറപ്പെട്ടു പൊകാറെ  
 ഇരിക്കുന്ന പണകാരണം. — Leaves 13-17.



This extract from a palm-leaf MS. of the well-known *Keralolpatti*, copied on 6th Dhanu 1016 M. E. (1598 A. D.) and preserved in Mr. Panikkar's library, says that a Perumal Kerula by name became a Buddha and is known as Pallivanavar. It says further that lands were assigned to the converted Perumal, that he was made to live separately, and that another Perumal was installed in his place.

According to the extract the fifth after the converted Kerula (*Pallivanavar*) was Cheraman Perumal, and the next Kulasekhara, who divided Kerala among several kings and chiefs. This last Perumal, says the extract, ascended bodily to heaven in the 18th year after the foundation of the temple of Tiruvanchikkulam near Cranganore on the Kali day *purudhisamasraya* (Kali 3443 Meenam 2, A. D.

343). So Kulasekhara ascended to heaven in 360 A. D. Now as these dates are reliable or cannot say.

The separate residence referred to in the extract must be Tiruvanchikkulam in Neelamperoor.

I think the notion that a Perumal went to Mecca arose on account of mistaking the words *marikkam puki* (മാരിക്കം പുകി) meaning became a convert, for *makkam puki* (മാക്കം പുകി), which means entered Mecca. Perhaps a Zamorin, and not a Perumal of Kerala, became a convert to Muhammadanism and went to Mecca.

The name Palliyil Bhagavati occurring in Appendix I means the goddess in a *Palli*, i. e. a Church or other non-Hindu place of worship. *Pallivanavar* means one who held sway in or over the Church, or resided in a Church. — T. K. J.

## PALLIVANAVAR.

(By K. C. Cheriyan)

Time is an inscrutable power which buries everything in oblivion. The history of a temple or church preserved *viva voce* for generations may pursue its silent way into unfathomable oblivion. Some legend-monger, ignoring or stifling the voice of history, may weave stories which veil and defy the clear glance of the antiquarian, who consequently 'rises to faults which critics dare not mend'. The illumination we have received from our researches about ancient Kerala and its rulers, the Perumals, is limited and insignificant as a grey haze floats over them. We have not clearly found out when, how or why the Perumal sovereignty ended, when the last Perumal ceased to reign, which religion the apostate Perumal last accepted, which sacred city he resorted to as a pilgrim, if at all he did

so, and whether he returned to his capital or not. None of the Perumals, however, has left such permanent memorials behind as the Perumal, Pallivanavar, as he was popularly called. You may yet behold him looming in his immortalised tomb near the gate of the Palliyil Bhagavati's temple at Neelamperoor, in Changancherry taluk, in central Travancore.

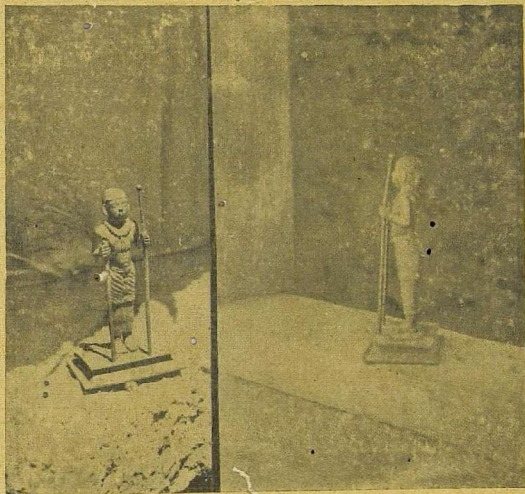
The temple a pretty large building facing the north, is surrounded by a laterite stone-wall. Besides the chief deity Karthikeyani Bhagavathi in the main building, there are four more deities in minor shrines as well as an *oottupura* (wing hall) all within the stone-walls. Our attention is specially attracted by the curious structure like a sentry-box at the gate. Outside the wall, a few yards

to the west of the gate, is a new building built about 1068 (A. D. 1892-3). Long ago, on the same site, stood a three-storeyed, cross-shaped building of quaint old architecture. When it crumbled, almost to dust, one day the manager of the temple, a Hindu, took it into his head to search for the long-talked-of treasure. He engaged four Christian labourers to excavate the floor. Two of them are still surviving. When about two feet of the earth of the floor was removed, to their dismay they came across a curious metal statuette of Pallivanavar—a precious treasure indeed, conveying many historic associations along with it. "Art lies in concealing art". The spade then struck against something very hard, and when the loose earth was carefully removed, a granite slab (about 6 ft. by 3 ft.) was exposed, and an unornamented bas-relief cross was seen sculptured on it like St. George's cross on the Union Flag. A Christian testifies that there was yet another granite cross at the head of the tomb about a foot high. This was taken out and cast away somewhere. Though the manager insisted on the labourers to continue their operation, they gave up the attempt, on the pretext that it was an act of desecration to open the grave and left the inner parts unexplored. Hence the granite slab was left *in situ*. Many elderly Hindu gentlemen of the locality also attest that it is a grave. The manager put up the new sentry-box-like building covering the whole sepulchre, but he did not entirely relish the idea of keeping the cross-wearing statuette in the precincts of a Hindu temple, and took it half way to throw it away into the dark and silent

depths of the Parthukkani river near the Munro light. The accountant of the temple, a venerable old man who narrated this incident to me at the end of last July, hastened after the manager and got back the image, and now it is kept in another building outside the temple along with the temple paraphernalia. Thanks are due to the present manager for the magnanimity with which he allowed the statuette to be photographed. (See plate opposite).

Neelamperoor is situated within about a mile of the eastern edge of the widest part of the backwater of Vembanad, and is the scene of a furious war of the meteorological elements during the S. W. monsoon in June and July. But in August (some years in September) the merry festival season asserts its exhilarating sway over Neelamperoor, which then becomes an enchanted spot. The bracing weather and the Onam festival invite the people to an animate and buoyant enjoyment of the season. For a fortnight the young and the old, both Hindu and Christian, are concentrated on the temple premises, where they stuff the numerous figures of *annams* (swans) and *kolams* (images) with hay, coat them with lotus leaves and tastefully decorate them, with strips of plantain leaf-sheaths and some kinds of flowers. Extraordinary patience and dexterity are evinced in this ephemeral show. Huge *kolams* or images of Bhima and other Puranic persons effigies of an elephant, a lion, a tiger, &c. are exhibited. Some swans are 45 feet high. In the flood of illumination produced by twenty or twentyfive torches, each made of a whole dry coconut leaf, the scene is simply imposing and grand.





BRONZE STATUETTE  
OF  
PALLIVANAVAR,  
NILAMPERUR, TRAVANCORE.

T. K. JOSEPH.

SCALE 18.

Most of the large swans and images are mounted on chariots and drawn by Hindus and Christians combined. In former times there was a superstition that unless a Christian first pulled a chariot it could not be moved.

Now I shall write of what has been an ancient practice, the first item of every Makam star festival following Onam. Pallivanavar, it is believed, used to preside in the former building near the gate to conduct the above festival. The Hindus of Neelamperoor are divided into two parties the Northerners and the Southerners who vie with each other to make their performance the more successful. The leaders of the parties would go to the presence of the president and ask his permission with much veneration and solemnity to begin the festival. After the death of Pallivanavar, the leaders used to offer three chakrams (coins) each on a piece of silk at the door of the tomb-shed, stand with the palms of the hands joined together in solemn silence and mentally request the unseen president to forgive their past trespasses and to allow them to begin the business of the festival. Soon after the termination of the request and the assumed receipt of sanction, there comes a sudden outburst of tom-toms, petards, and deafening cheers of the people. After a *pada-yani*, or mock-fight conducted in imitation of old warfare, they begin to skip, hop, and dance with all springiness of body and limbs, keeping time with the monotonous chant beaten on the drums.

The temple of Neelamperoor is situated on a beautiful little, gradually sloping hill covering an area of half a square mile, surrounded by widely expanding paddy-

fields. About two furlongs to the north of this is another smaller piece of land of similar description, with a compound and house called Tiruvanchikkulam. During their annual circuit the authorities of the Tiruvanchikkulam temple in Cochin, receive the tax on this compound along with that of various other properties scattered as far as Quilon in Travancore. The two pieces of land are connected by an embankment. Every year during the *araut* or bathing festival of the deity in the star Utairam in the month of Meenam, Palliyil Bhagavathi sets out on a pompous procession to perform her sacred ablution in a tank adjacent to the said compound. The temple was originally called Pallippadikkal, literally the threshold of a church.

As to the date of the foundation of the temple, there is not a single datum, but the general trend of opinion is that it was built during the reign of the Perumals. The accountant already referred to furnished me with some isolated facts, names and figures regarding the early history of the temple. His stories cannot claim historical pretensions as regards sequence or perspective of events, but they throw some side-light upon ancient history. Extensive landed property is said to have been bestowed upon Palliyil Bhagavathi for her maintenance, in and around Neelamperoor. It is said that Siva set up by Pallivanavar was removed by one of the Tekkumkur Kings of Kottayam, in Travancore, and the present goddess Kartyayani Bhagavathi was installed in his place.

Christians also had until recently, to do certain functions in the temple. They also used to dance during the festival of Makam and Peroram. I have seen a swan



over twenty *Kuls* (about 50 ft.) high presented by a Christian fifty years ago.

The head of the statuette is covered with a head-gear of mat-like texture, tightly drawn backwards to cover the tied up tuft of hair. Three parallel lines of slender lace-work run round the upper part of the forehead, which lines gradually disappear at the tuft. The rosary-like chain around the neck consists of twenty-five beads, each a perfect globule, much bigger than the beads in a rosary. Most probably they were made of the stem of the sacred *tulsi* plant. They are so closely packed on the siring that not a bit of it is visible. The cross stretches from the lower edge of the mandible of the sternum to the middle of the stomach. The upper end of the cross ends in something like a trefoil. Below this is a projection showing the hole for the string. The four arms of the cross proper are equal to one another. Seven star-flowers (asterisks) are seen below the cross, two on the abdomen, one on the belt or girdle, and four on the cloth between the waist and the knee. The face has a clean shave and the external ears are unusually long and broad. The pinna of the right ear is broader than that of the left. The body down to the waist, the arms and the lower one-third of the legs are naked. The chest is broad, and the contour of the body is that of an athlete with a slim waist and slender legs. The statuette has a staff in each hand a little taller than the figure itself. Unfortunately the right one is broken just above the grip of the hand—an injury sustained, probably during the excavation—and the other staff is bent a little backward above the grip. The outer corrugated or frilled

garment which reaches from the waist to the knees is rather thick. Eminences and depressions are seen running from right to left in long spirals all around. The ridges of the eminences are carefully cut into minute divisions to give a milled appearance. The inner drapery is of simpler workmanship. This attire is very tight with what appears to be lace-work running vertically through the middle in front. From this lace-work ten equidistant lines are cut obliquely downwards on either side, which go round the vestment and meet at a similar vertical border of lace-work behind, with their angles downwards. The cloth seems to have fenestrated embroidery. The feet and toes are not perfect in form. The statuette with its pedestal weighs  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lbs or 108 tolas. The height of the statuette is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

It may be that many historical facts revolve round this sacred pivot of art. The legend about the last Perumal dividing Kerala among his sons, nephews and others and going on a pilgrimage to Mecca in the fourth century A. D. is, however, bewildering and anachronous. How could he embrace the religion of the Prophet, which dawned only in the seventh century? The tomb, stone cross and miniature statue and various other facts associated with Neelamperoor seem to proclaim to the world that our Pallivanavar, was perhaps a Kerala King (Perumal) with Tiruvanchikkulam in Cochin as his capital and that he became a Christian and lies buried in Neelamperoor.

It may safely be said that the Perumals in general were maintaining religious toleration to such an extent that some of

them raised and honoured the Christians, that they tried to establish peace and union between the Hindus and Christians, and that Pallivanavar especially seems to have worked with systematic determination to blend and reconcile the two religions. Perhaps the agreeable vivacity of the new religion at the time of which we are writing excited the curiosity of Pallivanavar to make a comparative study of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and the newly introduced religion of Christ, and being convinced that Christianity alone satisfied him, he finally became a Christian monk.

At that time the territory of the Perumals extended at least as far as Quilon in the south. Neelamperoor being situated towards the centre between Thiruvanchikkulam and Quilon, we can more or less picture from circumstantial evidence, that Pallivanavar built a small palace at Thiruvanchikkulam in Neelamperoor and spent his last days there.

From inquiry instituted in the locality relative to the family of religious mendicants called Veeravadian Pandaram of Vazhappalli I learn that the family was brought down from Cranganore by Pallivanavar to recite the privileges of the Syrian Christians in Syrian houses, as the Veeravadians do even now. Another branch of Veeravadians is said to have been sent to Kayamkulam (north of Quilon) by the same Perumal.

Some say that Pallivanavar's funeral ceremony was conducted by Cherussery Namburi, who consequently was degraded by the rest of the Namburis. There is a compound known as Cherusseri to the east of Thiruvanchikkulam in

Neelamperoor. The statue was probably placed on the underground slab during the funeral and having been covered with earth was not known to the world till 1868 M. E.

Thus Neelamperoor is undoubtedly an historic centre of absorbing interest to the antiquarian. Does not the statuette of Pallivanavar give us an insight into his life and religion? Let it long remain a colossus in the path of Kerala history.

—K. C. C.

### FURTHER DETAILS.

Mr. Panikkar's letter to me from Kurichy, dated 15-1-1905 M. E. (31-8-1929) contains the following information.

"The old statue it is said was made of granite stone. Other Hindus do not say anything about it, and some even deny the existence of such a one. It was a bigger one, and consequently was set in the floor; otherwise there would not have been the necessity to dispense with it. As the orthodox Brahmins in those days strongly refused to take their meals from the temple (of Neelamperoor) during the time of *Polsavam* (festival) there arose the necessity to do away with the original one."

"All admit that till about 40 years ago Christians of the locality also partook in the Pooam functions (in dancing), and this was stopped owing to the strong opposition of Kolathu Kathanar (കൊളത്തു കത്തനർ, a Christian priest) against Christians taking part in the functions of a Hindu temple."

"Peculiarities of the Vishnu image:—The image (of bell metal) indicates the





ഈ ഉടെ കൂടെ വന്നു ഇവിടത്തെ കൃത്യതകളും സഹായിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്.

(ശവ)കുടീരമാണിത് എന്നു കേൾവിയാണെന്നല്ലാതെ ബെൽ ഇത് തുറക്കുന്നസമയം ജനിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. പക്ഷേ പുറത്തു കിടക്കുന്ന കളഭം ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ നിന്നും ഉപേക്ഷിച്ചിട്ടിരിക്കുകയാണ്. അതിൽ ഒരു ബിംബമുണ്ടെന്നു കേൾക്കാൻ ഇപ്പോഴാണ് അറിയുന്നത്.

ഇവിടെ മേയ്ക്കി തുടങ്ങിയാൽ തെക്കേയും വടക്കേയും രണ്ടുകൂട്ടമായിട്ട് തിരിയുന്നു. തെക്കേ പുറത്തെ നായകൻ പുറംകൂട്ട പണിക്കരും വടക്കേപുറത്തെ നായകൻ ആലപ്പുറത്തു പണിക്കരാണ്. ഇതിന്റെ സങ്കല്പമില്ല. വകളും അതാണ് നടത്തിവന്നത്. ഇതിലേക്ക് അറക്കി തിരുവുമായി വന്നു കരം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്.

(Sd) A. Rama Kurup.

The following particulars are, found in Mr. Cheriyan's letter to me from Neelamperoor dated 1-11-1905 (7-8-1909).

"I also am indeed a disciple of the doubting Apostle as yourself, and would not credit such facts unless I am convinced by mature investigation. The tale of Pallivanavar is on the tongue of every Nair male or female, or every elderly Christian or Chokan. I heard that name only a couple of weeks ago from Mr. Kunju Kurup of Kalathil house, Neelamperoor, the retired accountant of the temple referred to in my article. He is 76 years old..... It was Kunju Kurup that got back the image (the bronze statuette of Pallivanavar) from the Manager" about 1068 M. E.

In his *Atithyamala*, Part V, Trichur, 1703 M. E., pp. 156-164, Mr. Kottarathil

Sarunni gives the following particulars regarding Pallivanavar.

Pallivanavar lived in Killoor, a few miles from Neelamperoor and set up the bearded Buddha image in the shrine near the Bhagavati temple of Killoor. (Neelamperoor Buddha has no beard.) Until about 25 years before he wrote the book (printed in 1103 M. E.) the Muhammedans of Killoor used to kneel and pray before the above image of Buddha. Pallivanavar lived for some time in Neelamperoor also. Namburi Brahmins are reluctant to go and live in Killoor as well as in Neelamperoor. In former days they refused even to drink water from Killoor and from Neelamperoor.

In the Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras there is an ola MS. marked V. 6. 27, and entitled *Paramapada Prakasa Vazhi*, purporting to be the work of Pallivanavar. The opening sentence of the MS. which I read on 11th February 1930 gives the specific date Medam 1, 671 M. E. (A. D. 1496) for Pallivanavar's sailing for the island of Mecca. The sentence runs: എത്രയെ മഹാ വാഴ്ച മെടമാസം മാനത്തിരുവഞ്ചക്കുളമൊഴി പെരുതരു രാജനും നന്നെ നന്നെ ബെരുമമനസ്സനായി മക്ക മെന്ത ഉദിച്ചിലെക്ക പൊയ പള്ളിവാണര എന്ത പെരുതരു രാജാവ ..... This date, it will be observed, is about twelve centuries later than the date obtained from the *Keralolpatti* chronograms. In 1496 there was no Perumal or overlord of all Kerala, the line of Perumals having become extinct very probably with Bhaskara Ravi who reigned until 1105 A. D. or a little later:

-† K. I.



## A RAMA VARMA INSCRIPTION

OF 654 M. E.

The following Sanskrit verse, not published before, is engraved in Arya-eluttu (Gantha) characters on the Chempakaraman Mandapa or open shed in front of the Siva temple at Suchindram in South Travancore.

## TEXT.

1. അഞ്ചു കൊളംബസംചൈ വിശതി
2. ഗവി തുരൈ മിത്രയാതെ തുലാ
3. രൂ മൈതൃക്ഷ്യ സെന്ദുവാറെ പ്ര
4. തപദി വനിതാ ശിക്ഷ രാമവമ്മാ
5. കൈലാസാര്യ സ്തുമലം കലി
6. രതുമിതൃണം ശ്രീമതി ശ്രീശുചിരൈ
7. വഞ്ചീഭൂപാലമൃഗാമണി രത
8. ത പുരോ മണ്ഡപ ബുഭുജമലൈ

## TRANSLATION.

In the Quilon year *visati* (=654), when Jupiter was in Idavam and the Sun in the last portion of the sign Tulam (Libra), in Kanni *lagna* = rising sign Virgo), on Monday, the first day of the bright fortnight, being the *kailasadressutulyam* (=1,672,731 st) day of the Kali era in the asterism anilam (anuradha), Rama Varma King of Vanchi (=Travancore) built before Siva in prosperous Suchindram (this) neat and tidy mandapa well resembling Mount Kailasa.

Mr. R. Narayanan Potti, B. A., Lecturer on Indian Astronomy, Sanskrit College, Trivandrum, who examined the astronomical data of the above inscription finds them all correct. The following details have been supplied by him.

Kolambabda or Quilon year *Visati* = 654. Tulam 1, 654 M. E., Wednesday.

entered Tulam rasi 14 nalikas after sunrise.

Tulam 654 M. E. = Kali day 1672704, Wednesday.

Kali day *kailasadressutulyam* = 1672731 dawned on a Monday.

Udayasphutam—Sun: 6—25—49.

Moon: 6—27—00

Tithi: 0—1—351

Visakha asterism : 26 nalikas-45 vinalikas after sunrise on Monday, 1672731 st Kali day.

First day of bright fortnight (*sukla-prathama*) : 50 nalikas-6 vinalikas after sunrise the same day.

That day in Kanni (Kanya) *lagna*, the asterism was anilam (anuradha), tithi *sukla pratipat* (first day of bright fortnight), date 27th Tulam 654 M. E., Monday evening.

Jupiter in Idavam (Rishabham).

27th Tulam 654 M. E. fell in A. D. 148.

This Rama Varma of 654 M. E. may be the same as Vira Rama Rama Varma with dates 646 to 654 M. E. mentioned on p. 49 of Travancore Archaeological Report for 1999 M. E. as having the title Chempakaraman. The mandapa is called Chempakaraman mandapa probably from the above title of the king. There is a place called Chempakaraman Puthur (=the new village of Chempakaraman) in South Travancore. This too is perhaps called after Rama-Varma of the present inscription.

Chempakaraman is not actually a compound of *chempaka* (a kind of flower, *Michelia champaka*) and *Raman* (a personal name), but only a corrupt form of the Tamil compound *chem-piran* or rather of *chem-peruman* both meaning noble lord or king.

—T. K. Joseph.

## A New Interpretation of the Pahlavi Cross-Inscriptions of Southern India.

[P. 37] THE only extant monuments of early Christian settlements in Southern India are the so-called Persian crosses. These, of which five are known, are really solid stone slabs, on which a cross is cut, the central panel, which contains the figure of the cross with its symbolical ornaments, being enclosed by an arch, the surface of which is intagliated with an inscription in the Pahlavi character of Sassanian Persia. The most famous of these crosses is the one that was discovered on St Thomas's Mount, Madras, in the sixteenth century by Portuguese Jesuits. A good photograph of it is reproduced in G. M. Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*. Then there are the two crosses that were found in the old church at Kottayam, Travancore. One of these, the larger of the two, is reproduced in the frontispiece of Mr Rae's book. The other, the smaller, cross is roughly sketched in vol. iii of *The Indian Antiquary*. There is a local tradition at Kottayam that the larger cross is the more ancient of the two, the smaller cross being a late copy of it. But this tradition is entirely discredited by the archaeological evidence. For not only is the larger cross representative of a younger and more eclectic art, but it bears, as an integral part of its design, an additional inscription, a quotation from the Syriac Peshitta version of Galatians vi 14, written in a hand that cannot be older than the tenth century. The smaller cross, however, has so much in common with the Mount cross, both as to its symbolical ornaments and as to the characters of its inscription, that there is every reason to suppose it to be contemporaneous with the Mount cross, which, it is generally accepted, belongs to the seventh or the eighth century.

There is but one striking difference: the Mount cross, as well as the larger Kottayam cross, has a rounded arch, whereas the arch of the smaller Kottayam cross is pointed. For a general account of these three crosses the reader is referred to vol. iii of *The Indian Antiquary*, pp. 308-316.

Within comparatively recent years two more such crosses have come to light, both in Travancore. The one found at Katamarram is described, with an accompanying photograph, in vol. ix of *The Ceylon Antiquary*. This cross would seem to be quite as modern as the larger one at Kottayam. The other new cross, discovered at Muttuchira, has not yet been published.

It has long been recognized that the same inscription appears on each of the first three crosses, the apparent variants being due to peculiarities of calligraphy. These three versions of the same inscription have been studied in the excellent set of estampages reproduced in vol. iv of *Epigraphica Indica*. It has, however, been asserted that the fourth inscription, that of the Katamarram cross, is independent of the other three, and something entirely new. The estampage of this inscription, reproduced in vol. liii of *The Indian Antiquary*, would certainly give a casual observer the impression that this assertion is justified. But a careful study of the Katamarram inscription, as it appears in this estampage, has convinced me that it is nothing more than an exceedingly bad reproduction of the inscription common to the other three crosses. It is, indeed, a very incomplete reproduction; but the lacunae and grossly distorted characters, which impart such a strange appear-



ance to it and have led other investigators to believe that it is a new inscription. But there are certain evidence that the Katamarraam sculptor was entirely ignorant of its meaning. This fact is very important for our exegesis. I have evolved a theory which accounts for every one of the vagaries of the Katamarraam reproduction; and which ought to disprove, once for all, the view that it is an inscription of independent origin. Briefly stated, the theory is this. A series of rubbings, on pieces of some papery substance, were made from the inscription on one of the other crosses, perhaps the larger Kottayam cross. This series of rubbings, arranged in proper order, was to serve as pattern for the cutting of the Katamarraam inscription. But the papery substance employed had a strong grain; and each strip of it had been laid on the original inscription in such a way that the grain lay more or less parallel to the direction of writing. The result was that portions of words coinciding with the grain were not always reproduced clearly in the rubbing. Consequently, the Katamarraam sculptor, who did not understand what he was copying, naïvely reproduced what the rubbings shewed him, no more and no less. Portions of words were altogether omitted, and individual characters distorted. In one place he writes a letter upside down, apparently in the attempt to restore a broken outline. In another place he corrects a straight line into a curve, without erasing the former. But most instructive of all is the last word. The ligature  $\text{𐤀𐤁}$  appears exactly as though viewed in a mirror. There is but one way to account for this: the ligature was copied from the reverse side of the rubbing! It would seem that the last strip but one of the rubbing-material did not cover this final ligature, and a separate small piece had to be used for it. This piece was inadvertently placed reverse side up when the series

of rubbings was arranged for copying. This theory of the rubbings satisfactorily accounts for all the peculiarities of the Katamarraam inscription, which can, therefore, no longer be accounted an original composition.

[Pl. 29]. As already remarked, the larger Kottayam inscription was perhaps the one that served as model for the Katamarraam. A comparison of the two suggests this; but it is a matter of minor importance. What is very important, however, is the fact that the larger Kottayam cross is itself a copy, and a not very intelligent one. The artistic data alone prove that the smaller Kottayam cross is more ancient than the larger; and we might well infer that the latter was modelled upon the former; for they both belong to the same church. This inference is amply borne out by a comparison of their respective inscriptions; for the variations of the larger cross are manifestly due to unintelligent copying of the smaller. This larger Kottayam inscription is by no means such a bad reproduction as is the Katamarraam one; but it is sufficiently bad to convince us that the copyist understood little, if anything, of what he was copying.

The smaller Kottayam inscription is, to all appearance, an original, inscribed in a bold and cursive hand. The Mount inscription closely resembles it, but its calligraphy is more restrained and less cursive. This, too, might pass for an original, were it not for one important fact, which is strongly in favour of its being a copy of the smaller Kottayam inscription. The last word but one of the Kottayam inscription is not very carefully written; but its most probable reading,  $\text{𐤁𐤁𐤁}$ , makes, as will be learnt later, perfectly good sense. Now in the corresponding word of the Mount cross the Pahlavi characters for  $\text{𐤁𐤁}$  are transposed, so as to read  $\text{𐤁𐤁}$ . It is easy to understand how this can have arisen. For

in the Kottayam inscription the characters 'and' of this particular word, though distinguishable, so closely resemble one another that a scribe copying it would be very liable to transpose the two characters. On the other hand, the two characters are so clearly differentiated in the Mount Cross that a scribe copying this would hardly commit such an error. I am convinced that the Mount inscription is a copy of the smaller Kottayam one, and, moreover, that it is an intelligent copy. The Mount copyist correctly analysed a ligature in the smaller Kottayam inscription which completely misled not only the scribe of the larger Kottayam cross, but even such distinguished Pahlavi scholars as Haug and West. Even the one error just now remarked upon is venial; for the transposition of the characters gives rise to a word that can well mean 'made,' instead of 'cut,' fitting the context quite well, though, as will be understood later, not so probable. The two scripts closely resemble one another and undoubtedly belong to the same period, which is entirely in accordance with the verdict of archaeology, which, as said above, is in favour of the two crosses being contemporaneous.

Let us now proceed to the interpretation of the inscription. Since (P. 240) this is common to all four crosses, and the inscription of the smaller Kottayam cross is the original text, we shall base our interpretation upon its readings. The variants of the other crosses no longer concern us; for we have already shewn that they are due to unintelligent copying.

On p. 190 of vol. ix of *The Ceylon Antiquary* are summed up the readings and translations hitherto published by various scholars. The best known is probably that of Boppell, cited by Rae, *op. cit.*, p. 120:—

"In punishment by the cross (was) the suffering of this One;

He who is the Father, Christ, and God above, and God ever present."

The inadequacy of this, and, *a fortiori*, of all other previous renderings was pointed out to me by Professor Burkitt, to whom I am indebted for much help and many valuable suggestions. The transcription and translation which I now publish is the first time and for which I am entirely responsible, was expounded in a paper read at the nineteenth International Congress of Orientalists (Oxford, 1928), and was generally accepted by the Iranian scholars there present. Two slight improvements were suggested by Dr Herzfeld, and these I have adopted. As will be seen later, they affect only the reading of the text, and not its meaning. In accordance with the usual procedure, I give a double transcription. The first is a faithful transliteration of the Pahlavi character by character, into Hebrew letters. The second is a cursive transcription into the Middle Persian language that underlies the text, the Aramaic ideograms, such as there are, being replaced by their Iranian equivalents.<sup>2</sup>

מורא<sup>1</sup> מן<sup>2</sup> \* משיחא<sup>3</sup> אפושאי<sup>4</sup> מרס<sup>5</sup> אפרסא<sup>6</sup>  
 7 צחארכות 8 9 סוריית 10 מני 11

בורית<sup>12</sup> דנה<sup>13</sup>

1 xatāy (i) 2 man 3 Mōšīxā 4 apuxšāy  
 5 apar 6 Afrās 7 i 8 zahārinxt 9 i  
 10 Suryāyā 11 hā 12 burrit 13 ēn

<sup>1</sup> For renderings by other scholars, see the Appendix to this Article.

<sup>2</sup> [It may be remarked, by way of explanation to those who are not familiar with the puzzling Pahlavi method of writing, that this language is pre-Islamic Persian, but that it was written in a running character derived from Aramaic letters; and further, that most common words were written in Aramaic (except perhaps the final letters) but read as Persian. Thus they wrote מלכאן מלכאן (MLKAN MLKA), but they pronounced the *Shāhān Shāh*, i.e. 'Kings' King, 'the King of Kings'. Confusing as such a way of writing seems and is, it was nevertheless the official style of the Sassanian Empire, and remained the native way of writing 'Persian' till the modern Persian came to be written in the Arabic character.]



The inscription is divided into two unequal portions by a little cross. The portion for this would seem to be that the sculptor desired the words מורא מן משיחא 'My Lord Christ' to occupy a conspicuous position at the apex of the arch. The starting-point, marked by this small (P. 241) cross, was so chosen that מורא 'My Lord' and משיחא 'Christ' balance each other on either side of the apex. The second portion of the inscription takes off from the same starting-point, so that it runs in a direction counter to that of the first portion. Had it taken off from the right bottom corner of the arch, it would have appeared to precede the first portion; so that the casual observer would begin reading from the wrong point.

The first two words מורא מן 'My Lord,' have always been misread. Every one has taken the first three characters to be the relative pronoun מן, thereby obscuring the sense of the inscription from the very outset. The independent pronoun of the first person singular, מן, is so read by Dr Herzfeld. This is much better than the reading I originally proposed, in which I took מן to be the pronominal suffix of the first person singular, and read ו, otiose enclitic article, instead of מן. Taken either way, the meaning is the same.

The word that follows משיחא 'Christ' had already been read correctly as אפוחשא, but, strange to say, it had been erroneously construed as an adjective, meaning 'merciful,' 'forgiving.' The view here put forward is that it is not an adjective, but an imperative. This revolutionizes the interpretation of the whole inscription. אפוחשא is followed by מרם i.e. (P. 242) *apar*, the Pahlavi preposition corresponding to Neo-Persian *bar*. Since אפוחשא is the Pahlavi cognate of Neo-Persian *baḫšāy* 'have mercy,' which governs its object by means of the preposition *bar* 'upon,' it is perfectly obvious that אפוחשא מרם in this inscription means

'have mercy upon.' The correctness of this interpretation is irrefragable, and one can only wonder that it was not arrived at before.

אפוחשא מרם 'have mercy upon' is followed by a proper name, as one might expect. רבוחת אפראם 'Afrā son of Chahārbukht' presents no difficulty. The father's name is not an uncommon one, and its occurrence here has already been noticed by Justi in his *Iranisches Namenbuch*. Like the Neo-Persian *izāfat* the 'is used to express the relationship of son to father, a usage which is well illustrated in the Pahlavi signatures to the copper-plate charter granted to the Christians of Malabar about A.D. 824. The proper name אפראם, i.e. *Afrās*, etymologically to be identified with the Neo-Persian *Awrās*, for which see Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 53. The Arabicized form of this name is *Abraz*, which may be further corrupted into *Abū Barāz*, Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 2. The name appears to be derived from the participle-stem of Pahlavi *afraštan*, Neo-Persian *afraštan*, *awraštan*, 'to lift up.'

Previous interpreters have failed to recognize that the word אפראם must almost necessarily be a personal proper name. This failure has been due to ignorance of the force and meaning of the preceding אפוחשא מרם 'have mercy upon,' which requires a personal object. The fact that אפראם is a proper name might even have been inferred from the existence of the indubitable name צהארבוחת 'Chahārbukht' preceded by the *izāfat*. For in the copper-plate charter already mentioned the name of each of the ten witnesses is followed by that of his father, the relationship being expressed by the simple *izāfat*, from which we may infer that it was the regular practice of the Persians of Southern India to record their father's name after their own. So it is wellnigh certain that אפראם is the name of an individual, whoever he may be. There is, to be sure, no exact parallel to it elsewhere in Pahlavi literature, unless, indeed, it

occurs on the copper-plate cross at K. We shall return to it later.

The first word of the second portion of the inscription is **סוריית**, preceded by the *izāfat*. This *izāfat* has been mistaken for an ornamental character resembling a figure 8, and of space-filler. But the same form of *izāfat* is found more than once on the copper-plate charter. Moreover, the carefully executed inscription of the Mount cross substitutes for it the normal form of the letter **י**. This *izāfat* is quite regularly employed to connect the preceding **אפרסן צה' צה' צה'** with the following epithet **סוריית**. This **סוריית**, which has misled baffled interpreters, is simply a transliteration into Pahlavi characters of the Syriac *Suryoyo*, *Ps.* 243 'Syrian'. In other words, Afrās son of Chahārbukht was a member of the Syrian Church. For this use of 'Syrian' as an ecclesiastical and not as an ethnological or geographical designation, see Rae, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167, also Camb. U. Library Oo. i 28 (*Cat.* n. 1033, line 7).

The last three words of the inscription form a relative clause introduced by the relative pronoun **מנו**. Then we have a third singular preterite, which Dr Herzfeld reads **בורית** 'cut', i.e. 'sculptured.' Before Dr Herzfeld communicated this to me, I, misled by the error in the Mount version, to which reference has already been made, took this preterite to be **kart** 'made.' For the Mount variant may be read **בנרית** i.e. the ideogram **בני** which occurs in a Sassanian inscription, and which may possibly be read **kart**, plus the phonetic complement *ri*. Although this reading is not logically or grammatically impossible, it is somewhat forced. Dr Herzfeld's reading is much better, even though it is doubtful whether **בורית** 'cut' was ordinarily used to mean 'sculptured.' The object of this verb is **דנה** 'this,' referring to the stone slab itself, on which the cross was cut. The whole of this

second portion of the inscription has been misunderstood by other interpreters, both in transcribing and in translating.

The new translation therefore runs as follows:—

'My Lord Christ, have mercy upon Afrās  
son of Chahārbukht,  
The Syrian, who cut this.'

This translation differs totally from the ten different renderings hitherto published. It has the advantage of satisfying the dictates of common sense, as well as the requirements of Pahlavi grammar and lexicography. The gross ambiguity of the Pahlavi script is largely responsible for the amazingly divergent readings and translations so far produced; but lack of grammatical insight has also played no small part.

The inscription simply tells us that the small cross at K. was made by a certain Afrās son of Chahārbukht, who professed the faith of the Syrian Church. The cross is probably inscribed in his own hand. From what has already been said about the Mount cross, it would seem highly probable that he made this too, but left the inscribing of it to some one else, who copied the first inscription in a careful hand, making but one slip. Had Afrās himself inscribed it, he would hardly have made this. The fact that the same inscription reappears on two other crosses some two centuries later has already been accounted for: it was reproduced without understanding, perhaps in the belief that it was some cryptic, sacred formula, not to be separated from the symbolical ornaments of the cross.

Unfortunately we know nothing more about Afrās. At present it is impossible to say whether his name appears on the copper-plate charter or not. We may eventually find it among the ten Pahlavi signatures; *Ps.* 244 but these are extremely hard to decipher, and have not



yet been read. I hope to publish something about these later on; for I have a strong suspicion that the name Afrās does occur among them. In the eighteenth-century *Brief History of the Syrians in Malabar*, written by one of themselves and published by Land in his *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. i, we learn that three Nestorian Persians came to the Malabar coast in A.D. 823 and built a church at Caliana (Koulam). It is quite likely that Afrās son of Chahārbukht was a mason whom they brought with them on their expedition. But we may speculate still further. One of these three Nestorian Persians is, in the Syriac text, called Prūt. This was taken by Land to be a Syriacized

form of the very common Persian name *Pērōz*. But this interpretation makes the final hard *Tes* difficult to account for. To me it seems more probable that Prūt is a corruption of Aprahāt, i.e. *Appārēs* or *Φαδρēs*, which is a very well known Persian name. This view seems to have been taken by them, so I am not alone in it. Now it is not inconceivable that our Afrās, whose name might have been written by the Syrians as Apras, became known to subsequent generations as Aprahāt, which, in turn, was corrupted into Prūt. Such a corruption is by no means without parallel.

C. P. T. WINCKWORTH.

## Appendix.

Burnell's translation was first published in 1873. Translations by other scholars are as follows. Haug:—'He who believes in the Messiah and in God on high and also in the Holy Ghost, in the grace of Him who bore the pain of the Cross.' West:—(a) 'What freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the upraising, from hardships? The crucifixion from the tree and the anguish of this.' (b), 'He whom the suffering of the selfsame Messiah, the forgiving and upraising, has saved is offering the plea whose origin was the agony of this.' Harlez:—'He who is the true Messiah, the reconciler, the resuscitator, for ever purified by virtue of his crucifixion.' Sanjana:—(a) 'Such was the affliction of the wounding and spearing of him on the Cross,

who was the faithful Messiah, a forgiver, of superior dignity, the descendant of Chahar-bukht.' (b) '... Messiah, the merciful one, the descendant of the great Abraham, who was the descendant of Chaharbukht.' (c) 'He of whom the faithful Messiah was a forgiver was highly exalted. He was redeemed from the four regions of Hell. This was due to the affliction of the spearing and wounding of the Messiah on the Cross.' (d) '... This was the affliction on the Cross even of the Messenger of Jehovah.' Modi:—'I, a beautiful bird from Nineveh, have come to this country. Written Mar Shapur. I, whom the holy Messiah, the forgiver, freed from thorn.' (From *The Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. ix, p. 190.)

C. P. T. W.

## Observations by T. K. Joseph.

The above article reproduced from *The Journal of Theological Studies* for April, 1929 (Vol. XXX, No. 116, pp. 237-44), is a very valuable

contribution to the study of the Pahlavi inscriptions in South India. It offers us at last a simple, sane, natural, and credible reading and in-

terpretation of the various versions of the Pahlavi cross-inscriptions in Travancore and Madras, on which several Indian and European scholars have racked their brains for about a century. The present reading and translation have the advantage of having been made in consultation with Dr. Ernst Herzfeld, well-known for his prolonged extensive researches in Persia.

He was in India in November, 1924, and in his reply (from Bombay, dated 22nd December, 1924) to my letter of 20th November, 1924 invited him to come and study the local St. Thomas tradition, and the Pahlavi inscriptions in Kottayam, Edamattam and St. Thomas Mount, he said:—

..... "Unfortunately I could not arrange to come to Travancore. I found incredible difficulties in Afghanistan; the customs there refused to let my whole outfit pass through, and I had to leave it all behind and to buy everything anew in Bombay. Now I am compelled to go back *via* Quetta-Druzdap, without seeing Malabar.

.....

My intention is to publish all the existing Pahlavi inscriptions in the shape of a 'Corpus Inscriptionum Parthaeorum.' There I shall reproduce and discuss the Nestorian inscriptions also. Perhaps you might be interested to hear that I discovered some 60 early Christian rock-cut tombs of the island of Kharg in the Persian Gulf, with a few traces of inscriptions and many crosses".....

I do not know if the *Corpus* has been published. But it is gratifying to learn that the Pahlavi, Kufic and Hebrew portions of the Quilon Church corpus plates of about 880 A.D. are being deciphered by the above two scholars.

The Kottayam tradition referred to by Mr. Winckworth may be wrong in saying which the

original is, and which the copy. But it is significant as to the fact that one of the two Kottayam crosses is a copy.

What Mr. Winckworth takes to be the original cross has a pointed arch, while the other three regarded as imitations (and even the Muttuchira cross discovered later) have rounded arches and a larger number of neatly finished ornamental details. This point requires explanation. I do not know if I am right when I say that the semicircular Roman arch, and not the pointed Gothic arch could come to Malabar in the 7th-8th century from Persia. The Mount cross with a Roman semicircular arch, which the Portuguese discovered underground by chance in 1547 A.D., can be regarded as pre-Portuguese in origin, i.e., prior to 1498 A.D., and entirely free from West European influence. I doubt whether the pointed arch could have come to Malabar from Muhammadan or other sources, in the pre-Portuguese period.

The Syriac inscription below the Kottayam cross with the semicircular arch cannot be regarded as "an integral part of its design." In none of the other four crosses do we find an inscription below the cross, although there is a long, narrow space for it. True, there is an ugly "I.N.R.I." in the space below the Kadamatam cross. But that is undoubtedly of a date posterior to 1498. The Syriac inscription which "cannot be older than the tenth century" could be regarded as an interpolation like the "I.N.R.I." of a date much later than that of the Pahlavi inscription. Could not the round arched Kottayam cross which is believed to have been brought away from Mangalore by the Christians driven out of that town by the early Portuguese, be regarded as the original cut by Afrās the Syrian?

This Afrās may be Aprōt of Malabar tradition, who along with another bishop Sabor



came to Quilon about 825 A.D. in a ship of the Persian merchant prince Maruṣān Sabr Iṣo who built the Tarisa Church in Quilon and obtained for it from the Quilon King Ayyan, the famous Quilon copper-plate grants of about 880 A.D. (See my articles 'Mar Sabor and Mar Prodh in *The Indian Antiquary* for March, 1928, and Malabar Miscellany in the same journal for January, 1929). The names of Sabor, Aprot and Maruṣān Sabr Iṣo will very likely be in the Pahlavi portion of the above copper-

plates. An exact reproduction of this portion of the inscription will be found in *The Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II. The copper-plate replica in the Cambridge University Library is not accurate, as I find from offprints kindly supplied to me by Dr. F. C. Burkitt. I hope that a reading and interpretation of the above Pahlavi fragment and of the Muṭṭuchira inscription will soon be published by Mr. Winckworth.

(Koulam is Quilon, not Caliana).

## A Hebrew Inscription from Parur.

(By T. K. Joseph, B.A., I. T.)

1. אשר שבן בצר בסנה
2. למענו ישבו בתי:
3. ידו אור בו לבית יעקב:
4. הכי השבו בנלותי-

5. ענה דוד בנו יעקב
6. רגל יבש לנשמתו
7. ק"ש בעת הולדתו
8. יצא צון ובה נחל

The above Hebrew verse of eight lines is inscribed on a granite slab built into the front wall of the Jewish Synagogue at North Parayūr (Parur) in the North of Travancore. It records the year 5376 *Anno Mundi*, indicated by the chronogram *uṣlām* in line seven, as the date of erection of the Parur Synagogue. The initial letters of the eight lines form an acrostic, which gives Eliya Addeni, i.e., Elijah of Aden as the name of the person who composed the lines.

I sent a copy of the inscription (received by me on 25th June, 1927) to Mr. N. E. Roby, of Cochin, who kindly supplied me with the following reading and translation (dated 3rd July, 1927).

1. Āšer šākhān bēsār bassēne,
2. Lemā āno iškōn bēti.
3. Yēyī ōr bē lebet Yākkob,
4. Ākhi hāšmū begālūtī.
5. Āne Dāvid bēno Yākkob;

6. Dāgūl yāhiṣṣ lekhastrī.
7. Nēve Rhodes be et uṣlām.
8. Vēhi rāson vubā gōye!

1. O Thou Who didst sit in the thorny bush in our oppression,
2. For Thy sake come to my house (Synagogue) also.
3. There be light in the house of Jacob
4. Although it has grown dim in our exile (i. Malabar).
5. Give answer to David son of Jacob;
6. He (David) is the banner of the race of Castile (in Spain).
7. This holy house has been finished in 5376.
8. By Thy grace may the Saviour come!

There is an allusion in line one to Exodus III. 2 and Psalm XCI. 15. David at whose expense the Parur Synagogue was built belonged to a Castilian Jewish family. He must have

come to Malabar in a Portuguese ship. 376  
A.M. corresponds to A.D. 1615.

We do not know for certain when the Jews came to Malabar. The Malabar Jewish tradition (communicated to me by Mr. Elijah Moses, a Jew of Parur) is that the Jews came to Calicut in A.M. 3830 and to Cochin a thousand years later. (See my article 'The Date of Bhaskara Ravi Varman' in *The Indian Antiquary* for January, 1929, pp. 21, 22). The earliest Malabar document which points to the existence of Jews there is the Quilon Church copper-plates of circa 880 A.D. According to me their own plates, the famous Cochin Jewish plates, are of 1085 A.D. (See the next article.)

Since the starting point of Jewish chronology is October 3, B.C. 3761, the traditional date (A.M. 3830) of the coming of the Jews to Malabar corresponds to 69 A.D., which is the date given by some European authors of the 19th century. They do not, however, say how they arrived at it. None of the old foreign records give the Hebrew year 3830. There may be old Hebrew records in Malabar which mention 3830. The Dutch Governor Adriaan Moens (in his *Memorandum* of 1781 A.D.) says: "It is possible that the first batch of Jews came here with the fleet of Solomon, a statement which is accepted by M. Basnage [Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, 1705], or on the occasion of the leading into captivity of the ten tribes to Assyria by Salmanasser, or on that of the Babylonian captivity of the two tribes under Nabuchadnezzar, as Mr. Hamilton will have it. There are however not the smallest proofs to give these guesses any resemblance. On the contrary, according to the general traditions of the Malabar Jews, about 1,000 people arrived in these regions a few years after the destruction of the second temple at Jerusalem. Thus if this account is accepted, it must have happened 70 years after the birth

of Christ, when Jerusalem suffered greatly at the hands of Titus Vespasian, or in the year 136, when the said town was completely demolished by order of the Emperor Aelius Hadrian, after a rising of the Jews against the Roman Government, and a new town called Aelia Capitolina was built on the same site, within two hours' distance of which town the Jews were forbidden on pain of death to approach."—*Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1911, p. 192.

Palayankudi near Mount D'Elv in North Malabar seems to have had a colony of Jews. The *Payyannu Pillu*, an old Malayalam song of North Malabar of the 15th-16th century A.D., mentions Jews under the name *Anchuvannam*, which is also the name by which they are called in the Quilon Christian copper-plates of about 880 A.D. According to Mr. Elijah Moses' statement already cited there must have been Jews in Calicut also. Coming further south, we find vestiges of a Jewish community in Palayur, near Chowghat, north of Cochin. There were Jews in Quilon in Travancore in about 880 A.D. A South Travancore Tamil song called *Travikkutti Pillai Por* (of the 17th century) mentions *Anchuvannam* warriors. But *Anchuvannam* here may be the Hindu caste of weavers and dyers.

In A.H. 931 (A.D. 1524-25) there were Jews in Cranganore, who were driven away to Chennamangalam by the Muhammadans. In 1565 they fled to Cochin, where their first leaders were David Balcha, Samuel Castil, Ephraim Salah, and Joseph Levi. The Hebrew inscription, we see, mentions David Castile. In 1567 they completed their Synagogues and some other buildings. (See *Indian Antiquary*, 1927, p. 182.) *Noticias dos Judeos de Cochim*, Amsterdam, 1688, reprinted in facsimile in 1924, with an exhaustive introduction is a very valuable document relating to the Cochin Jews.

Other Hebrew inscriptions will follow.



## Further Observations on pp. 159-166.

P. 159, col. 1. 'The only extant monuments'—The Church church copper-plates of about 880 A. D. are others.

'a cross is cut'—The larger slab at Kottayam has two crosses.

'cannot be older than the 16th century'—According to Dr. Burkitt the characters of a Cambridge MS., Oo. 1. 8, which is not considered to be older than the 17th century, bear a strikingly close resemblance to those of the Syriac inscription below the larger cross. See *Kerala Society Papers*, Series I, p. 44.

'every reason to suppose it to be contemporaneous' The dath (*isafat i*) after the cross mark in the Mount inscription appears in all the Travancore copies as a double hook, which is not a Pahlavi letter. That shows that they are all unintelligent imitations of the Mount cross inscription.

P. 159, col. 2. 'quite as modern'—There is a tradition at Kadamattam that the cross there is of the 19th century. One of the priests of the Church has written to me to that effect. See also my *Malabar Christians and Their Ancient Documents*, p. 19.

P. 160, col. 1. 'perhaps the larger Kottayam cross'—The letters of the larger Kottayam cross are much bigger than those of the Kadamattam cross.

P. 161, col. 1 'intelligent copy'—It could very well be the intelligently inscribed original, meaning My Lord Christ, have mercy upon Afras son of Chaharb-kht, the Syrian, who made this (cross).

Page 162, col. 2 'About A. D. 824.'—No, about A. D. 880.

Page 163, col. 1. 'Error in the Mount version'—We can regard the Mount inscription as the original with no error at all, because the reading of the preterite meaning 'made' "is not logically or grammatically impossible," as Mr. Winckworth says.

Page 163, col. 2. 'the small cross at Kottayam was made'—The Mount cross was made by Afras, I should think.

'inscribed in his own hand'—Rather, as wrote the Pahlavi sentence on the broad end of the Mount cross with red ink as usual in ancient days in South India, and a local stone mason engraved it, 'some two centuries later'—The Mutuchira cross was made in A. D. 1582, the Kadamattam cross about 1850. The letters of the Syriac inscription below the larger Kottayam cross are modern.

'whether his name appears'—"I think the name of 'Afra(s)-i- (Chahar)h(okh)h(Su(yaya))' can be made out with considerable probability", says Dr. Burkitt. See my *Malabar Christians*, 1929, Appendix VI. (op. cit.)

Page 164, col. 1. 'Afras ... a mason'—Afras was Bishop Mar Aprot. There were in those days any number of indigenous, expert granite masons in South India itself.

Page 165, col. 2. 'the original cut by Afras'—I now regard the Mount cross as the original made by, or for, Afras.

Page 166, col. 2. 'Mount a inscription'—According to Dr. Burkitt, to whom I sent a photo of the inscription, the Mutuchira fragment is the last part (the Syrian who made this) of the Mount cross inscription. (See *Journal of Theological Studies* for October 1929, Notes and Studies, p. 2001.)

## CORRECTIONS.

Prof. Moses Ezekiel, of Bombay, makes the following corrections.

Page 166, col. 1. line 2, ano: 'ano; line 3, Yeyi: Yehi; Yakkob: Y'akkob; line 4, Akhi: Hakhi; line 5, Ane: 'Ane; line 6, lekhashtyel: delete h and put a dot below k; line 7, khodes: as in the previous word; uslam: huslam.

Dr. Loewe of Oxford, whose reading, metrical translation, and notes also I have obtained, says that the Parur inscription occurs in a Hebrew book of Prayers for Festivals, etc. according to the rite of Cochin, Bombay, 1879. His comments will appear later on in Series 5.

T. K. Joseph  
18-2-1930.

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