SOME EARLY SOVEREIGNS
OF
TRAVANCORE,
For the first time brought to notice with their
dates determined by Inscriptions

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BY
P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M.A.,
Fellow of the Madras University, Professor of Philosophy,
H. H. The Maharaja's College, Trivandrum,
Member of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.

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Dedicated

to

His Highness

Sri Patmanabha Dasa Vanchi Bala

Sir Rama Varma Tiruvadi

Kulasekhara Kiritapati Manney Sultan

Maharaja Raja Ramaraja Bahadur

Shamsher Jang

Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India

Fellow of the Madras University

Maharaja of Travancore

Graciously ruling over Vēṇāp in the Kollam year 1669

By His Highness' devoted subject and servant,

The author.
PREFACE.

In submitting to the public the first fruits of my study of Travancore Inscriptions, my first and most agreeable duty is to acknowledge my grateful obligations to my gracious Sovereign. His Highness the Maharaja was pleased to sanction for a year in December 1891 a monthly grant of 50 Sirkar Rupees for the maintenance of an establishment I had started some time previously to find out and take fac-similes of old stone inscriptions in Travancore. I am indebted, therefore, to His Highness’ Government to the extent of Rs. 582-14-9, which I have utilized in the undertaking, and for which accounts have been from time to time submitted. But the above figures can scarcely give any adequate idea of the full support the cause received in consequence of the measure. So inveterate and widespread in Travancore is the common Indian mania for Government employment that the simple consciousness that a rupee comes, not from private funds, but from the Government treasury, is sufficient to lead to its bulging out twice or thrice in value in the distorted vision of those for whose services it might be paid. I do not think the amount I have had to invest in the concern from my own pocket, both before the date of the Government grant and since its discontinuance, though not much less when expressed in dry mathematical figures, has ever proved half as attractive in the eyes of my employees, or half as efficient in exacting steady work from them. Not only poor mortals, but the gods and goddesses themselves would appear to be guilty of the same partiality! For
instance, the doors of temples that cannot be opened except at stated hours, to private parties, for fear of offending the divine denizens thereof, fly open whenever convenient, without any visible dangers following the profane act, when the same parties call for the identical purpose, but on the receipt of a small pittance from the Government treasury; and stranger still, the deities inside are reported to change their temper and resume their original sullen mood, when once it is known that that pittance comes no more from the public exchequer! I owe, therefore, as much to His Highness' Government for the indirect moral influence the timely grant secured for my self-imposed task, as for its actual and veritable value. But all this is nothing compared to the encouragement I have personally received at the hands of my Sovereign, whose frequent and appreciative inquiries uniformly lightened the burden of my dreary labours. I can never be sufficiently grateful to His Highness the Maharaja for the interest His Highness has always evinced in the work, and also for the proud privilege His Highness has accorded me of associating His Highness' name with this humble brochure.

I am equally thankful to H. B. Grigg, Esq., C.I.E., the British Resident, to whose kind and encouraging words I owe my first incentive to the work. My thanks are also due to the Travancore Government Lecture Committee for having permitted these lectures to be delivered under their auspices on three successive Saturday evenings, March 24th and 31st, and April 7th, 1894. I should also thank my friend Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar for the intelligent sympathy he has always evinced in my work and for his kindness in reading the proofs.

It behoves me to add a word of explanation why I have chosen to put my results in the form of popular lectures. It was not without much doubt and discussion within myself that I decided on adopting this course. Epigraphy is
one of those auxiliary practical sciences, in which any one with the least culture might make himself useful, if but sufficient interest be roused in him. In a country so devoid of history and so deficient even in reliable data for historical purposes, it cannot but be well to enlist the sympathy, if not also the services, of the general public in epigraphical work, at least in the way of discovering and bringing to notice the existence of inscriptions. So little do inscriptions now attract attention that men, often very intelligent and sometimes fairly educated as well, are perfectly unaware of their existence, even though their daily avocation leads them almost every hour to the spot, perhaps not infrequently to spend the best part of the day in wasting the very stone bearing the record, by squatting on it. Even to produce the bare consciousness that inscriptions are not the idle handiwork of antedeluvian Bhütams or demons, worthy only of as much notice as the moss that grows upon them, seems desirable, since it may have at least the negative benefit of preventing wanton mischief being done with them. At any rate, I should be personally glad if at least one result would follow from a better knowledge of the value of these ancient documents, (i.e.) if I am not treated as a fantastic faddist when I next go in search of inscriptions, and am spared many an amusing philosophical reflection, scarcely behind my back, on the incalculable diversities of human tastes. But for the difficulty of reaching the scientific public, I would have, for considerations like these, even gone a step further and published these results in Tamil and Malayalam, a thought which I have not yet abandoned. I believe, therefore, the popular garb of these lectures will be readily overlooked, as well as such digressions and details in them as might be judged out of place in a paper prepared for a purely scientific Society or Journal. It is nevertheless hoped that nothing has been admitted which would detract from the accuracy essential to historical investigations. Being, however, provisional throughout,
my conclusions are open to correction; and amendments and suggestions will be most thankfully received and acted on from whatever quarter they may come. To facilitate such help, I add in the Appendix my readings of the documents here made use of, and propose to lodge the fac-similes themselves in the Trivandrum Public Museum.

My thanks are due to Messrs. Addison & Co. for the characteristic neatness and accuracy with which they have got up this pamphlet.

Harveypuram, Trivandrum, June 1894. 

P. Sundaram Pillai, M.A.

TRANSLITERATION.

Diacritical marks have been used as sparingly as possible. The following are the few adopted:—

\( \hat{a} = a, \hat{e} = \hat{a}, \hat{\theta} = i, \hat{r} = \hat{i}, \hat{u} = u, \hat{\alpha} = \hat{\alpha}, \hat{e} = e, \hat{r} = \hat{e}, \hat{\alpha} = ai, \hat{\theta} = o, \hat{\epsilon} = \delta, \hat{\alpha} = au; \hat{\iota} = \hat{\iota}, \hat{\phi} = ch, \hat{\chi} = \hat{n}, \hat{\lambda} = t, \hat{\alpha} = \eta, \hat{\tau} = t, \hat{\omega} = l, \hat{\iota} = \iota, \hat{\varphi} = \lambda, \hat{\rho} = r, \hat{\omega} = d, \hat{\epsilon} = d; \) h is added to mark the aspirates.
SOME EARLY SOVEREIGNS OF TRAVANCORE

FOR THE FIRST TIME BROUGHT TO NOTICE
WITH THEIR DATES DETERMINED BY
INSCRIPTIONS.

It was His Highness the late Maha Rajah of Travancore who observed in one of his public lectures that if India could be considered a microcosm of our Globe, Travancore could be with greater justification regarded as the epitome of all India. The observation was made with special reference to the variegated natural features of Travancore and to her equally rich and varied flora and fauna. It is, however, no less applicable to her population. It would be difficult, indeed, to find anywhere else in India, in so limited an area, a people so varied and typical of the mixed races of this continent. The two predominant factors of Indian civilization—the Aryan and the Pre-Aryan—will be found here in every degree of fusion. From the aboriginal Kânikâr or Hillmen to the Vaidika Nambûri Brahmin, what stages of the meeting and mingling of the two races can we not perceive in the endless distinctions of caste so eminently characteristic of this coast? The subtle forces set in motion by the great Aryan race to subdue and absorb into its own polity the earlier races of India may be still seen at full work here in Travancore. Here again may be observed to take place under our very eyes the gradual evolution of all the forms of marriage known to History,—endogamous, exogamous, polyandrous, polygamous, punaluan, and what not.(1) Arrested in consequence at different stages of their natural growth, may

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(1) Vide L. H. Morgan’s Ancient Society. Punaluan is the Pândava type.
be seen also all conceivable laws of inheritance. Equally diversified and full of philological import is the language of the country. Exactly as the practised ear perceives all possible stages of corruption between pure Tamil and pure Malayalam, as one passes from one end of the land to the other, say from Cape Comorin to Paravur, so may also the critical student notice all varieties of mongrel mixtures of Sanscrit and Tamil, as he descends from the proud poems of the erudite few to the popular ditties of the illiterate many, from a *Bhāsha Sākuntalam*, for instance, to a *Torrampattu*. (1) Every race, too, in the evolution of that all-embracing conglomeration of faiths, ceremonies, and philosophies, called Hindu religion, from the grossest fetishism, worship of trees, of snakes, of evil spirits and what not, to the highest Vedantic school of *Sankarāchārya*,—he himself supposed to be a native of the place—finds here its votary to this day, not to speak of the large representatives of foreign religions, such as the Syrian Christians, who claim to have received their gospel direct from Saint Thomas himself. With regard to manners, customs, dress, and ornaments, infinite is the variety that obtains. Each caste would appear to have been bent upon originating and appropriating to itself a particular form of these natural adjuncts of social organization. Even more tempting than all this pleasing variety is, to the student of Indian Ethnology, the general air of primitive simplicity that nevertheless pervades the entire society, its language and institutions, its manners and traditions. And the air of primitiveness is by no means deceptive. Most of these social peculiarities are in truth but strange survivals of what at different stages was the rule in all India, at any rate in the Peninsula portion of it. Endless particulars from the daily

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(1) Means "A song on the Apparition," and narrates the story of *Silappadikāram*, the ancient Tamil epic. It is being fast supplanted in popular favour by more modern songs and seems to have but a short term of life now before it.
routine of individual and social life may be given to illustrate how strangely things survive in this land, though long extinct elsewhere. But suffice it here to say that Travancore seems to have played, in Indian Anthropology, the part of a happy and undisturbed fossiliferous stratum. And it is easy to understand why it should have been so. No internal revolution seems to have ever convulsed her social system so as to efface the past, to which her own remarkably conservative nature inclined her steadfastly to stick; and as for the violent changes outside her domains, they seem to have never reached her till their fury was spent, so that when, floating down in the fulness of time, their influence came to be felt, the nett or skeleton results alone sank into the structure of her society to be preserved unmolested for ages to follow. Thus taking all in all, Travancore, I earnestly believe, deserves more attention from the students of Indian History than at first sight her apparent geographical and historical isolation would seem to entitle her to; her population being so remarkably varied and typical, and their social fabric a veritable mine of precious antiquities in many a department of Anthropology.

2. But to the best of my knowledge the mine remains unworked—nay even unnoticed—up to date. I do not complain that the history of the people is yet to be written; but I confess I am surprised to find that the political history of this Principality, one of the most ancient though it is in all India, is itself a blank all beyond the immediate present. Even of our ruling royal dynasty, whose origin, Mr. Shungoonny Menon observes, (1) tradition reckons as coeval with creation itself, what information are we in a position to offer to the critical historian beyond a couple of centuries ago, while several even of the minor Barons of Great Britain are able to trace their blue blood over twice that

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(1) Vide the opening sentence of Mr. Shungoonny Menon's History of Travancore.
period? The Travancore Government Almanac\(^1\) publishes, no doubt, year after year, a list of 35 sovereigns from 1335 A.D., as having immediately preceded His Gracious Highness our present Maha Rajah. But apart from such indefinite and suspicious-looking names as ‘Wanaut Moota Rajah.’\(^2\) which cannot but detract from the scientific value of the document, what little I know from independent and indubitable sources of knowledge is not in favour of its accuracy. Mr. Shangoonny Menon begins, indeed, his history with Brahma the Creator, but he fills up his first chapter which brings down the account to His Highness Martanda Varma, who began his rule just 164 years ago, i.e., within the memory in all probability of the historian’s own grandfather, with such questionable materials as to render it difficult to rebut Mr. Sewell’s condemnation of the whole as devoid of historical value.\(^3\) When of the political history of the country, of the history of the unquestionably ancient Royal dynasty itself, we know so little, it is no wonder that we should know less in the more obscure and less attractive branches of Travancore Archaeology.

3. But how long are we to remain in this lamentable, if not disgraceful, condition of ignorance? To a native of Travancore—and I am one—it cannot but be galling to have to wait till competent foreign scholars find leisure to investigate and enlighten him on the history of his own fatherland. He would rather, whether fully qualified for it or not, gird up his loins and be doing something, than be simply moaning over the fact till the fortunate advent of a competent savant. But even should one be willing to wait, the sources of sure information, the facts and things to be observed, do not seem to be endowed with

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\(^1\) Vide page 43, Part II., of the Almanac for 1894.

\(^2\) Means but ‘the ruling sovereign of Travancore,’ ‘Wanaut’ being Vēṣād or Travancore, and Moota Rajah or Mūṭṭa Tampirān being the popular way of styling the eldest member of the royal family.

\(^3\) Vide Sewell’s Lists of Antiquities, Vol. II., part treating of Travancore.
equal placid patience. With the rapid spread of education and the general uprising and commingling of the masses, the very things of archaeological import are fast vanishing out of sight. No one with wakeful eyes could live a decade now in Travancore without being constantly reminded of the extraordinary rapidity with which the tide of progress is washing away all old landmarks even in this retired creek of the so-called "changeless East." Traditional beliefs, ways, and manners are dissolving like spectres in the air. Every caste seems bent now upon giving up its own, for the sake of the forms and ceremonies, dress and ornaments, and even the modes of speech, of some other which it supposes to be superior to itself. What traits of the primitive Dravidian Vēṇād chiefs would you discover in the anglicized Nair, or of the Vedic age of simplicity in the Nambūri constable(1)? However desirable such changes might be from other points of view, to the antiquarian they cannot be more gratifying than the rapid, dizzying, gyrations of an animalcule can be to the microscopist. To neglect vaccination and to trust to Īṟūṭṭu(2) is certainly not desirable; to indulge in Paḍaiyani(3) or mock fights, in these days of peace, might be even more culpable; but when the Īṟūṭṭu and Paḍaiyani are gone for good, the historian will look in vain for equally good and clear evidences of the past history of the particular localities. The damp atmosphere of Travancore is another source of dread. It is fast demolishing and disintegrating sources of

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(1) The last Travancore Government Gazette to hand announces the reduction of a Nambūri Sub-Inspector of Police. Let us hope it is only for his simplicity!

(2) Īṟūṭṭu is a village feast generally in honour of the heroine of Silappadhikāram, celebrated as a disinfectant of small-pox, exactly as it was resorted to in the days of that old Tamil epic,—vide page 31, Swaminatha Iyer's edition.

(3) Means literally 'battle array.' It is a disorderly march past under torchlight, often ending in something worse than sham fights. It is an important item of calculation with abkari renters!
information of the highest scientific value possible. A host of historical temples with valuable inscriptions are fast going to ruins. Left to the dissolving influences of nature, or worse still, to the tender mercies of Marānut coolies,(1) the temples of the land, with their many and diverse architectural peculiarities and memorable historical associations and inscriptions, will before long either quietly cease to be, or so utterly change their aspect as to present no meaning to the future inquirer. Our sources of historical information then, both ethnical and epigraphical, seem to be all equally moribund, muttering, as it were with their dying gasp, “Observe now or never!” How important, how helpful, these dying declarations of the past are often found to be, only those who have dealt with them can know, and, if I here venture to catch and interpret some of the still voices of antiquity in our midst, with a view mainly to awaken general interest in our history, I have no other justification to offer, no other apology to make, than that they might ere long cease to be heard at all.

4. I propose to begin our study with the Royal House of Travancore, and I have not the least doubt you will all agree with me in thinking that there can be for us no worthier object of inquiry. I propose again to confine our attention at present to what light we could secure from public stone inscriptions.

5. Of all the materials available to the critical student of Indian History, inscriptions, as far as they go, are, I believe, the very best. It may be possible, indeed, to extract a few scattered grains of historic truth from the old and genuine Purāṇas, but only those that have made the trial can be aware of the difficulties and doubts with which the process is beset. Even when the genuineness of a Purāṇa is settled beyond doubt, and its age determined,

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(1) Day labourers in the Sirkar Public Works department. Marānut is an Arabic word used in Travancore to mark off the native agency as contrasted with the one under the European Engineers.
one ought to have an extraordinary fund of faith, or as it is called, ‘piety,’ to lack a sense of insecurity, as one threads his way through the endless accounts of Dévas and Asuras, and discerns here and there a glimmering, and perhaps distorted, view of matters earthly and human. But whatever might be the historical value of the real and old Ashtádasa Puránas, to follow the Stala Mahátmyas as faithful guides would imply an unconditional surrender of all canons of historic criticism. They all profess to be integral portions of the old 18 Puránas, but it is an open secret that their manipulation can scarcely be said to have yet ended. To quote a familiar instance, the late Mr. Minákshi Sundaram Pillai of Trichinopoly, the last of the Tamil bards, used to supply Stala Puránas on order; and I know a respectable and scholarly physician in Cottayam is to this day engaged in writing a Mahátmyam in Sanscrit on his own household deity. But whether old or new, it would be a satisfaction to find in these works of skill even remote references to events historical. But true to their function, these religious compositions begin and end with gods, and condescend to chronicle only their miraculous dealings with friends and foes. Local traditions in some countries may subserve historical purposes, though the logical rule for the rapid deterioration of their testimony has always to be kept in view. But in Southern India, all legendary lore is of the most mischievously misleading character. We cannot travel far, even in Travancore, without constantly coming across hills, valleys, streams, temples, and hamlets, which are fondly believed to be connected with the incidents of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. As observed by Dr. Burnell, most of them are “merely attempts at explanation of the unknown through current ideas, which, in Southern India, amount to the merest elements of Hindu mythology, as gathered from third-rate sources.”

Travancore, even the legitimate names of places, of idols, of castes, of religious dignitaries, and of social ceremonies, which when carefully understood bear clear historical allusions, are strangely twisted and corrupted to suit fanciful derivations under the influence of the same myth-making tendencies. Literature is another of the resources usually open to the student of history, and, in India too, much valuable and reliable information may be gleaned from the ancient literary writings, so long as they had the good sense to be true to nature and man, and to dispense with the crutches of "Divine machinery" so uniformly found at every turn in their later limping career. But unhappily for us in Southern India, we know how soon the Tamil Literature, the only one among the Dravidians that can boast of any antiquity, degenerated and lost its healthy Realism. Copperplate documents, temple and palace records, and what are called Grantavari or connected accounts in respectable households of long standing, are less pretentious but often more fruitful sources of information; but even these are certainly inferior in point of reliability to contemporary stone inscriptions in open and public places. Copperplate grants, being mostly private property of individuals or corporations, have always the chance of turning out forgeries in favour of vested interests. As for the other records, it is always impossible to rebut the charge of corruption or interpolation, since they have frequently to be transcribed—mostly by unqualified hands—in consequence of the ephemeral writing materials to which they are generally committed. Unless, therefore, we have clear internal evidence or other collateral securities, it is seldom safe to lean on crumbling cadjans, however venerable. On the other hand, a contemporary inscription in a place of public resort, if once deciphered, and its age determined, will afford for ever a footing to the historian as sure and firm as the rock on which it is engraved. It would seem then to be the very first duty of those who crave for more light on the past of Travancore to ascertain whether such incontrovertible
epigraphical evidence is available in this ancient principality before proceeding to utilize less trustworthy sources of information. Fortunately for us, inscriptions are not altogether rare in Travancore. I have with me about one hundred and odd of these ancient stone documents, taken from different quarters, mostly from places south of Trivandram, and by confining my attention, for the present, to the light they shed on the history of the Royal House we are now in quest of, I will have also the opportunity of illustrating their general historical value.

6. One word more I feel bound to add in the way of preface. Since most of the documents I have now the pleasure to place before you are in that mysterious archaic alphabet, called Pāndi-chëra or Vatteluttu, the translation I give of them ought to be considered tentative only. The characters of this curious alphabet, which according to some authorities is the only one original to India, are not yet fully made out. Out of 180 letters which ought to make it up, Dr. Burnell's conjectural plate (No. XVII. in his Palæography) is able to supply only 96. Until, therefore, photo-lithographed copies of the facsimiles with me are placed before the scientific public, and my readings and renderings subjected to searching criticism, I have no right to claim your confidence. I may, however, in the meantime, assure you that each of the inscriptions I have here to depend upon has received my best and most anxious attention, and that sufficient time has been allowed to elapse since the collection was completed for patient study and reflexion. I shall further indicate, as we go on, whatever doubts or difficulties still strike me as material to my interpretation. The whole being thus but provisional, I have not made the translations altogether and strictly literal, which would be but rendering them nearly unintelligible in the absence of the originals for reference. They are nevertheless as faithful as I can make them under the circumstances.
THE SOVEREIGNS OF TRAVANCORE IN THE 4TH AND 5TH CENTURIES M. E.

Proceeding then to my work, I shall select a period for our study, which is an absolute blank in the history of Travancore, as it now stands. The list of 35 sovereigns given in the Travancore Government Almanac begins, as I have already told you, with 1335 A.D., so that from the 14th century downwards, we have some sort of account to give of the Travancore Royal dynasty, whether absolutely correct or not. In Mr. Shangoony Menon's History, too, we have some sort of account, however interrupted or loose, only from that date downwards. "In the Kollom year 5 (830 A.D.)," writes this author, "Udaya Marthanda Vurman Kulasekhara Perumal died, but his successor's name and the particulars of his reign are not traceable from the records. The names and other particulars of many of the succeeding kings are also not in the records."(1) The writer then returns to his narrative only with 505 M.E., or 1330 A.D., when, according to the author, the accounts of the pagoda at Vycome(2) show that King Āditya Varma "assumed authority over the affairs of that Davaswam"(3) or temple. Thus, then, it is clear we have now no information whatever to give for the first five centuries of the Malabar Era.(4) Leaving the earlier periods for further researches, we shall here select for our study the last two centuries of this blank epoch, viz., the fourth and fifth centuries M.E., and shall try to see whether our inscriptions can help us to fill up the gap with authentic facts and dates.

(1) Vide page 89, Shangoony Menon's History of Travancore.
(2) Vycome, or rather Vātkam, is a populous village about 24 miles to the south of Cochin. According to Dr. Gundert, the word means 'alluvial deposit,' pointing to the probable geological origin of the place. The local deity is called Kōlappan, obviously a corruption of 'Kōilappan,' showing that 'Kōil' must have been once used to designate the spot, exactly as Chidambaram was in the days of the early Saiva saints.
(3) Vide page 93, Shangoony Menon's History of Travancore.
(4) The Report on the Travancore Census of 1891 says, "The 1st Perumal was installed about 344 A.D. For about 12 centuries after this there is no authentic record of any value."—Vide page 179, Vol. I.
2. In the very opening year of this period, viz., 301 M.E., or 1125 A.D., we find Sri Vira Kérala Varma ruling over Travancore. Here is the document—a public stone inscription—in proof thereof. It comes from a deserted village, called Chólapuram, about a mile to the east of Oluganachéri, the transit station between Tinnevelly and Trivandram. In this deserted village, stands the neglected temple of Rájéndra Chóliswaram, to complete the ruins of which not many recurring monsoons are now needed. Of the historical importance of the temple, this is not the place to speak. I shall reserve that sad tale for a more suitable occasion. Meantime, if any one wishes to verify the document I have now to present, let him look up the western wall of this shrine, where he will find it engraved in old Tamil characters in four long lines. Care, however, should be taken that the examination is not long postponed, lest the temple be gone by the time the expedition is undertaken, and equal care should be taken also, in the course of the examination, not to disturb the serpents inside, lest the examiner be gone before his mission is fulfilled!

The document I depend upon runs thus:—

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Hail Prosperity! In the year opposite(3) the year 301, since the appearance of Kollam, with the Sun in the sign of Leo

(1) The numeral above indicates the serial number of the inscriptions as made use of in these lectures, while the one below gives the number as in my register.

(2) The description above the line refers to the characters, and the one below to the language of each inscription. For a specimen of Old Tamil characters, see Dr. Hultzsch's facsimile of Rajaraja's inscription, No. 1, in Vol. II., Part I., of South Indian Inscriptions. The same inscription will be a specimen also of what I call Sen Tamil Current with reference to the language of the document.

(3) Endless are the controversies with regard to the interpretations of this expression as found in the Tirunelli copperplate grant. For the opinions of Mr. Whish, Sir Walter Elliot, Dr. Burnell, Dr. Caldwell, and Dr. Hultzsch, see pages 288 and 289 of the Indian Antiquary for August 1891. Here, however, the word opposite evidently means 'equivalent to.'
(i.e., in the Malabar month Chingam), we, the loyal chieftains(1) of Sri Vira Kēraḷa Varma, flourishing in Vēṇāḍu, (viz.) Danañjaiyan Kañdan of Varukkapalli, Sri Tongappalla (?) Sri Saiyan alias Sri Sakkarayudhan of Maṇṇūr, Kañnan Govindan, the brief writer,(2) (private secretary ?) and Kēraḷa Simha Pallavaraiyan alias Vikraman Kunraṇ of Uḷḷiruppu hill, in the discharge of our official agency, do make over the tax in paddy and money, due from Vaḍaséri, to this side of Mummuḍī Chōla Nallūr, as a gift to the god, to be utilized for supplying every day four nālies of rice, vegetables, ghee, curds, arecanuts and betel, and also one nanda (or perpetual) lamp, to the Mahā Déva of the temple of Rājéndra Chōliswaram, in Mummuḍī Chōla Nallūr alias Kōṭṭār, and in order that the arrangement might last as long as the sun and the moon endure, we make the gift, solemnly pouring water on the altar, and cause also the grant to be engraved on stone.

3. And there to this day stands the document engraved on stone, whatever has become of the pious dedication it was meant to perpetuate. It perpetuates to us, at any rate, the happy memory of His Highness Sri Vira Kēraḷa Varma, who was reigning in Travancore, in the first month of the first year of the fourth century of the Malabar Era, or roughly speaking the latter half of August 1125(3) ? The document proves also that Travancore, or Vēṇāḍ(4) as it was then called, was under him a well-organized principality with loyal feudal chieftains to transact public business in her name, and levying taxes, as she does to this day, both in kind and in cash. The Government dues even in these backward days, with heavy

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(1) The expression is வைராகல் வர்மா—They were feudal chiefs and not 'paid agents,' as far as I can ascertaın.
(2) The original reads “சோழன் சோழன் ராஜேந்திரன் விக்ரமன் குன்றன்.”
(3) The equation for the conversion of the Malabar or Kollam Era to the Christian is +824. I use the Malabar year throughout, as it is the one still current in the country.
(4) Vēṇāḍu is one of the twelve districts of low or vulgar Tamil according to Tamil Grammarians. Kērala Utpatti’ makes it one of the divisions of Kerala. It is derived from Vēl=love or desire, either directly or through Vēṇ. Venad would mean, therefore, the land of love or the lovely land.
military charges, could not have been anything but moderate and fair, as the whole revenue of the tract of country, set apart for the purposes of the grant here recorded, was considered adequate to furnish daily but 4 nālīes of rice and sundries to the Mahā Dēva of the Rajendra Choliswaram temple. This temple, as the name indicates, was founded in honour of the famous Eastern Chalukya-Chola Emperor, Rājēndra Chola, who, according to the latest researches, ruled from 1063—1112 A.D. over almost the whole of the Madras Presidency, from Kalingam in Orissa to Viliṅam in our own coast.(1) The circumstances under which Sri Vira Kerala of Venad was prompted to dedicate so piously a portion of his revenue to a temple founded by a foreign monarch are, of course, now difficult to determine; but if I am at liberty to venture a hypothesis, I suspect the grant was meant, in all probability, as a political peace-offering to the representatives of the Chola Power in the land.(2) It being but twenty-three years after the death of Rajendra, Venad must have been, about this time, just recovering from the terrible shock it had received from the victorious arms of that great conqueror, whose forces, after subduing the 5 Pandyas,(3) overran all Nāmjinād, and advanced as far to the west, as the ancient seaport of Viliṅam,(4) about 10 miles to the south of Trivandram. Rajendra's was no passing whim of conquest. His vigilance extended over every part of his territories, and he did all he could to consolidate them into one enduring empire. He transformed Köṭṭār, the chief city of South Travancore, into Mummudi Chōlanallur—(5)

(1) Vide page 276, Vol. XX., of the Indian Antiquary.
(2) I say Chola Power, as it looks probable that Rajendra's dominions in the South fell to the lot of the Cholas rather than to the Eastern Chalukyas.
(3) ""Kalingattu Parani.
(4) ""Kalingattu Parani.
(5) Rajendra is called "Mummudi Chola" in an inscription dated the 14th year of his reign—vide Dr. Hultzsch's report for 1892. But as some of his predecessors were also known by this name, we cannot be sure of the fact.
“the good town of the thrice-crowned Chola,” and left there, not merely the temple of Mahâ Déva noticed in the document before us, but, what is more, a powerful “standing army” to watch over his interests in this distant corner of his dominions. The Oddars and Chaluppar, so common all over the southern districts and in Trivandram, mark to this day the extent of the old Cháluksan sway in the land. I am afraid, therefore, Sri Vira Kerala was making but a virtue of necessity, when he thus yielded up the tax on the tract of land between Kôttâr and Vadaséri for the support of the “great god” of Rajendra. It nevertheless proves, for one thing, that the Venad principality was gradually emerging, with the opening years of the fourth century M.E., from the effects of the Cháluksan-Chola eclipse. The receipt of a grant is an acknowledgment of the right of the grantor to make the grant. It argues, therefore, both practical shrewdness and statesmanlike sagacity, on the part of Vira Kerala, that he should have thus fully recognized the situation and made the best of it.

4. That this policy of conciliation with an enemy, too powerful at once to overcome, was only a preliminary for the recovery of lost territories, as opportunities occurred, is proved by the document I have next to present, dated just eighteen years afterwards. This inscription comes from Tiruvallam, a petty village near the old mouth of the Karamanai river, about 4 miles to the south of the Trivancor.
dram fort. Within a rectangular enclosure, on the eastern bank of the river, stand three chief shrines, of which the easternmost, dedicated to Mahâ Dêva, is certainly the oldest. The middle one—the smallest of the three—is now said to be sacred to Brahma, and it is on its western wall that the following grant is inscribed, in rather small and superficial Vatteluttu characters, running over ten closely packed lines. Being close to a holy bathing ghat still in use, and being in some measure related to the central temple in the capital, all the three shrines are in pretty good condition, though, because of the exposed situation, the inscription itself is fully open to the effacing influences of the sun and rain. The translation of this rather lengthy record would run thus:—

No. 47. Vatteluttu
Old Malayalam. (1)

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 319, with Jupiter in the sign of Scorpio, and the sun in Capricornus (i.e. the Malabar month of Makaram), was done the following deed. (2) Tenganâду, belonging to the loyal chiefstains of Sri Vira Kêraâla Varma Tiruvadî, graciously ruling over Venad, being recovered, (3) the said chiefstains make over in writing the tax payable in paddy within the area of Nigamattû, amounting to **, and the duties called Ohêvatu and Alageratu, as well as the tax on hand looms, in order to provide daily, in all, 7 nälies of rice, for the use of Brahmin worshippers, (Namaskâram) and for evening offerings to the Mahâ Dêva, Tirukkannappan, (4) and Gañapati in the temple of Tiruvallam, and also to provide once a month one candelabrum, (dipamâla) for each of the (first) two deities. Accordingly from this time forwards, Mahâ Dêva shall have two nälies of

(1) Old Malayalam differs but little from current Tamil. I should have reckoned it as Sen Tamil, but for certain inflexions—for instance a place instead of a name; dharmavatimas instead of dharmavatimam.

(2) "dandiniyam" is an expletive to introduce a document.

(3) The word is dandiniyam.

(4) There is nothing to show that the Tamil saint of this name had ever a temple at this spot. The word refers only to Krishna, now the presiding deity.
rice, Tirukkaṇṇappan two nāḷies, Gaṇapati one nāḷi, and the worshipping Brahmins two nāḷies. Moreover, the eight coins\(^{(1)}\) given in addition by the men of Kāṭṭūsēri, being also handed over as Nēḷi, to Nārāṇa Tādar, he shall make a set-off with that money for the amount he has invested in the purchase of Aruviyūr-compound, and he shall further, after making forthwith a flower garden therein, supply the three deities with two garlands each, and take for himself (in return for his labour) the boiled rice offered to the gods. Nārāṇa Tādar, on his part, while accepting the aforesaid grant of the tax due from Nigamattur, amounting in paddy to * * and the duty called Alagerutu, as well as the tax on hand looms and the 8 coins given as Nēḷi, agrees to collect the said dues in half-yearly payments, to grant receipts therefor, to meet the charges thereon, and to furnish the Dipamāla, as well as the garlands from the flower garden (now directed to be opened). If Nārāṇa Tādari [should ever fail]\(^{(2)}\), the village association, the Biḍāra Tiruvaḍi,\(^{(3)}\) and the temple managers are empowered to carry out this arrangement, as long as the moon and the stars endure, through such agencies as they might be pleased to nominate.

Here then in this document, we have irrebuttable evidence of the continuance of Sri Vira Kerala Varma’s rule up to Makaram 319 M.E., or roughly speaking up to the end of January 1144. How long his reign lasted, or when it actually commenced, we have as yet no means of determining; but that it did last for 18 years and 5 months at the least is established by the two inscriptions before us. The addition in the second document of Tiruvaḍi, or holy feet, to the name of the sovereign, if it means anything at all,\(^{(4)}\) may be taken to indicate the expansion of his dominions and the consequent growth of his power, since we first met

\(^{(1)}\) * * clearly means a coin, though it is impossible now to determine its value.

\(^{(2)}\) The expressions within square brackets are conjecturally supplied, while those within the semi-circular brackets are additions to render the meaning clearer.

\(^{(3)}\) Biḍāra is a corruption of Bhaṭṭāraka, in which full form, too, the word is often found.

\(^{(4)}\) The kings of Venad were always known to Literature, Tamil and Malayalam, as Ṛṣi—* the holy feet of Venad.*
him. The re-establishment of his authority, so far to the north as Trivandrum, affords of course clearer evidence of the same. Though I have not yet been able to identify the exact locality of Tenganâd, I have no doubt it must have embraced the seacoast from Têngâpatnam on the mouth of the Kulîtturâi river to Tiruvallum, including the famous seaport of Viliñam. The enemy, from whose hands Tenganâd is here recorded to have been recovered, may have been, therefore, the representatives of the very same Chola power which Kerala Varma in the earlier part of his career found it wise to conciliate.

6. As for other inferences from the inscription before us, particularly about the village associations, temple authorities, and the curious personage, Bhaṭṭâraka Tiruvâdî, I would fain wait till our data accumulate. It is quite the fashion nowadays to suppose that ancient Native Indian Government was despotism, pure and simple. I would wait, therefore, till more facts are brought to our notice about the constitution and powers of the early village associations of Travancore, before I venture to discuss the soundness of this general assumption. When once we remember the diverse secular functions the Hindu temples(1) were designed to discharge, besides being places of divine worship, we would feel we cannot be really too curious about their constitution and management. I would allow again the Budhistic monk, Bhaṭṭâraka, to go through his slow evolution of Bhaṭṭâraka Tiruvâdî, Badâra Tiruvâdî, Balâra Tiruvâdî and Pashâra Tiruvâdî, before I identify him with our modern Pîshâradî, whose puzzling position among the Malabar castes, half monk and half layman, is far from being accounted for by the silly and fanciful modern derivation of Pîshâradîh, Pîshâradî being more mysterious than Pîshâradî itself.(2) On these and similar questions, therefore, I would beg to reserve my

(1) They were fortresses, treasuries, court-houses, parks, fairs, exhibition sheds, halls of learning and of pleasure, all in one.
(2) I am sorry the Travancore Census Report, 1891, adopts this absurd derivation. See pages 743 and 755, Vol. I.
remarks till sufficient data accumulate before us. A word or two about the taxes and duties mentioned in our document would prove more pertinent to our present inquiry; but I am sorry I have failed, even after repeated inspection of the original itself, to make out, not only the shorthand symbols(1) given to signify the quantity of paddy, but also what is intended to be read by the combination of letters which, as far as I can discern, look like ‘chévatu’ and ‘aḷagerutu’—terms which convey no intelligible meaning to me. From the context I take them to stand for certain duties then levied. The tax on looms is clear enough, though there is no means of discovering its amount. It must have been but a trifle, considering the total expenditure charged on all the revenues set apart by this deed. The word Nāli is another obsolete term, which I take to mean ‘capital.’ Considering the difficulties of the Vatteluttu alphabet in general, and the faintness of this inscription in particular, I have reason only to be gratified that it has served to attest at least Sri Vira Kāraḷa Varma’s rule in 1144 A.D. and the re-establishment of his authority in Tenganād.

7. We have to wait now for seventeen years more before we get a glimpse of another sovereign of Vēnād. On Saturday, the 7th Idavam 336 M.E., the throne of Venad was graced by His Highness Sri Vira Ravi Varma Tiruvadi, and here is my authority for the statement. It is a document in old Tamil, inscribed in four long lines on the southern wall of an old temple, in another deserted village near Olugunachēri, now called Puravachēri, a name as much fallen from its original proud designation of Puravari Chatur Vēdi Mangalam, as the village itself from its former pristine glory. For the sake of such of you as may wish to verify my document, I must add that the priest in charge

(1) This applies to all subsequent inscriptions. The symbols are arbitrary contractions of words and numerals, and difficult, therefore, of conjecture.
of this temple is a heavily-worked inveterate pluralist, and
his movements are more incalculable than most mundane
phenomena, so that one ought to go prepared to stay at
Olugunacheri for a week to catch a glimpse of this one
servant of many gods and to be admitted into the cour-
yard of the pagoda. Yet if you believe the priest, (and
it would be profane not to do so) the pujās are most regu-
larly performed: only, if you go there in the day time,
they would be performed in the night, and if you go there
in the night, they would be over by day! Our document
would run thus in English:—

No. 3

OLD TAMIL

Sen Tamil Current.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite the year 336, after
the appearance of Kollam, with the sun six days old in the sign
of Taurus (i.e. the 7th Iḍavam), Saturday, Makayiram
star,(1) was the following deed in cadjan passed:—The loyal
chieftains of Sri Vira Iravi Varma Tiruvadi, graciously ruling
over Vēṇād, declare that with the object of providing for the
daily offerings to the Āḻvār in (the temple of) Puravaravu, in
Puravari Chatur Vēdi Mangalam, and for a Nanda lamp to the
same deity, are granted under Tiruvaidaiyattam tenure, to last
as long as the moon and the stars endure, the following paddy
lands, irrigated by the Chārār channel of Tālakkudi, and by the
waters of Cheyyanēri tank in Chāravayal, viz., Unnantiṭṭai,
measuring $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{2}{20} + \frac{3}{25}$ and Puduvir Mūlai measuring $\frac{3}{20}$,
making a total of $\frac{1}{20} + \frac{3}{20}$ lands, the dues on which at the rate
of assessment obtaining in the village amounting to Māttāl
7 * *, the servants of this Āḻvār, shall lease out, levy, and cause
to be measured at the door of the Puravariyān, as per
 temple measure called Puravariyān, and conduct the above said
expenses without failure. The four boundaries of the lands thus
set apart are ordered to be marked off by demarcation stones
bearing the emblem of the holy Discus, and in order that the
allowances might continue without let or hindrance, this deed

(1) Makayiram is Malayalam for Mrugasirsham, a star about the head
of Orion. It means here the lunar mansion on the day.
(2) Pandāram or Bhaṇḍāram means usually the king’s treasury.
itself is commanded to be inscribed in stone and copper, in witness whereof are our signatures: Pullâlan Aiyân (signature): Chingan Rangan (signature): Nârâyaṇan Sankaran (signature): Kôdai Dêvan (signature), and Sign Manual.

8. Here then we have a document attested by the sign manual of His Highness Sri Vira Ravi Varma himself to prove that he was on the throne of Travancore on the 7th Iâvam 336 M.E., or about the end of May 1161 A.D. It being but 17 years since we saw Sri Vira Kârâla Varma recovering possession of Tenganâd, we may rightly presume that Sri Vira Ravi Varma was his immediate successor. Pullâlan Aiyân(1) and others who signed this document were probably the feudal chieftains who conducted the administration of the day. Tâlakkuḍi being in the very confines of the present eastern boundary of Travancore, we may take this grant as evidencing the extension of Venad sovereignty all over the south. It is noteworthy that the measurement of the lands given is in the style(2) still followed in the Tanjore District. There was, further, about this time, no standard measures and weights anywhere in Southern India, each temple using its own under the name of the local deity. There are two revenue terms in this record, the significance of which I have not succeeded in finding out. These are Tiruvidaiyâṭham(3) tenure and Mâttâl.

9. On the western wall of the same temple at Puravari occurs another inscription in eight long lines relating to this identical grant; but a stone in the middle of the inscribed portion of the wall has been removed and replaced by another in the course of subsequent repairs, rendering our document thereby incomplete and enigmatic. It will

(1) Aiyân is here no title but the name of the person himself.
(2) Vide Inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5 in Vol. II., Part I. of South Indian Inscriptions, for samples of this system of land measurement.
(3) The word might be analysed into გჰ + ჳჰ + ჲ + ჹ + ჸ, and might then mean "the holy rule of the Bull," i.e., the Siva's emblem, and hence perhaps tax free or temple tenure.
be seen, therefore, that it is not altogether to be deplored that temples with historical associations do not receive frequent repairs! In the case before us, it is easy to supply the lost parts with the help of the related document I have just placed before you. With the omissions so made good, the inscription would read thus in English:—

No. 44.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year [opposite the year 336, since the appearance of Kollam]¹ with the sun * days old in Taurus, Saturday, Makayiram star, the officers in charge of Nānjinādu and the villagers of Tāḷakkudi, assembling together, did as follows: in accordance with the Royal proclamation issued by the loyal chieftains of [Sri Vira] Iravi Varma Tiruvadi [ruling graciously over Venad], to provide Tiruchēṇidai and Tirunandā lamp [for the Āḻvār in Puravari], in Puravari Chatur Vēdi Mangalam, we the people of Tāḷakkudi [have caused demarcation stones bearing the emblem of the holy discus] to be put up at the boundaries of the paddy lands, [named Unnantiṭṭai measuring $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{2}{8} + \frac{1}{32} \text{ and Pudunvūr Mūlai} ] measuring $\frac{2}{3}$, making in all $\frac{10}{8} + \frac{3}{32}$, and irrigated by the Chārār channel of Tāḷakkudi-Kidachēri and by the waters of Cheyyanēri tank in Chāravayal, and we [have made them over] to the servants of the Āḻvār, so as to enable them [to levy from this day forwards the rent due from them according to the rate current in the village], subject to minor charges and deductions, for the purpose of providing, without failure, and as long as the moon and stars endure, for the daily expenses, as well as for a holy Nanda lamp, as graciously commanded; in witness whereof, we the people of Tāḷakkudi (hereunto affix) our signatures. Arayan Pasitāṇgi, signature, Kēralan Araiyan, signature, * * * Vikraman Arangan, signature, Vēlān Kēralan alias Nānjināṭṭu Muvēnta Vēlān, signature. I * * * of Panayūr wrote this deed, and wrote it at the bidding of the servants of the Āḻvār, and the people of Tāḷai; [countersigned] * * * Kērala Santōśha Pallavaraiyan, signature, Gōvindan Vikraman, signature, Anantan Sakrapāṇi, signature.

(1) The parts within the square brackets are those supplied.
10. The grant declared in the previous inscription would thus appear to have been actually executed on that very day,—a fact reflecting no small credit on the administration of those ancient times. This document confirms the inference we have already drawn with respect to the extent of the Venad Principality on that day, since the executive officers who complete the transaction are styled ‘officers in charge of the affairs of Nānjināḍ,’—Nānjināḍ(1) being the collective designation for the two southernmost taluqs of Travancore. The Chōḷa power then must have been by this time altogether extinct there; and it is quite possible that the Vaishnava temple at Puravari was thus patronized to spite the foreign Siva temple of Rajendra, not far from it. But it is always bad to attribute motives; and we shall, therefore, content ourselves with recording the fact that on the 7th of Idavam 336 M.E., Vira Ravi Varma ruled peacefully over all South Travancore, his affairs in Nānjināḍ being administered by a triumvirate, Kēraḷa Santōśha Pallavaraiyan,(2) probably in command of the local forces, if we may judge from his title, and Gōvindan Vikraman and Anantan Sakrapāṇi, in charge of the civil administration. His ministers of State at the capital were, as we have already seen, the loyal chieftains, Pullāḷan Aiyan, Chingan Rangan, Nārāyaṇan Saukaran, and Kōdai Dēvan. I would request you to note also in passing the part played by Araiyan Pasitāṇgi and others, representing the village of Tāḷakkuḍī. It is remarkable that the people of Tāḷakkuḍī had the right to execute, and in a manner to ratify, the royal grant. The reservation as to minor charges and deductions, appearing in this inscription but absent in the former, would point to certain cesses, levied

(1) It is indifferently spelt now Nānjarāḍ and Nānjināḍ, the correct form being Nānjiṅṅāḍu meaning ‘the land of ploughs.’

(2) Pallavaraiyan, meaning the king of the Pallavas, is an old military title. It was sometimes conferred also on men of letters as a special mark of royal favour, e.g., on the author of “Periyaapurāṇa.”
by village associations, on lands falling within their union. More of this in its proper place. There is a word in this inscription which I do not quite understand, viz., Tiru-
chēndai, though from the context it may be safely taken to signify some kind of daily offerings in Vaishnava temples.

11. On the southern wall of this temple, and not far from the inscription No. 23 containing the royal grant of Unnan Tiṭṭai and other lands, is found a small document, in four short lines, recording another royal grant on the 8th of Chingam 342 M.E. It purports also to be issued under Sign Manual, though it does not mention the name of the sovereign, which, however, we would be justified in assuming to be the same as in the two preceding records, until contradicted by other evidence. It may be thus rendered into English:—

No. 5

Hail! Prosperity! In the year 342, after the appearance of Kollam, with the sun 7 days old in Leo, (i.e. the 8th of Chingam), was passed the following deed in cadjan:—The land granted under command to feed two wayworn Brahmin passengers, measure \( \frac{12}{90} \) in * * * Nilakanṭan Parṇu, and is irrigated by the river Kottāru and the Kaicheraī channel: Nārāyanam Kunira Petrālan, signature, Kāli Kunira Petrālan,(1) signature, and Sign Manual.

12. The brevity of this document would lead us to suppose that it was a sort of note, issued under royal signature, and transmitted by two of the private secretaries in the palace, to the ministers of State, with a view to have the usual more formal proclamation prepared and submitted. Anyhow, it may be taken to prove that Sri Vīra Ravi Varma continued to rule Venad till at least the 8th day of Chingam 342 M.E., or about the end of August 1166.

13. Vīra Ravi Varma, however, could not have enjoyed the throne of Venad much longer after that date, for we

(1) This word is rather indistinct. From the way in which it is repeated it would appear to have been a kind of title.
have evidence to show that on the 10th Minam 348 M.E., it was occupied by another sovereign, Sri Viṣṇa Udaya Mārtanda Varma. This evidence is obtained from an inscription in Vaṭṭeluttu at Tiruvatār, as it is now called, about 5 miles to the east of Kulitturai, which is itself half way between Trivandram and Olugunachéri. In the inscription before us the place is named Tiru Vāṭṭaru, and the old Vaishnava Tamil hymns, Tiruvāy moḷi, agree with our record in that spelling. But the Sanskrit Stala Purāṇa, in manuscript, with which this place is honoured, prefers obviously to follow its modern corrupt designation, and calls it Chakra Tīrta, by way of translation. There could of course be not the least objection to the holy Stala Purāṇa using the modern name, but then it must surrender its insolent pretensions to antiquity. The work claims to be an integral portion of Padma Purāṇa and purports to report verbatim, in a series of ungrammatical slōkas, a discourse of Siva, at Mount Kailas, extolling to his spouse, the unequalled sanctity of Tiruvatār, based mainly on the ground of certain dubious tactics, practised by the local deity on two supra-mundane monsters. On things earthly, and still more on local matters of any historical import, the legend preserves absolute silence. Its writer, however, must have been evidently struck by the similarity of the temples and idols at Tiruvattar and Trivandram, as well as the identity of the dates of their principal feasts, since now and again he makes Siva compliment the former by calling it Adhyanyadapūra or original Trivandram. It is on the southern wall of the main sanctuary at Tiruvattar that the document I am now to translate is found.

(1) "सत्तले जोत्तुः पुराणः याद वै देवस्य सरस्वतिः" Similarly in all the 11 stanzas of the 9th Pattu in the Pattamattu of Saņha Gopālvār.

(2) These monsters are called Kēsan and Kēsi. Kēsan is killed and Kēsi, his sister, comes in the form of a stream to avenge the slaughter. The whole looks like an old Dravidian river myth, modified and adapted to suit the character of the local deity.
Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 348, with Jupiter in Cancer, and the sun ** days old in Pisces (i.e. in the Malabar month Minam), Thursday, Anusham star, Sri Vira Udaya Mārtāṭṭa(1) Varma Tiruvāḍi graciously reigning at Kōlidāik-kūru in Venad, brought to Kilachchēri Palace, in Kōdai Nallūr, in the form of Nēli, 3 slākas and 30 aḷagachchu, due on [or to be advanced on the security of] the lands belonging to Ādichchan Udayannan and brothers, viz., Cheriyakarai Kūṭṭya Parāi measuring *** Māttarai measuring **, making in both ***, in order that the fixed and regular allowances of Pallikōṇḍa(2) Perumāl at Tiruvāṭṭaru, amounting to rice *** [might be continued without failure]; the income per harvest being ***.

14. This is one of the Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions with me of which I cannot satisfy myself that I have found the full import. The only finite verb I can find in it is—“Konduvaṇṇu,” meaning “brought,” occurring nearly at the very end of the document; but with the omissions and difficulties in the previous parts of the sentence, I cannot be sure that its nominative is Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varma. The obsolete word “Nēli,” which we have already met in Inscription No. 2, may be taken here also to mean capital, or a sum of money. Both from the context and from the numerals following the terms, Slākai and Aḷagachchu must refer to the currency then in use. Slāka usually means a metallic rod of silver or gold. According to Tamil Nikanṭu, it might mean also a superior kind of gem. All the three ideas, however, are closely related to one another and to money. It is quite possible that bars of silver or gold passed in those days, as currency, with or without Government stamp. “Achehu” of course, as in number 2, cannot

(1) Mārtāṭṭa is an obvious error for Mārtāṇḍa.
(2) The Perumal in a reclining posture as in Trivandram Srirangam and Seringapatam.
but mean coin, the addition of Alagu (fair) being but expletive as in ‘Alagia Attipporolai’ meaning the fair title-deed. But I see no means of determining the value of Slaku and Achehu either in themselves or in relation to one another. All that we can safely conjecture is that a considerable sum of money was taken to Kilachcheri Palace. Why it was taken to that place, when it was evidently meant to be utilized for the temple at Tiruvattar, is an embarrassing question, to which I can find no answer. It is equally difficult to understand how so large an amount came to be due from the lands owned by Adichchen Udaiyannan and brothers. Since the last indistinct words of the document seem to indicate the quantity of paddy due every harvest, it is quite possible that the amount, instead of being taken from them, was only advanced to Udaiyanann and brothers on the security of their lands, and on the understanding that a stated quantity of paddy would be delivered every harvest in return therefor. Hence the alternative construction given in the translation above. On the whole, therefore, the document before us must be put down as one yet demanding attention and study.

15. Nevertheless, for our main purpose in this connexion, it is as good a record as any we have yet had, for it affords indubitable evidence of the reign of Sri Vira Udaiya Mârtânda Varma in Minam 348 M.E., or approximately speaking in March 1173. It being but six years since we met Ravi Varma instituting the second grant at Puravari, there can be no legitimate doubt of Udaiya Mârtânda Varma being his immediate successor. The document gives us further the valuable information that Kôlidaikkuru was the capital of Venad—at any rate, on the date of this record. As far as I can make out, this capital of Vira Udaiya Mârtânda is identical with the now insignificant village of Kûlîkôd, near Padmanabhapuram, Kôdai Nallûr being a well-known place thereabouts. If my identification is correct, the way in which the old name has been corrupted by usage might throw light upon the
original name of our modern Calicut or Kölnkod. It would appear more reasonable to derive Kölnkod from Kölnidai Kuru,—"the suitable middle part" of Malabar,—than to trace it to the clever fiction that the territory was handed over to the Zamorin, to be measured out by the distance to which the crowing of the cock could be heard. (1) However that be, if Kölnidai Kuru was ever "the suitable centre" of Venad, as the name indicates, we have some means of determining the original extent of that ancient Principality. Taking this village or Padmanabhapuram as the centre and Cape Comorin as a point in the circumference, Venad, as it originally stood, could not have embraced any territory further north of Trivandram. But the etymology of geographical names is not always a reliable guide to history.

16. But, whatever might have been the original extent of Venad, in the 4th Malabar century, it did include Trivandram, its present capital. For in 365 M.E. we find Aditya Rama Varma making a present of a drum to the temple of Krishna in this town. The gift is recorded in a Sanskrit sloka inscribed in old Malayalam characters on the northern wall of the inner shrine of the Gósāla Krishna temple. With the exception of those at Mitrânandapuram this shrine appears to me to be the oldest in the Trivandram Fort. In itself, it is a comparatively small building, standing in the middle of a rectangular outer temple called Gósāla or cowshed, and the whole is situated in rather inconvenient contact with the north-western corner of the square formed by the corridors of the grand Sri Bali Maṇḍapam of Sri Padmanābha, the presiding deity of the place. Tradition, for the nonce realistic, points to a worn out granite tub, still remaining close to the wall bearing our inscription, as a memento of the good old days

(1) This fanciful derivation illustrates how traditions are invented in Southern India. It is but typical of what uniformly takes place with respect to most names of castes, villages, and customs.
when the poor folks of the village resorted to it to whet their knives and hatchets before proceeding to the jungles around to fell and fetch fuel. The explanation suits very well, indeed, the appearance of the time-honoured tub, and also what may be otherwise inferred as to the past of the locality. It would be but easy and pleasant exercise for historical imagination to picture, with the abundant evidences yet available, the real and original 'cowshed' and the patches of paddy lands and plantain tôpes by which it was then on all sides surrounded. But long before the date of our document, the primeval peace and solitude of the place must have been to a large extent broken. The Brahmin landlords of the north must have, centuries prior, planted a colony at Mitranandapuram as an outpost in their advance to the south. The Gōśāla itself was now a shrine worthy of a royal visit, and I feel inclined to think that the visit itself was induced by that Brahmin colony for some political purpose or other yet further north. At any rate, I fancy, it is to some learned member of that body we owe the slōka which to us commemorates the reign of Āditya Rāma Varma in 365 M.E. The verse may be thus translated:

No. 7

86.

Archaic Malayalam(1)  Sanscrit Verse.(2)

Hail! Prosperity! In Dhanus (Sagittarius) and when Life was at its height, Āditya Rāma, who is the bearer of the State Umbrella of Kōda Mártāṇḍa, the lord of Gōḷamba, and who is further the soul of the earth, both prosperous and honoured, dedicated, after making due oblations, to the Lotus-eyed of the Temple of the Cowshed, in (the town of) Syānandāra, a good drum made of silver, as huge as Mantara mountain, and as lustrons as all the foam of the oceans gathered together.

17. Such is the literal rendering of the rather cleverly

(1) Many letters of Archaic Malayalam differ from the characters now in use, though the affinity between the two sets is easy to discover.

(2) The metre of this verse is Sriddhara Vrittam.
composed Sanscrit distich before us. But as we know cleverness in Indian versification means to a large extent skill in the use of tantalizing phraseology, with a view to suggest and yet to hide the thoughts to be expressed, it behoves us to look into the lines a little closer.

18. Though the word Dhanus (Bow) is evidently intended to suggest that Āditya Rāma was, not only the inheritor of the State Umbrella of Kōḍa Mārtānda, but also the carrier of his bow, or perhaps his standard bearing that device of the Chēra sovereigns, yet being in its locative case, it cannot but mean 'the month of Dhanus,' i.e., the month in which the sun is in the sign of Sagittarius. Similarly, the expression when Līye was at its height has its obvious astronomical interpretation. 'Jīva' means Jupiter, and astrology assumes that that favourite planet reaches its 'height,' when it is in the sign of Cancer. The use of the word 'Gōlamba' again, or as it is now more usually spelt 'Kōlamba,' indicates that somewhere close by lies buried the year of the inscription in the Kōlamba or Kollam Era, the discovery of which, however, in old verses like the one before us, is often as hard as a feat of astrological divination itself. A reference to Dr. Burnell's Palæography, pages 77 to 80, would show the extent of the resources at the disposal of the Sanscrit

(1) In old classical times, the Bow was the emblem of the Cheras as the Fish was of the Pandyas and the Tiger of the Cholas.

(2) This is certainly the interpretation according to current astrology, but it scarcely seems to me to be correct. Jupiter was in the sign of Cancer in 348 according to our inscription No. 6, and his period of revolution being roughly taken as 12 years, it is impossible that he should be again in the same sign in 365. It is possible that astrology has changed, or that the expression 'at its height' has no special astrological meaning in this connection. On the other hand, since Inscription No. 8A assigns Jupiter to Virgo in 368, he must have been somewhere about Cancer in 365. But inscriptions Nos. 9 and 10 again locate Jupiter in Cancer in 371 and 384, and all the subsequent notices agree with them. All the references to astronomical facts in these early records require verification. I give them in these pages as I find them.
versifier to find convenient sepulchres for the dates he might occasionally condescend to embalm in his measured lines. But in the case before us, there can be no doubt that the symbolism followed is what is called the 'Kadabagyadi' system of giving conventional numerical values to the letters of the alphabet; and the word whose component letters are here to be so valued can be none else than 'Mârtânda,'—the word immediately preceding the term 'Kôlamba.' No other term in the neighbourhood is capable of expressing a possible past date in that Era. I scruple not, therefore, to conclude that the date of this document is Dhanus 365 M.E., or about the end of December 1189, when, astrologically speaking, Jupiter was in the zenith of his power in that part of the Heavens which is graced by the figure of the crab.

19. But for our present inquiry, it is more to the point to know who was then in power here below in Travancore. "The prosperous and honoured soul of the earth" at that period, we are told, was one Âditya Râma. But with all my appreciation for the poet's feelings of loyalty, and commiseration for the common weakness to exaggerate the glory of the powers that are, I cannot but still complain that he did not somehow manage to put in 'Vend' instead of the whole earth. For as the lines now stand, it is not impossible for a sceptic to question whether Âditya Râma did really belong to that Vend Dynasty, whose history we are here engaged in tracing. I do not, however, for my part, feel that there can be much scope for any legitimate doubt on the point, particularly with the information placed at our disposal by the inscriptions Nos. 9 and 10 in the sequel. But the poet seems to make amends for this defect by the mention of an important ancestor of Âditya Râma. Âditya Râma is said to have been "the bearer of the umbrella of Kôda Mârtânda, the lord of Kôlamba," which cannot but mean that he inherited from the latter his umbrella, or crown as we would now say, since
one described as the 'honoured soul of the earth' could not have been the personal servant of another individual. Who then was this Kōda Mārtāṇḍa, "the Ḫṣa or the God of Kōḷamba"? Kōḷamba is usually taken as the Sanscrit name for the Malabar Era otherwise called the Kollam year. It is sometimes assumed(1) to have been the ancient name of the seemingly modern seaport of Quilon, about 40 miles to the north of Trivandram. Whether the identification of Kōḷamba with Quilon in Travancore be correct or incorrect, it means, in the couplet before us, only the Era, and not any particular place, unless, of course, a play upon the word is intended. I am inclined, therefore, to interpret 'God of Kōḷamba' to mean but one who instituted or took part in the institution of the Era of Kōḷamba, or the Kollam year, in which case there would be also an obvious justification for the mention of this ancestor in particular, famous as he must have been in those early days. The traditional account of the origin of the Kollam Era, as given in Mr. Shangoonny Menon's History, lends all support to this interpretation, which, in simple fairness, I must say, struck me as the one most natural altogether independent of that account. "In the Kali year 3926 (825 A.D.) when Udaïya Martanda Varma was residing in Kollam(2) (Quilon), he convened a council of all the learned men of Kerala with the object of introducing a new era, and after making some astronomical researches and calculating the solar movements throughout the 12 signs of the Zodiac and counting scientifically the number of days

(1) For instance, vide page 163, Part III., Travancore Government Almanac for 1894.
(2) According to this tradition then, the Era has nothing to do with the foundation or 'refoundation' of the town of Quilon, as stated in the Travancore Government Almanac, page 162, Part III. Our inscriptions, however, allude to the 'appearance' of Kollam, which I take to mean the 'institution' of the era, and not the foundation of any town. No town of any magnitude is known to have been founded in Malabar to give rise to an Era.
occupied in this revolution in every month, it was resolved to adopt the new era from the first of Chingam of that year, the 15th August 825, as Kollam year one, and to call it the solar year." (1) Whatever might be thought of this explanation of the origin of the era, there can be no doubt that tradition reckons one Udaiya Mártāṇḍa Varma as having taken part in its institution. The change from Kōdaí Mártāṇḍa of our inscription to Udaiya Mártāṇḍa of the tradition is easy and natural, the latter being a more frequent, as well as a more significant, adjunct of Mártāṇḍa, in the more favoured Sanscrit language than the Malayalam word ‘Kōda.’ In justice to Mr. Shangoonny Menon, I must note also that I find in his pages a mention of Âditya Varma as the Sovereign of Travancore about the date of our record. “In like manner,” writes this author, “the present Poonjat Rajah, who was a close relation of the Pandyan dynasty, emigrated to Travancore, and the hill territories of Poonjar were assigned as the residence of his family during the reign of king Aditya Varma of Travancore in 364 M.E. (1189 A.D.).” (2) We have only to expand Âditya Varma into Âditya Râma Varma to make the name accord with our inscriptions. It would be extremely interesting indeed to prove, with the help of Mr. Shangoonny Menon’s records, could we but get hold of them, that Âditya Râma Varma, just a year previous to the date of his dedication of the drum to the temple of Gōsâla at Trivandram, was in a position to assign away to a fugitive foreign Royal family a territory so far in the north as Poonjar. (3) However that be, we have, I believe, sufficient evidence to maintain, in the meantime, that Âditya Râma Varma ruled over Venad in the Malabar

(1) Vide page 88, Shangoonny Menon’s History of Travancore.
(2) Page 92, Shangoonny Menon’s History of Travancore.
(3) Poonjar, or Pannâru, is on the borders of the Madura District further to the north of Peermade. There is every likelihood of the old chieftain of this place having had some relation or other with Madura. His family deity to this day is ‘Minâkshi of Madura.’
month of Dhanus 365 M.E., and that his ancestor, Köda Mârtânda Varma, was the ruler of the same Kingdom, in the Kollam year one, i.e., about August 824.

20. Permit me now to submit to you two small fragments, unworthy of your attention, but for the important quarter from which they come. Next to Trivandram* itself, the place now most closely associated with the ruling Royal family is Ârringal, about 22 miles to the north of Trivandram, and situated on the northern bank of the Vāmanapuram river, about four miles from its mouth in the Anjengo backwaters. The female members of the Royal House are now known as the Rânis of Ârringal, and the village and the country thereabouts are still regarded as their private property. Each Travancore Sovereign has now to visit the place soon after his coronation to complete the ceremonies in connection therewith, and he is expected further to renew that visit every year of his reign. It is difficult to believe that such attentions and honours are allowed to the spot, simply because of an accident of a palace having been constructed there, to accommodate two adopted Rânis, as stated by Mr. Shangoonny Menon. "During the 5th century M.E., and in the reign of King Aditya Varma, the Travancore Royal family was under the necessity of adopting two females from the Kolathnad Royal family, and a royal residence was constructed at Attingal, for the residence of the two Ranîs, and they were installed as Attingal Mootha Thampuran and Elia Thumppuran, i.e., Senior and Junior Ranîs of Attingal. The country around Attingal was assigned to them, and the revenue derived therefrom was placed at their disposal."(1) Until we know for certain the nature of the authority on which this statement is based, we may scruple to accept the account, as a sufficient explanation of the anomalous relation of Ârringal to the Royal Household. Even

(1) Page 93, Shangoonny Menon's History of Travancore.
assuming that a particular King of Venad in the 5th century went so far out of his way as to look to Kolatnad for heirs to his own dominions, it is still, I am afraid, not very likely that the fair members, so introduced into his own family, would be located, in those troublesome days, altogether away from South Travancore, the acknowledged seat of his own power. Antecedent probability is in favour of Arringal having been at one time an independent principality, the first of those merged later on into Venad. The early aggressive vigour of the kingdom of Venad, meeting with insuperable difficulties in the more exposed and troublesome eastern border, over which it had once extended itself, as proved by the inscriptions said to exist in Chera Mahâ Dèvi and other villages of South Tinnevelly, (1) must have next turned itself to the north, where evidently it found freer scope for exercise. The first State then to be absorbed would naturally be Arringal, supposing it was then independent. And to account for the facts, we have next only to assume that for conciliating the newly added province, an alliance through marriage or adoption was effected with the House of Arringal, the name Rânis of Arringal being continued, with the same object and in the same manner, as in the familiar case of the "Prince of Wales." A strong presumption is raised in favour of such a hypothesis by the fact of Kilppêrûr being found annexed as the house name of the Venad Princes in later inscriptions. Kilppêrûr is an old and ruined village, unapproachable by cart or boat, about 8 miles to the north-east of Arringal. The country about Arringal seems to have been known in early times as Kûpadêsam, (2)—a province altogether dis-

(1) Plenty of valuable inscriptions are found in several old villages of this district, which, as far as I know, have not yet seen the light of day, both literally and metaphorically! Chera Mahâ Dèvi is now spelt Sherma-devi.

(2) Dr. Gundert thinks that Kûpa Râjyang was probably identical with Kumbalam, but notes at the same time that 'other manuscripts exchange it for Mûshikam, the most southern quarter.' Kumbalam, as far as I am aware, is between Cochin and Alleppy. Arringal would be the most southern quarter excepting Venad.
tinct from Venad. An inscription of Râjarâja Chôla dated in the 30th year of his reign claims for him a decisive victory over the *King of the Kûpakâs*. The Tamil Poem, *Kalingattu Parani*, of the days of Kulôttunga Chola, enumerates the *Kûpakâs* among the subject races that paid tribute to that Emperor.\(^1\) The identification of Ârîringal with *Kûpadésam* is rendered almost certain by an inscription in the *Āpanêswara* temple, about 2 miles from Ârîringal, dated as late as 751 of the Malabar Era, which speaks of the princess who repaired that shrine as the *Queen of the Kûpakâs*. If *Kûpa Râjyam* and Venad were thus at one time two co-ordinate provinces of Malabar, and if, in later times, we find the Princes of the latter appropriating to themselves, as their *House name*, the name of a locality situated in the former, it cannot be a violent assumption to suppose that the two were originally independent principalities, and that their amalgamation took place under such circumstances as led to a compromise, the weaker party submitting to the stronger on the condition of the stronger appropriating, not only the kingdom, but also the family name of the weaker. In short, it looks not in the least unlikely that when the power of Venad prevailed over Ârîringal, some matrimonial or other alliance was concluded which naturally led the blood of Ârîringal to prevail, in its turn, in the veins of the Venad Princes.

21. But of course all this is more or less pure speculation, and must remain as such only, until it can find support in inscriptions or other indubitable facts. Unfortunately, though Ârîringal has within a small area more than four pretty decent temples, testifying to its once affluent circumstances, there is in none of them any inscription referring to early historical facts. The temple that would appear to be now most closely associated with the palace is the one called *'Puttankâvu’* or *‘new grove,’* dedicated to *Bhagavati*.

\(^1\) *Vide Verse 8, Chapter XI. Kalingattu Parani.*
It is Bhagavati again that is worshipped in the old local palace, under the name of 'Palliarai Bhagavati,' or 'The bed chamber Bhagavati.' It is rather difficult to determine whether 'the Bhagavati of the bed chamber' is really a goddess, or only a deified ancestor, say the last of the independent queens of Árringal. To the west of the palace, and in close contiguity with the principal Vishnu temple of the station, stands a small neat shrine, dedicated to Peru Udaiyar, apparently the same deity as is worshipped in Râjarâja Chôla's temple at Tanjore, but sadly unlike that model in having no inscriptions whatever. About two miles to the east of Árringal, and not far to the west of the populous Brahmin village, called Ávanamchêri, lies a petty hamlet with the historical name of Vira Kéralam, now corrupted into Virañam. An old neglected temple in this village owns the earliest inscriptions I can find in this locality. There are two of them in this temple, but both of them are extremely disappointing fragments. The first is inscribed on the north-eastern corner of the shrine itself, while the second is engraved on the altar outside the square enclosure now in ruins. How sadly incomplete they are will be seen from the renderings below:

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 368, with Jupiter in Virgo, and the sun two days' old in Taurus, Kîlp

(1) Peru Udaiyar does not mean, as both people and pandits now generally suppose, the 'God of copious clothing,' but the 'great Lord or Master.' Udaiyar was further the family name of Râjarâja and other Chôlas of his dynasty.

(2) It is curious how false learning interferes with etymology. Fastidious scholars now pronounce this name Avanavanchêri, and suppose it to signify 'every one's own village,' and not 'the village with a market' as it may be so naturally and so easily taken to mean.
Sri Ğèvadâram(1) Kèraḷa Varma Tiruvâḍî graciously consecrated [this shrine].

22. It is of course impossible now to say whether the two broken inscriptions form parts of the same record, or even whether they relate to the same subject. But should we venture to connect them together, which of course is by no means safe, though not an unprecedented procedure in Epigraphy, we could have evidence of some sort for the date of another sovereign, presumably of Venad. I say *presumably* only, because it is quite possible that Kèraḷa Varma who founded this temple belonged to an independent principality, say of Āṟringal itself. The word *Kīlppēṟūr*, with the first syllable of which the first fragment breaks off, is intended to refer no doubt to *Kīlppēṟūr Illam or House*, by which the ruling family is designated in later inscriptions; but since earlier documents in my possession do not mention any such house name, it is by itself no guarantee that the reference is to the Venad dynasty, at least before its fusion with the Āṟringal or some other more northern royal House as observed above. Only after these possible sources of error are duly provided for, can we conclude, even supposing the two fragments to relate to the same subject matter, that there reigned over Venad one Kèraḷa Varma Tiruvâḍî about the beginning of Iḍavam 368 M.E., or about the latter half of May 1193. Still as the balance of evidence is in favour of such a presumption, we will provisionally call him Vīra Kèraḷa Varma II.,—the prefix Vīra, which occurs invariably in all the known old names of the dynasty, being preserved to us in the name of the village where the record is found. We shall, of course, await the result of further researches to convert the presumption into a fact.

(1) The word is not *Dèvadām*, but clearly *Dèvadâram*, though I cannot make out what it means.
23. But no such scruple need be entertained to pronounce that on the 25th of Mēdam 371, the ancient throne of Venad was occupied by His Highness Sri Vira Rāma Varma Tiruvāḍi. My authority for the statement is a long Vatteluttu record in 9 lines, inscribed on the southern wall of a small temple, in a village now called Kūnāmgarai, to the south-east of the Veḷḷāṇi fresh water lake, about 8 miles to the south of Trivandram. It would read thus if translated:—

No. 90. Vatteluttu Old Malayalam.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 371, with Jupiter in Cancer, and the sun 24 days old in Aries, is made the following grant:—The loyal chieftains of Sri Vira Rāma Varma Tiruvāḍi, graciously ruling over Venad, make over in writing, as a solemn gift ratified with water, the (locality of) Sērīkkal, in Chemkōṭṭāru, belonging to the said chieftains, to Vāna Mādhava Nārāyaṇa Viṇṇagar Alvān of Tirukkunagarai, to provide for all his daily expenses, and one holy Nanda lamp. From this time forwards, the manager of the temple of Tirukkunagarai shall, under the supervision of the Six Hundred of Venad and of the district officers and agents, take sole possession of all things whatsoever in this Sērīkkal, with the exception of the paddy land, granted already under command by the said chieftains to meet the expenses of the Bhāṭṭāraka of Nēliyūr, and the manager shall duly supply according to the regulated measurement, four nālies of rice of proper quality for holy offerings, and also one holy Nanda lamp. The paddy per year required to provide the daily offerings of four nālies of rice, exclusive of pounding charges, amounting to 10 Kal (?), and 24 Kalams, and the ghee and thread, required every day for the holy Nanda lamp, should be supplied without failure. The expenses shall be met out of the proceeds of the ‘ārāl’ lands on both the sides, the lower and the higher, of Chenkōṭṭāru, and also the higher fields and Koḍumkarai compound, both falling under the Kārānnai tenure, as well as from the (labour of the) predial slaves thereunto attached, all of which shall be now forthwith taken possession of (by the said
manager). If the supply fails once, double the default shall be paid. If twice, twice the default and fine. If thrice, the Six Hundred, the officers, and the Valamjiars of the 18 districts shall institute inquiries, and see to carry out this arrangement without failure, as long as the moon and the stars endure. Pillars(1) having been raised so as to mark and include the four limits thereof, this sēri (or portion of a village) is granted, under the Tiruvīdaiyattam tenure, according to Royal command; all of which facts (the following) do know (and can attest), viz., Kaṇḍan Kaṇḍan of Tākka Kokka Compound, Kēralan Īswaran of Tānāmaṅkoṭtam, Ādi Tiruvikraman Parnan, and Gōvindan Kumāran of Paṭṭalī. This is in my hand, Kaṇḍan Udaiyanan of Kaitavāy (signature.) (2)

24. Thus then, beyond all doubt, there reigned over Venad on the 25th Mēḍam 371 M.E. or about the beginning of May 1196, His Highness Sri Vīra Rāma Varma Tiruvāḍi. It is but one month and 23 years since we came across Sri Vīra Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varma at Tiruvattar, in our inscription No. 6—the last firm ground we had. The interval cannot surely be considered too large for one reign, supposing we are constrained by further researches to reject, as foreign to the Dynasty, both Āditya Rāma Varma of the Gōsāla inscription, and Kērala Varma II. of the Ṇrīngal fragments. But the latter contingency, at any rate, as far as Āditya Rāma is concerned, is so far improbable, that it may be well set aside, except in the way of satisfying the conscience of the ultra-sceptical. If we admit then either of these two names, we abridge the interval respectively to six or three years:—periods too short to disturb in the least our belief in the uninterrupted succession of the sovereigns our records have served us to bring to light.

25. Before quitting the inscription in hand, I would

(1) Gērēmō is the word used, which means according to Dr. Gundert, 'Post with an inscription or device.'
(2) The rest of the persons here named do not sign the deed, each says only 'he knows.'
just call your attention to two or three striking features in the social economy of the times. Besides the village associations we have already noticed, Venad, it would appear, had for the whole State an important public body under the name of "The Six Hundred," to supervise, for one thing, the working of temples and charities connected therewith. What other powers and privileges this remarkable corporation of "The Six Hundred" was in possession of, future investigation can alone determine. But a number so large, nearly as large as the British House of Commons, could not have been meant, in so small a state as Venad was in the 12th century, for the single function of temple supervision. There is an allusion again in this record to the Valanjiars of the 18 districts. The 18 districts were, no doubt, the 18 administrative divisions of Venad. Some of the names of these districts we might come across in the sequel. But who the Valanjiars of the districts were is a more puzzling question. As far as I can make out, the word reads only as Valanjiar, but neither in Tamil nor in Malayalam am I aware of any current term of that description. It is an obvious derivative from the Tamil word 'Valam,' and the leading meaning of that term is 'greatness, dignity or honour.' If I am right in my reading, we may reasonably presume that the eighteen Valanjiars were the 18 local magnates, or feudal Barons of the Realm. They were, as far as I can see, not men in the Royal service, who are always described as those who carry out Pañi meaning 'work,' or Kâryam meaning 'business.' Both these latter descriptions occur in the document before us. But whatever was the difference in rank, emolument, and position, between those who carried out the 'work' of the State, and those who attended to its 'business,' the Valanjiars of the land would appear to have been above them both. It looks probable that the "loyal chieftains," whom we have now met so frequently transacting business in the name of the king and forming as it were his Government or cabinet ministry, came from
this class of *Valanjiars* or feudal Barons. That there were slaves attached to the land, and that there were two important kinds of land tenure, *Urâl* or *urânmai*, subject to the village associations, and *Kaṟaṇmai* or freeholds, directly under the State, are other interesting items of information we may glean from this record, though they may not be equally novel.

26. Allow now thirteen years to elapse, and we meet with another king of Venad, *Sri Vîra Râman Kârala Varma Tiruwâdi*. I base this statement on a *Vaṭṭṭeluttu* inscription in Sri Pudmanâbhaswamy’s temple, in the capital itself. Unfortunately, however, it is a mutilated one, nearly one half of it being missing. All the greater is the pity of it, since the fine bold *Vaṭṭṭeluttu* characters, in which it is inscribed, would have otherwise made the copy of it, both palaeographically and historically, one of the very best samples in my collection. The locality in which the mutilated document is now found can scarcely have been its original abode. The unhappy slab, so sadly in need of its engraved partner, cannot be said to be itself fairly above ground! Any one wishing to pay a visit of condolence to this mournful survivor must be prepared to assume a befitting humble attitude! Passing by the flagstaff and going in at the main eastern gate of the temple, let him walk straight on till he crosses the gateway of the second enclosure. There if he stands in as lowly an attitude of worship as he could possibly assume, he will desery, in the nethermost row of stones forming the low passage wall to his left, the gloomy object he is in quest of, neat and remarkably well dressed for the situation! But should he be curious to note the rather deep and clear furrows on its fallen face, his devotion ought to go deeper; he ought to lie flat on the ground leaning somewhat on the right side, not much minding the unctuous floor beneath, or the untoward heels of the *Achchies*.¹ He might only

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¹ These are the sweeper women of the temple.
then discover and fully realize the lamentable bereavement he has come to condole on. He would, doubtless, then find out for himself that the unlucky stone before him is but one of a well meaning and well wedded couple that did once stand shoulder to shoulder, through weal and woe, until the wayward Fates, envious of such firm and changeless attachment, sent them the curse of the $\text{Mārāmuṭ cooly}$, who, dismembering their home and tearing them asunder, whirled away this particular individual to its present aimless posture, alone and away from its dear companion, and unable in consequence to make its two ends meet! But Science which can reconstruct a Plesiosaurus from a single tooth or a single rib, ought to be superior to the Fates! With the help of other inscriptions in my collection, I have in a measure succeeded in conjecturing what the two stones together would have told us; and with the omissions so supplied, the translation of the document would read thus:

**No. 10**

**VAṬṭEĻUTTU**

**OLD MALAYALAM.**

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 384, with Jupiter in Cancer, [and the sun* days old in Gemini](1) in the presence of the Tiruvānandapuram Association and its Sabhaṅjīta, assembled in the southern [Hall] of Mitrānandapuram, [under the solemn] presidency of [the Bhaṭṭāraka], **tīṅga** (2) Pallavarayan, [the loyal chieftain of] Sri Vira Iramaṇ [Kēraḷa Varma Tiruvaḍi] of holy Venad, [made a free grant of certain lands] belonging to the said * tīṅga Pallavarayan, in Cheyyamaṇ and Kalattur, [to be taken charge of by such and such, under such and such arrangements,] with the object of providing daily four νᾶλις of rice and condiments [partly] to be used as offering to the Perumāl of Tiruvānandapuram, and [partly] to feed one Brahmin, besides providing every year on the Úttiram star in (the month of) Panguni, (3) [a special feast or lustration.]

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(1) The parts within square brackets are those supplied.
(2) Looks like a corruption of Chinga or Simha.
(3) The principal festival of the temple still takes place about this time. Uttiram or Utram is a star about the tail of Leo Major.
[The daily offering to the Perumāl shall be made] when a man's shadow in the sun measures 12 ft. (1) [and the rice so offered shall be made over to such and such, who in return therefor] shall supply [each day] one garland to adorn the Perumāl. If the supply (of this stated quantity) of paddy fails once, [double the default shall be paid. If twice, twice the default and fine. If thrice] in succession, the property shall be confiscated, and the amount of paddy recovered and measured out. [If any dispute arises thereon,] the case shall be taken to Sri Pālam and the question then finally decided. To which effect [witness below our hands,* *] of Kaitavilāgam. The first half-yearly [payments will be due] in the month of Vrichigam in Kollam 385.

27. Such in substance would be the document, if the portions lost are supplied, as far as it is now practicable to do, with the help of the context and of similar records with me. Happily for us, so far as important historical facts are concerned, there is little or no room for any legitimate doubt. For instance, comparing the inscription before us with the one to be given next, how can one reasonably doubt that the full name of the king who ruled Venad on the date of this document was Sri Vīra Irāmaṇ Kērala Varma? The last letter in the part of the name actually found is (ම) n, which can combine with no other letter in the alphabet than a K.; and our next inscription, which is but five years later, completes the name exactly as we should expect. Fortunately for us, again, the last word with which the opening line breaks off is Kollam 384,—the year of our document; and the date is confirmed, if need be, by the closing line, fixing the time for the payment of the first half-yearly dues in Vrichigam 385. This mention of the month with which the first half-year ends enables us further to fix the month of the grant itself as Mithunam preceding. Supposing a full half-year was to expire in Vrichigam for the payment to be due, we have only to shift

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(1) Technically called Pantradi or ‘the 12th feet offering.’
the date of the grant a month earlier, i.e. Išavam 384. Thus, then, we may be perfectly sure that about May or June 1209, Venad was ruled over by Sri Vīra Rāman Kērāḷa Varma Tiruvadi.

28. Certain other inferences, equally unquestionable, may be also made from the record in hand. For instance, it is impossible to doubt that in 384, Trivandrum, like so many other villages, had a sabha or association, with a Sabhanjīta, chairman or secretary of its own, and that it used to meet on occasions of importance in the old temple at Mitrānandapuram, about a couple of furlongs to the west of the present shrine of Sri Pudmanabha. The southwestern corner of the courtyard of this temple is still pointed out as the sacred spot where sabhas used to meet of old, and the word 'Tek' or south, in our inscription, gives no dubious guide to that spot. The raised floor of this hall still remains, but the roof, which must have resounded with the voice of many a wise council, is now no more. Fragments of apparently very old inscriptions in the Mitrānandapuram temple speak also of memorable meetings of the sabha in the same "southern hall." These meetings are recorded to have taken place in the solemn presence of the Badāra or Bhattāraka Tiruvadi of the locality, enabling us thus to infer that the solemn presence, with which the meeting here recorded is said to have been honoured, must have been also of the same mysterious personality. It would appear further from an inscription at Suchindram, dated 406, that there was at that time a senior Badāra Tiruvadi at Trivandram, in superior charge of the temple management. From this latter document, I am led also to suspect that by "Sri Pādam," to which according to the record in hand the final appeal was to lie, in case of dispute in the administration of the land in question, is meant also the same religious functionary. The expression is now somehow or other used to designate the palace, where the Queen-mother resides with the junior members of her
family. But the context in the Suchindram record, above referred to, militates against that modern application of the term.

29. Permit me now to call your attention to the curious way in which the town Trivandram is here spelt. Twice the word occurs in the portion of the inscription preserved to us, and on both occasions it is clearly spelt Tiruvānandapuram with a long ā, meaning the holy city of Blessedness, and not as it is now universally understood, the city of Ananta, the serpent. The deity, too, of the place is named Perumāl, the Great One, and not Pudmanābha, the Lotus-Navelled. Is it possible that the city of Blessedness passed into one of Ananta, the serpent, with the transformation of the infinite and indefinite ‘Great one,’ into the definite Pudmanābha, whose mattress Ananta is? The analogy of Mitrānandapuram, the oldest temple of this town, lends support to the orthography of our inscription. But on the other hand, the Suchindram inscription already referred to, spells the town in the usual modern fashion. So also does the hymn in Tiruvāyatolū(1) dedicated to the local deity, though, in this case, it is not as decisive as with Tiruvāṭtar, since neither rhyme nor metre will be wholly spoiled by the substitution of one of the names for the other: and as far as I can remember, the town is mentioned nowhere else in Tamil literature. The Sanscrit name ‘Syānandūra’ only adds to our doubts and difficulties. Undervisible proper names are by no means common in any Indian language, and in Sanscrit, there are but very few names of any class whose etymology cannot be traced to well-known roots. But ‘Syānandūra,’ though used familiarly by Sanscrit scholars both in inscriptions and in standard Malayalam works,(2) is analysable according to no known rules of grammar. It looks in the highest degree incredible that the Aryans of Upper India could ever have been under the necessity of inventing such an arbitrary

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(1) Vide 2nd Pattu in Pattāmpattu.
(2) Vide, for example, Vairāgī Chandrodaiyam.
and unanalysable name for so petty a village in the Dravidian country. In all probability then, it must be a Sanscritized corruption of a Dravidian name now altogether lost to us. The last syllable in Syânandâra sounds like ûr, the Tamil term for village or town, but what the preceding two syllables stand for, it is difficult to conjecture. If the word were Sryánandâra, we could have taken the body of it as made up of Sri or Tiru in Tamil, and Ênanda, as preserved to us in the inscription before us as well as in the name Mîtrânandapuram. But in that case there would have been no necessity for any corruption at all. My impression, therefore, is that the original native denomination of the town must have been a Dravidian word ending in ûr. The form ‘Syânandûrapura’ occasionally met with tends to show that ûra was a part of the original name and no corruption of Pura, since ‘pura’ is itself added to it. At any rate, the name could not have been either Anandapuram, as in our inscription, or Anantapuram, as in current use, since both of them are good Sanscrit words needing no corruption to suit the genius of that language.

30. Returning now to our history, we have seen already that in IÇavam or Mithunam 384, i.e., 1209 A.D., the Government of the country was in the hands of Sri Vira Irâman Këraâla Varma. This same sovereign was in power on Thursday, the 18th Minam 389 M.E. If any one wishes to assure himself of the fact, it would cost him nothing more than a pleasant trip to Kâdinamkulam, just 12 miles north of Trivandram, on the backwater route to Quilon. On the north-western wall of the temple of Mahâdêva in this village, he would find a Vattêluttu inscription in four lines to the following effect:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 11</th>
<th>Vattêluttu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Tamil.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite the Kollam year 389, with Jupiter in Aquarius, and the sun 18 days old in Pisces, Thursday, Pushya star,(1) the 10th lunar day, Aries (being

(1) Pûyam or Pushyam is a star about the head of Hydra.
the rising sign), and Sri Vira Irâman Kêrala Varma Tiruvâdi of Kilppêrûr being the gracious ruler of Venad, Sri Vira Irâman Umaiyanmaï Vilîavar (?) Tiruvâdi graciously caused the consecration (of the idol inside).

31. This neat inscription, giving full details of date up to the hour, would have been altogether unexceptionable, but for a difficult word which I am not quite sure of between Umaiyanmaï and Tiruvâdi. We need not be particularly sorry for it, if we could be but sure that it was a part of the proper name of the founder of the temple. But as it stands, the proper name would appear to be completed with Umaiyanmaï, and the intractable word after it would seem to describe her status or position, in which case, indeed, it must be of supreme historical importance for us to know exactly what it was. The title Tiruvâdi is found throughout our records reserved to Royalty. It occurs even here just a line above in connection with Sri Vîra Irâman Kêrala Varma. Who then could this additional Tiruvâdi be? The name given, Sri Vîra Irâman Umaiyanmaï, is a curious compound, Sri Vîra Irâman being a masculine name, the first part in fact of the name of the then ruling king, and Umaiyanmaï, an appellation as distinctly feminine. In a compound name like this, usage as well as grammar would determine the sex of the person so named by the ultimate particle of the name, and we have, therefore, practically no doubt that the founder of the temple was a female, entitled, however, to Royal rank. The interesting question then is, did she belong to the same Royal House as the then ruling sovereign, and if so, what was the particular relation in which she stood to that ruler. The full importance of the question will be perceived, only when the following facts are borne in mind. In the first place, this is the earliest record I have yet found of any female member of a Royal family, in a country where succession is believed to have been always in the female line. In the second place, it is also the first occasion, barring the Arringal fragments,
where we have the family designation of Kēlēppērūr. And lastly, it must also be noticed that the temple at Kadīnamkulam, the institution of which this inscription records, is exactly equidistant between Trivandram and Arringal,—and, therefore, a convenient stage in a journey from the one to the other. Both tradition and local inquiry would prove that the village of Kadīnamkulam itself came into prominence, if not also into existence, only in consequence of its having been a suitable halting place, and that it continued to retain its importance, so long as it was used as such, i.e., before the Shānāṉkaraṉ canal connected the present capital with the backwater system of the north. Is it fanciful or farfetched then to suppose that the temple, of which our inscription records the foundation, was the direct fruit of extended political relations in the North, say, such as would arise from the annexation of Arringal with Venad and the amalgamation of their respective Royal Houses, assuming, as we have already done, the original independence of Arringal or Kūpadēsam? If the hypothesis then is allowable, we might take both the Princess Umaiyanmai and the present family name of Kēlēppērūr as coming from Arringal, and accruing to the Venad sovereign by right of adoption, marriage, or other alliance. It is a pity, therefore, that the word after Umaiyanmai, which might have helped to solve some of these difficulties, happens to be so unyielding. As far as I can make out, it looks only like ‘Villavar,’ which carries no meaning to my mind. (1)

Until, therefore, further researches throw more light on the question, we should be content to accept the indistinct word to be a special title of Princess Umaiyanmai in the Venad Royal House itself.

(1) It is possible that Villavar is a mistake for Yilaiyavar, meaning the younger. There are one or two other dated Vatteluttu inscriptions in the place but unfortunately as the stones bearing them have been repeatedly white-washed, plastered over and painted upon, only portions of the lines are now open to view. I went to the spot again on the 16th June 1894 to try whether the broken lines could not help us over the difficulty, but returned not wiser than I went.
32. But whoever Princess Umaiyyammai was, our document proves beyond all doubt that on the morning of Thursday, about 8 p.m., the 18th Minam 389 M.E., i.e., 1214 A.D., the throne of Venad was occupied by Sri Vira Irâman Kerala Varma Tiruvaḍi. We know he was on the throne in 384. How long ago he ascended it, and when exactly it passed away to his successor, are points yet to be determined. We meet with another sovereign of Venad only in 410 M.E., and we may, therefore, provisionally take his reign to have extended to the close of the 4th Malabar century.

33. With the opening of the fifth century of the Kollam Era we meet with another king of Venad, by name Sri Vira Ravi Kêrala Varma. That the 28th Mêḍam 410 M.E. fell within his reign is proved by a Vatteluttu inscription at Manalikkarai, a petty village near Pudmanâbhapuram in South Travancore. The document is found inscribed on all the four sides of a tablet specially put up in front of the Áļvâr temple in this village. The face of the tablet contains 23 lines, its obverse 32, and the two sides 37 and 17, respectively. Why the document was entered on a special tablet, and not on the walls of the temple as was the custom, it is impossible now to ascertain. Possibly its singular importance demanded this singular treatment. For if my reading of it is correct, it is nothing short of one of the great charters of Travancore. Its substance, as far as I can make out, would run thus in English:—

No. 12
91.

Vatteluttu
Old Malayalam.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite the Kollam year 410, with Jupiter in Scorpio, and the Sun 27 days old in Aries (i.e., the 28th Mêḍam), is issued the following Proclamation, after a consultation having been duly held, among the loyal chieftains of Sri Vira Iravi Kêrala Varma Tiruvaḍi, graciously ruling Venad, the members of the Sabha (or Association) of Kôdai-nallûr, and the people of that village, as well as Kaṇḍan Tiruvikraman of Marugatachchêri, entrusted with the right of
realizing the Government dues. Agreeably to the understanding arrived at in this consultation, we command and direct that the tax due from Government lands be taken as amounting in paddy to ** and 24, in Arakkal crop, and 725 * and 24, in Cháral crop, and making up per year a total of *****; and the same, due from tax-paying village lands, be taken as amounting in paddy to **** and 24, in Arakkal crop; and 728 * and 24, in Cháral crop, and making up per year, a total of ** 709**; and that when the due quantity is measured out, a receipt be granted, discharging the liability, the fact being duly marked also in the rent roll: and we command moreover that the order of permanent lease (now in force) be surrendered into the hands of the clerks who write or issue such deeds**** (3). From the Tuvámi (or Swámi), too, no more shall any lease be taken. When part of the tax is paid, and part is still due, a list shall be prepared showing the arrears for the whole year; and an Anchólú (4) (or authorization) taken in writing to realize the same from the Sabha and the inhabitants; and the arrears then recovered accordingly. In seasons of drought and consequent failure of crops, the members of the Sabha and the people of the village shall inspect the lands, and ascertain which have failed and which have not. The lands that have failed shall be assessed at one-fifth of the normal dues, but this one-fifth shall be levied as an additional charge on the remaining lands bearing a crop. If all the taxable lands appear to have equally failed, the Sabha and the villagers shall report the matter to Tuvámi, and after the Tuvámi has inspected the lands and ascertained the fact, one-fifth (of the entire dues) shall be levied. This one-fifth shall be taken to include Patja Vritti and Óna Chelavu, amounting in paddy to **. If the members of the Sabha and the inhabitants agree among themselves, and pray in common for a postponement of the payment, as the only course open to a majority among them, this demand (one-fifth drought rate)

(1) Arakkal and Cháral seem to have been the crops of those days; now they are called Kanni and Kumbham.

(2) Obviously then there were lands that paid no tax to Government.

(3) There are about 5 or 6 words here which carry no meaning to my mind. So also after the word 'fine' about the end of the deed.

(4) I take this word conjecturally to mean some kind of authorization.
shall be apportioned over all the lands paying tax to Government, (to be levied in the subsequent harvest) but without interest and Patṭārī, the rent roll of the current year being scored out. Should anything whatever be done contrary to these rules, the deviation shall be visited with fine, *** and the strict procedure again adopted. This our regulation shall continue in force as long as the moon and the stars endure. This is a true stone inscribed copy of the holy Royal writ.

34. Such is the substance of the remarkable document before us, as far as I can make it out. Containing as it does several obsolete revenue terms, I cannot vouch for the literal accuracy of every word in my rendering. One or two expressions still remain obstinate and obscure. Nevertheless, I feel sure I cannot be far wrong with the bulk of my interpretation. Nor can there be any doubt as to the unique importance of the record. Unlike the inscriptions hitherto noticed, the one before us grants, not a perpetual lamp or ‘a mountain-like’ drum to the gods above, but peace and protection to toiling humanity here below. One of the most momentous questions in all human communities has been, and will always be, the price each individual in it has to pay for the advantages of organized social life. In proportion to the fixity and definiteness characterizing this price, in all its aspects, is the Government of the community said to be civilized, stable, and constitutional. An important item in the price to be thus paid is the pecuniary contribution given by each individual for the maintenance of the State. In all agricultural countries, the bulk of the contribution must assume the form of land tax. In Travancore, then, which is little else than agricultural, where in fact there is no individual but has his Tarāwād, his plot of land, the plot in which he is born, in which he lives and works, and in which he dies and is cremated too, so that his very ashes stick to it even after his soul departs this world, in a country so entirely agricultural, there can be no question of more vital interest, or of more universal concern, than the nature and amount of
land tax, the manner and time of paying it, and the machinery through which it is realized for the State. It appears to have been the practice with several Governments in bygone days to farm out the land revenue to the highest bidders, with a view to save themselves the trouble and expense of collecting it by drops and dribblets. The iniquity of the system may be better imagined than described. It seems, nevertheless, to have been current in the neighbouring districts of Tinnevelly and Madura, until the very days of the Honourable East India Company. But in Travancore, thanks to our village associations and the magnanimity and political sagacity that seem to have uniformly characterized the Venad sovereigns, the system, if it was ever largely introduced, was nipped in the bud, and the disasters of the fable of the goose with the golden eggs were early averted. For, observe how the Royal writ before us deals that system a deathblow. It quietly takes away, in the first place, its sting by fixing the Government dues exactly and unalterably per year and per harvest. The lease again is not to be a ‘Tira Taravu’ an enduring one, but to be renewed from time to time, so that the Government farmer would have no chance of abusing his power on the strength of the hold he might otherwise have on the people. The writ provides, further, for the reduction of the Government demand to one-fifth in times of drought and failure. Why when some lands alone fail in a village, this one-fifth should be given up on those lands, but levied as an additional charge upon the remaining might demand a word of explanation. In seasons of partial failure, and in tracts of land not fully opened out by easy lines of communication, the price of corn goes easily high: and the Kōdainallār Council seems to have thought it just, or at all events conducive to fellow feeling, that those that are benefited by such an adventitious rise of prices should forego a portion of their profits for the sake of their suffering fellow-villagers. At any rate, the measure must have acted as a check upon false complaints
of failure, since the duty of determining what lands had failed, and what not, was left to the villagers themselves under the supervision of the Sabha. It would be interesting to know who the Tuvámi or Swámi was, to whom the edict assigns the duty of ascertaining and certifying the fact, in case the whole village fails. He was, no doubt, some high ecclesiastical functionary, with a considerable portion of the land revenue of the village probably assigned to him for his own support and the support of the temples he was in charge of. The prohibition to take out leases from the Tuvámi would then mean a prohibition to farm out to the highest bidder the land revenue so assigned to him. Anyhow, when the Swámi certifies a complete failure of crops in the whole village, the Government reduces its total demand to one-fifth, and foregoes, in addition, its right to levy two minor charges, under the names of Paṭṭa Vritti, probably a present on the anniversary of the Sovereign's accession to the throne, and Ḍṇa(1) Chēlavu, a special contribution to keep up the annual national festival of that name. Deviation from the rules is forbidden under some severe penalties, the extent and nature of which, however, I am not able to discover; and the rates of assessment as well as the rules are declared unalterable as long as the moon and the stars endure. Can a permanent Revenue Settlement go further? or can a more deadly blow be imagined on the farming system, which seems to have been allowed to do so much mischief, and for so long a time, in the neighbouring Tamil districts? The preamble to this remarkable Proclamation adds but a charm and a dignity of its own to the whole. It is said that the edict is issued in terms of the understanding

(1) Ḍṇa or Srāvanam is a star in Aquila. The national festival is called by this name, because it falls on the day the moon reaches this mansion in September. It is probably connected with the harvest, Parasurama's yearly visit being a later fiction. Tenants do present to this day to their landlords certain agricultural products under the name of Ḍṇa Kāḷcha.
come to in a Council composed of the loyal chieftains or ministers of the king, the association of Kōdainallûr, the people of the village, and Kaṇḍan Tiruvikraman, the local revenue farmer or collector. I call him the collector, for, however oppressive a lessee or farmer he might have been before the date of this document, he and his successors in office could have been nothing more than simple collectors of revenue, after the exact definition of the Government dues given in the edict itself. No doubt, he must have been a terrible man in his day, with an appointed function in the evolution of history, not unlike, perhaps, the one played by those who went forth to demand 'ship money' from Hampden. The good people of Kōdainallûr seem to have been also equal to the occasion. Here is proof, if need be, of the independent nature and constitution of our old Village Associations. The Sabhas being mentioned side by side with the people, it is impossible to take them as mere occasional assemblies of the inhabitants, summoned together, for the time being, by those in charge of the administration. Here they appear as permanent and well-constituted Public bodies that acted as a buffer between the people and the Government. The village or common lands, so clearly distinguished from those directly under Government, in this our present record, was in all probability everywhere under their management. What exactly was the service the good Sabha of Kōdainallûr was able to render on this occasion, or what exactly were the circumstances that brought about this memorable Council itself, we have as yet no means of knowing; but whatever they were, the whole procedure reflects the greatest credit on all the parties concerned, their conjoint action resulting in so precious a charter to the people, and so unmistakable a monument of the sovereign's unbounded love of his subjects. Though the wording of the document makes the enactment applicable primarily only to the village of Kōdainallûr, I have no doubt it was sooner or later extended to the whole of Venad. A just principle needs but once to be recognized
to be applied on all hands. I hesitate not, therefore, to
call this Manalikkarai Proclamation, one of the great charters
of Travancore. Entered as it is on a detached stone, and
containing as it does several expressions yet dark and
obscure, it would be well to remove the original document
itself and to preserve it in the Public Museum at the
capital, where, I have no doubt, it will now receive better
treatment than was accorded to a similar tablet from
Varkkalai, which, having discharged well and long
the duty of a grindstone, is now so far defaced as to reveal
nothing more than its ancient age and its iniquitous suffer-
ingς !(1)

35. But the immediate purpose for which the Manalikkarai charter is here introduced is to prove the rule of
Sri Vira Ravi Kerala Varma on the 28th Mēḍam 410 M.E.,
or about April 1235. Having met Sri Vira Rāman Kerala
Varma only 21 years prior, we may take the two
reigns as having been conterminous with one another.
Seventeen years later still, we meet with another monarch
of Venad. That the 22nd of Idavam 427 was a day in
the reign of Sri Vira Pudmanābha Mārtanda Varma
Tiruvadi is proved by a Vaṭṭeluttu inscription at Varkka-
lai, a place of pilgrimage about 24 miles to the north of
Trivandram. Perhaps to the pilgrim world in India, no
place in Travancore is so well known as Varkkalai or
Janārdanam. The geologically interesting cliffs that form

(1) This is a remarkable old specimen of Vaṭṭeluttu inscription. It
seems to be dated 79 M.E. I believe it comes from Varkkalai. It opens
with a string of Sanscrit words written in old Malayalam characters
in praise of the then ruling king. The body of the document is in Vaṭṭe-
luttu. But in spite of all my repeated endeavours, oil abhishekams and
pūjas without number, I have not succeeded as yet in coaxing it to reveal
even a line in full, the middle of it being so completely defaced by the use
to which it was put by the Marcemut coolies. A hundred times the cost of
the mortar ground on it would not have been ill spent, if it had been spent
in the preservation of this unique ancient monument. It appears to me to
record an important treaty between certain parties of whom Uyyakkondan
was surely one.
the characteristic features of this promontory are obviously
of much earlier formation than the alluvial soil surrounding
it on all sides, and possibly the early Indian geographers
used it, along with Cape Comorin and Rameswaram on the
eastern coast,\(^{(1)}\) for marking off the southern contour of
their favourite Bhārata Varsha. The mineral springs of
this sacred place may be taken, perhaps, as furnishing
another and more practical justification for the estimation
in which it is held by foreign pilgrims. To the Stala Purāṇa,\(^{(2)}\) of the place, however, the hills and the springs
are as if they never existed. It delights only to relate
how on one occasion the Dévas performed a yāga sacrifice
on the spot, how the Brahmins had then a feast, rich and
indescribable, and how the local deity, with the object of
perpetuating that feast, practised a clever and successful
practical joke upon the authors thereof! On the southern
wall of the chief shrine in this spot, will be found in four
lines the document I now proceed to translate:—

No. 13

VATTELUTTU
OLD MALAYALAM.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kollam year 427, with Jupiter
entering into Aries, and the sun 21 days old in Taurus, Wed-
nesday, the 5th lunar day after new moon, and with the sign of
Cancer rising in the orient, the loyal chieftains, of Sri Vira
Pudmanābha Mārtāṇḍa Varma Tiruvadī, graciously ruling over
Venad, consecrated the holy temple of Vaḍasērikkarai, at
Udaiya Mārtāṇḍapuram in Varkkalai, after constructing with
granite stones the inner shrine from the foundations to the wall

\(^{(1)}\) It is possible that the sanctity of Varkkalai is partly due to its
having been taken by early Indian geographers to be in the same latitude
as Rameswaram in the east. Later, perhaps, a closer approximation was
attempted by the foundation of a temple near Quilon, under the very
name of Ramēswaram. That something of the kind must have been
meant is proved by such places as the following almost in the same
latitude:—Alwaye and Madura, whose ancient name was Alavāy, and
Trichur and Trichinopoly, obviously derived from the same root, despite
modern fanciful corruptions.

\(^{(2)}\) It is available only in manuscript. Its style is clearly modern.
plates, and paving the courtyard with stones, besides repairing
the Sri Mukha Maṇḍapam (or the hall in front facing the
shrine).

36. This is one of the most satisfactory Vaṭṭeluttu
inscriptions with me, every word in it being clear and
unmistakeable. It proves that on the morning of the
22nd of Iḍavam 427 M.E., about 9 A.M., Wednesday, the
throne of Venad was enjoyed by Sri Vira Padmanabhā
Mārtāṇḍa Varma Tiruvadi, who in all probability immedi-
ately succeeded His Highness Sri Vira Ravi Kēraḷa Varma
of Maṇalikkarai fame. It is interesting to note that the
sacred spot where the temple now stands was then called
Udaiyamārtāṇḍapuram, no doubt, in commemoration of an
earlier builder or patron of the fane; but it cannot be the
Udaiya Mārtāṇḍa Varma of our Tiruvaṭṭar inscription,
as it is not likely that the temple could have demanded
repair and reconstruction in so short a time. That the
chiefs of Sri Padmanabhā Mārtāṇḍa Varma were not the
originators of the temple is clear enough from their having
had only to repair the hall facing the shrine.

37. Hitherto we have had a series of sovereigns, from
301 to 427, with intervals too short to lead us to suspect
their unbroken succession. But now for the first time
appears an apparent blank. The next king of Venad
revealed by the documents in my collection is Sri Vira
Udaiya Mārtāṇḍa Varma II., who ruled on the 22nd of
Kumbham 491 M.E. There is thus an interval of 64 years
—a period presumably too long to be allotted to one reign.
What princes, if any, enjoyed the throne of Venad during
the interval, and whether they have left any traces at all
behind them, future researches alone can determine. I
have about 15 documents in my present collection, dated
from 400 to 491, but none of them gives me any help. On
the other hand, judging by the light of these records, one
would be led to conclude that this unaccounted interval
of half a century was a time of trouble in the south-eastern
frontiers of Venad. It is about this time that the foreign
temple of Rajendra Cholisvaram at Kottar receives several grants and dedications from private parties, *primâ facie* foreign to Travancore. In the midst of these grants and presumably of the same age, so far as palæography and situation can tell us, occur four inscriptions dated in the 11th year of *Sri Sundara Chōla Pāṇḍya Déva*, alias Köchchaḍaiya Varma. In an inscription at Suchindram, dated the 9th year of the same Pandya Deva, this ancient village is itself called 'Sundara Chōla Chatur Vēdi Mangalam.' Finally in Saka 1293 or 546 of our Malabar Era, this same foreign temple of Rajendra Chola receives substantial repairs in the hands of Parâkrama Pāṇḍya Déva. What could all this mean but that South Travancore was once more, about this period, under foreign sway? It looks highly probable that Sri Sundara Chola Pāṇḍya Déva of the inscriptions we have just noticed, was the same as Sundara Pandya Jaṭhā Varma, whose accession(1) is calculated by Shankar Dikshit of Dhulia, from materials furnished by Dr. Hultzsch, to have taken place in Saka year 1172, and whose ninth year of reign in consequence would be Saka 1181, or 534 M.E., *i.e.*, exactly seven years after the chieftains of our *Vira Padmanabha Mārtanda Varma* completed their reconstruction of the temple at Varkkalai. Probably, then, soon after the completion of that architectural undertaking in the north, Sri *Vira Padmanabha Mārtanda Varma* must have been called upon to do more anxious duties in the south. The cloud must have been gathering in that horizon even much earlier. I find the foreign temple of Rajendra Cholisvaram rising into favour from 392 M.E. The contest might have been long kept up, but the result could not have been other than unfavourable. Sundara Chola Pāṇḍya Déva succeeded at least in wresting the whole of the district of which Kottar was the centre. He seems to have established also his authority so widely and well as to lead private parties

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(1) *Vide* page 221 of *The Indian Antiquary* for August 1893.
to reckon their grants in the year of his reign, and to call an ancient hamlet like Suchindram, by a new fangled name, coined specially to flatter his pride. Sundara Chola Pandya Kōchchaidya Varma was by no means the last of the revived dynasty of Pandyas to trouble Travancore. I have with me an inscription dated the 3rd year of Udaiyar Sri Chola Pandya Deva Kōchchadaiya Varma, another dated the 2nd year of a simple Kōchchadaiya Varma, probably the same as the last; two again dated in the reign of Vikrama Chōla Pāṇḍya Dēva Māra Varma, and two more in the reign of Sri Vallabha Dēva Māra Varma. These and other important records of foreign sovereigns in Travancore, I shall, with your permission, place before you in the course of another lecture. I refer to them here only in the way of showing that, pending further researches, we may, for the present, reasonably assume that the hiatus of 60 years, of which we have now no account to give, was a period too full of trials and tribulations to allow occasions for such acts of charities and temple buildings as form the subject matter of our inscriptions in general.

38. But before the century we are now in did end, the Pāṇḍyan wave of conquest must have receded for a while; for we get once more a glimpse of our beloved Venad throne in 491 M.E. On the 22nd of Kumbham of that year, that throne was occupied by Sri Vira Udaiya Mārtănḍa Varma II., alias Vira Pāṇḍya Dēva. My authority for the statement is an inscription in five lines on the southern wall of a temple at Kēralapuram about three miles from Padmanabhapuram. It would read thus, if translated:—

**No. 14**

**VATTELUTTU.**

**OLD MALAYALAM.**

In the Kollam year 491, and in the 4th year, the sun being 21 days old in Aquarius, is made the following grant. The loyal chief-tains of Sri Vira Udaiya Mārtănḍa Varma Tiruvadiyar, Vira Pāṇḍya Dēvar, graciously ruling over Venad, do hereby provide in writing for a holy Nanda lamp and for the
daily expenses of the Mahâdèva of Sri Vira Kâralêsvaram, at Muttalaikkurunchchi, in Pâlkôdu Dësam, in Division No. 1 of the district of Chenkalunârâdu, in Tennâdu, belonging to (or under the administration of) the said chieftains. Accordingly, the said chieftains make over (for the said purpose) all the dues taken as Kašiyâkkam, from this Dësam (or circle), including Ottirâ tax, Uvvi, bamboo grain, Alâgeru, duty on looms and palmyras, Karaiparru, fines and Kô-murâippâdu. In this manner then, the said chieftains grant in writing, all the dues taken as Kašiyâkkam from this Dësam (or circle), including Ottirâ tax, Uvvi, bamboo grain, Alâgeru, duty on looms and palmyras, Karaiparru, fines, and Kô-murâippâdu, excepting such of them as have been already granted to meet the charges of the Mahâdèva of Tiruvitânkôdu (1) and the Dëva and Bhagavati of Pâkkôdu, to be made use of as long as the moon and the stars endure, for the purpose of supplying the daily needs of the Mahâdèva of Kâralêsvaram, and a holy Nandâ lamp to the same deity, which fact we the following do know and can attest:—Châttan Maniyâr of Tâlkkil Pulavaraman, Nârâyanân Kuḍiyan of Pen-ankâdu, Kanḍan Iravi Varman (signature) ** Tiruvikraman of Punalûri (signature). This deed in cadjan is written with the knowledge of the above persons by Irâman Kêralan of Kaitavây (signature).

39. Thus then on the 22nd Kumbham 491 M.E., or roughly speaking about the end of February 1316, the sovereign of Venad was Sri Vira Udaïya Mârtanḍa Varma, who, it will be observed, styled himself further Vira Pândya Dëva. Nothing can be of greater historical interest than to know the circumstances that led to the assumption of of this new and foreign title; but I have succeeded as yet in finding no clue whatever towards its solution. May it be that when the Pândya power shrunk back to its original condition, after having been blown out into dangerous and meddlesome greatness by the breath of a Kôchchaḍaiyan or a Kômâran, the Venad kings not only regained their

(1) The word Travancore is a corruption of Tiruvitânkôdu. But I am not at all sure Tiruvitânkôdu is analysable into Sri Vâlum Kôdu, as is now so generally assumed. The derivation owes its plausibility to the corrupt form of Tiruvânkôdu.
lost ground, but also retaliated by invading and conquering a portion of the dominions of their recent conquerors, and assumed, too, their style and manners to legitimize their hold upon the territories so added to their own? Agreeably to this foreign title, we find also the no less foreign method of dating the inscription in the year of the sovereign’s reign. But thanks to the wisdom of the Venad chiefs, this new method was not allowed to supersede, but was only combined with, the old and sensible way of reckoning in the fixed Kollam Era. In the case before us, therefore, the mention of the year of the king’s reign, instead of giving rise to endless collations and calculations, as is so usual in Indian Epigraphy, only gives us the additional welcome information that Udaya Mârtânda Varma ascended the throne three years previously, i.e., in 488 M.E. It is quite possible that the reference is made not to the year of the accession, but to the date of his assuming the foreign title of Vira Pândya Dêva. In either case, we are sure that the reigning sovereign of Venad on the 22nd of Kumbham 491 (March 1316) was Sri Vira Udaya Mârtânda Varma Tiruvâdi. Having already met a king of this name, we shall call him Sri Vira Udaya Mârtânda Varma II., or as styled in the document before us, Vira Pândya Dêva.

40. As for the particulars of the grant, I am at a loss to understand the nature of all the taxes set apart by this document for the use of the Mahâdêva. Most of the terms used are unknown to literature and lexicons, and as far as I am aware, they are obsolete also in the current revenue system of the land. Neither Kañiyakkam nor Oṭṭira carries any meaning to my mind. Uvvi, according to Winslow, may mean ‘Head;’ but what sort of tax was called by this rare word for head is now impossible to conjecture. ‘Bamboo grain’ is still of some use to Hill-men, and probably it stood, in those days of little or no forest conservancy, as the type of hill products, which in Travancore now includes besides timber, ivory, bees wax, &c. Alagerutu is a term we have already met with and despaired of. Literally it
may mean a ‘fair bull.’ To the known tax on hand-loom, we find here attached a tax on the palmyra, and it looks probable that what is meant is a tax for tapping, and not otherwise using that palm. Besides fines, the Government of those days, it would appear, appropriated certain payments under the name of Kō-murai Pādu, literally ‘Royal-justice-income,’ which we might take to represent the court fees and ‘Judicial revenue’ of modern times. Karaipparru means adhering to or reaching land, and it might be taken to include treasure troves, mines, jetsams and floatsams and all such royalties known to law. It would be interesting indeed to know how, at what rates, and through what agencies, these several taxes were levied, and what exactly was the bearing of the change with respect to both people and Government, when the revenue was assigned away, as in the present instance, for the maintenance of a particular temple. One would think from the minute political divisions and subdivisions noticed in this document that the administration of the revenue was far from crude or primitive. We know already that Venad was primarily divided into 18 Provinces or Nāḍus, and probably Tennāḍu, or Southern Province, was one of these primary divisions. That the part of the country about Padmanabhapuram should be called the southern province, while the one still further to the south is named Nānchil Nāḍu, may be significant of the extent of the Venad Principality at one stage of its history. The loose and redundant style of the document speaks badly of the literary capacities of the hereditary clerk of the crown, Kaitavāy Irāman Kēralan,—whose family name Kaitavāy occurs so frequently in the royal grants in our collection,—unless, indeed, it is taken to indicate the hurried occasion of the grant itself, such as the flush of a signal triumph, or sudden recovery from a serious malady. The absence of the usual expression ‘Hail! Prosperity!’ at the commencement, and that of the ‘Sign Manual’ at the end are omissions equally worthy of attention. What they signify, if anything at all, we
have no data to determine. That only two of the four ministers or chieftains that arrange for the grant sign their names may to some extent be taken as an indication of the state of education at the time.

41. The next record with me will take us beyond the fifth Malabar century, and therefore beyond the scope of the permission I have taken from you this time to address you. Of the many themes of historical interest calling for investigation all around us here in Travancore, we selected its ancient Royal House, that beloved Royal House to which we are all so devoted, as the one most naturally and rightfully claiming our first and foremost attention. Limiting ourselves then to a particular period in the history of that house, viz., the 4th and 5th Malabar centuries, of which no account of whatever description was forthcoming, and availing ourselves of but one of the means of historical researches, the safest and the best in fact, viz., public stone inscriptions, we endeavoured to find whether there were no rays of light to dispel the desperate darkness in which the epoch was allowed hitherto to stand enveloped. Even putting aside all side lights and inferences as to the general condition of the country, its society, its economy, its internal government, we have now the following solid facts to offer:

I. Sri Vira Kēraḷa Varma ruled Venad in 301 and 319 M.E.
II. Sri Vira Ravi Varma ruled Venad in 336 and 342 M.E.
III. Sri Vira Udaiya Mārtāṇḍa Varma, in 348 M.E.
IV. Sri Āditya Rāma Varma ruled Venad in 365 M.E.
V. Sri Vira Rāma Varma ruled Venad in 371 M.E.
VI. Sri Vira Rāmanābha Kēraḷa Varma, in 384 and 389 M.E.
VII. Sri Vira Ravi Kērala Varma ruled Venad in 410 M.E.
VIII. Sri Vira Padmanābha Mārtāṇḍa Varma, in 427 M.E.
IX. Sri Udaiya Mārtāṇḍa Varma II. alias Vira Pāṇḍya Dēva ruled Venad in 491 M.E.

It will be observed, in this list of the early sovereigns of Travancore, whose names and dates the inscriptions
I have now laid before you have served to bring to light, I have not included the doubtful case of Sri Vira Kèrala Varma II. of the Ârringal fragments, or of Kôda Mârtândha, who seems to have taken part in the institution of the Kollam Era in 824 A.D. Reject these two names, and reject also, if you please, every word of my inferences and surmises, and yet you will have, for the first time revealed to you, the names and dates of nine of the old and revered sovereigns of Venad. That these names and dates by themselves will not constitute the history of the two centuries we took up for our study, needs no saying. But that they will stand in good stead when the history of the epoch comes to be written is my humble hope and trust.
APPENDIX.

The following are copies of the inscriptions made use of in the above lectures, transliterated into ordinary modern Tamil and Malayalam characters. I use Tamil letters for every variety of Vatteluttu and old Tamil, and Malayalam for old Malayalam. The interspersed Tamil Granta characters are shown as such. For purposes of palæography nothing short of Photo-lithographs can be of much real service. The English numerals indicate the lines as separated in the original engravings.

No. 9.

Old Tamil.

(a) is written which is not a usual compound even in old Tamil.
(a) Observe the admixture of Malayalam Granta characters in the above Vāṭṭeluttu record. The style and Santi indicate the natural variations that led to the evolution of the Malayalam dialect.
No. 329.

_old_tamil_

புராணம் முப்பதரை கொண்டு சிவப்புக்கல்லுனகை

புராணத் தன்னிற்கு போற்றியென்று என்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று (2) போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று (3) போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று (4) போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று (5) போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று (6) போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று (7) போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று (8) போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று (9) போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியென்று போற்றியெ

No. 44.

_do_

(а) The parts in semicircular brackets express in words what is n symbols in the original.
(a) The omissions due to the removal of one of the inscribed stones are marked thus * * * * *
No. 7

OLD MALAYALAM.

No. 8A

VATTELUTTU.

No. 8B

Do.

(a) ⚫⚫&& is now unknown to Malayalam. It is curious to note how in the above Vattelutu record it is seeking to slip out of the language. ⚫⚫&& is first spelt ⚫⚫&& and then ⚫⚫&&.

(b) There are not many letters in old Malayalam which have not since altered their form. ⚫. for instance is written ⚫笪 as in Tamil Granta.
வாணிதூற்று.

குடமுடிக்குருவு சுற்றி சுற்றி ஆக்கிரமிப்பு
குறிப்பிட்டுத் தோன்றம்.

பொன்னில் உள்ள கண்டு குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு தொடர்வது
வாணிதூற்று குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு தொடர்வது (2)
தொடர்வது குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு தொடர்வது குறிப்பிட்டு
தொடர்வது குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு தொடர்வது (3)
தொடர்வது குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு தொடர்வது குறிப்பிட்டு
தொடர்வது குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு தொடர்வது (4)
தொடர்வது குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு தொடர்வது குறிப்பிட்டு
தொடர்வது குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு தொடர்வது (5)
தொடர்வது குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு தொடர்வது (6)
தொடர்வது குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு தொடர்வது (7)
தொடர்வது குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு தொடர்வது (8)
தொடர்வது குறிப்பிட்டு குறிப்பிட்டு தொடர்வது (9)
வாழ்த்து.

‘எல்லாமும்’(உரை எத்திய இலகுமுன்).

(2) தான் கேள்வி குறிப்பிட்டுபட்டார் செய்யப்பட்டு ஒருவரை கூறியது. மறியால் மற்றே சோதிக்கிறார் என்று கூறி கூறியது.

(3) வாழ்த்து கேள்வியுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு கூறியது. இதன் நோக்கம் ஒருவரை மறியால் கூறியது. மறியால் சோதிக்கிறார் என்று கூறி கூறியது.

(4) வாழ்த்து கேள்வியுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு கூறியது. இதன் நோக்கம் ஒருவரை மறியால் கூறியது. மறியால் சோதிக்கிறார் என்று கூறி கூறியது.

(5) வாழ்த்து கேள்வியுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு கூறியது. இதன் நோக்கம் ஒருவரை மறியால் கூறியது. மறியால் சோதிக்கிறார் என்று கூறி கூறியது.

(6) வாழ்த்து கேள்வியுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு கூறியது. இதன் நோக்கம் ஒருவரை மறியால் கூறியது. மறியால் சோதிக்கிறார் என்று கூறி கூறியது.

(7) வாழ்த்து கேள்வியுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு கூறியது. இதன் நோக்கம் ஒருவரை மறியால் கூறியது. மறியால் சோதிக்கிறார் என்று கூறி கூறியது.

(8) வாழ்த்து கேள்வியுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு கூறியது. இதன் நோக்கம் ஒருவரை மறியால் கூறியது. மறியால் சோதிக்கிறார் என்று கூறி கூறியது.

(9) வாழ்த்து கேள்வியுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு கூறியது. இதன் நோக்கம் ஒருவரை மறியால் கூறியது. மறியால் சோதிக்கிறார் என்று கூறி கூறியது.

(10) வாழ்த்து கேள்வியுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு கூறியது. இதன் நோக்கம் ஒருவரை மறியால் கூறியது. மறியால் சோதிக்கிறார் என்று கூறி கூறியது.

(11) வாழ்த்து கேள்வியுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு கூறியது. இதன் நோக்கம் ஒருவரை மறியால் கூறியது. மறியால் சோதிக்கிறார் என்று கூறி கூறியது.

(13) வாழ்த்து கேள்வியுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு கூறியது. இதன் நோக்கம் ஒருவரை மறியால் கூறியது.

(a) மலாயலம்.

(b) ஒழுங்கு looks like a mistake for மலாயலம்.

(c) உயிருடன் உயிருடன் உயிருடன் உயிருடன்.
11
20.

VAtTElUTTU.

து கட்டறிக்கும் கூட்டுசினின் முழுதுக்கு

வியாதமாக கருதுவினாலே என்று

பாதுகாப்பு நூற்றாண்டு போட்டிகள் நடைபெற்று வந்து வேண்டும் படுத்தும் (2) நூற்றாண்டு

போட்டிகள் நடைபெற்று வேண்டும் குறிப்பிட்டு வந்து வேண்டும் (3) நூற்றாண்டு போட்டிகள்

என்று போட்டிகள் நடைபெற்று வேண்டும் குறிப்பிட்டு வந்து வேண்டும் (4) அனுப்பிப்

91.

Do.

புத்தாண்டுத் தன்மை எழுச்சியை விளக்கும் வழியே கூறிக் கூறுப்புக் காணே என்று

புத்தாண்டுத் தன்மை எழுச்சியை விளக்கும் வழியே கூறிக் கூறுப்புக் காணே என்று
(16) வேலானதை விளையாட்டு முன் முலைமண்டலம் (17) இக்காற்று கொண்டிக் குறித்த ஆர்வீகர் (18) பண்டிகையிலிருந்து வழியக்கடையால் (19) புதிய குறித்து அனுமதியாக செய்ய (20) ஆர்வீகர் வேலானதை விளையாட்டு முன் முலைமண்டலம் (21) இக்காற்று கொண்டிக் குறித்த ஆர்வீகர் (22) ஆட்சியில் அடர்ந்து புதிய குறித்து அனுமதியாக செய்ய (23) புதிய குறித்து அனுமதியாக செய்ய (24) காற்றாலப் புதிய குறித்து அனுமதியாக செய்ய (25) காற்றாலப் புதிய குறித்து அனுமதியாக செய்ய (26) காற்றாலப் புதிய குறித்து அனுமதியாக செய்ய (27) காற்றாலப் புதிய குறித்து அனுமதியாக செய்ய (28) காற்றாலப் புதிய குறித்து அனுமதியாக செய்ய (29) காற்றாலப் புதிய குறித்து அனுமதியாக செய்ய (30) காற்றாலப் புதிய குறித்து அனுமதியாக செய்ய (31) காற்றாலப் புதிய குறித்து அனுமதியாக செய்ய (32) காற்றாலப் புதிய குறித்து அனுமதியாக செய்ய.

III. முன்னையுள்ள (2) பாருத்தியின் (3) அறுவளை (4) கூற்று (5) பாருத்தியின் (6) பாருத்தியின் (7) கூற்று (8) கடைசியின் (9) பாருத்தியின் (10) பாருத்தியின் (11) கூற்று (12) கூற்று (13) கூற்று (14) கூற்று (15) கூற்று (16) கூற்று (17) கூற்று (18) கூற்று (19) கூற்று (20) கூற்று (21) கூற்று (22) கூற்று (23) கூற்று (24) கூற்று (25) கூற்று (26) கூற்று (27) கூற்று (28) கூற்று (29) கூற்று (30) கூற்று (31) கூற்று (32) கூற்று.

IV. முன்னையுள்ள (2) பாருத்தியின் (3) பாருத்தியின் (4) கூற்று (5) கூற்று (6) கூற்று (7) கூற்று (8) கூற்று (9) பாருத்தியின் (10) பாருத்தியின் (11) பாருத்தியின் (12) பாருத்தியின் (13) பாருத்தியின் (14) பாருத்தியின் (15) பாருத்தியின் (16) பாருத்தியின் (17) பாருத்தியின் (18) பாருத்தியின் (19) பாருத்தியின் (20) பாருத்தியின் (21) பாருத்தியின் (22) பாருத்தியின் (23) பாருத்தியின் (24) பாருத்தியின் (25) பாருத்தியின் (26) பாருத்தியின் (27) பாருத்தியின் (28) பாருத்தியின் (29) பாருத்தியின் (30) பாருத்தியின் (31) பாருத்தியின் (32) பாருத்தியின்.

No. 13

48.

VAKKELUTTU.

(10) (a) பிரிவில் விளையாட்டு முன்னையுள்ள பாருத்தியின் (2) ஆட்சியில் அடர்ந்து பாருத்தியின் விளையாட்டு முன்னையுள்ள பாருத்தியின் (2)}

(a) I to IV mark the four sides of the tablet. It will be seen how corrupt the language of the document is. Does it show that it was drafted by a member of the Kōdaiaillūr Sabha, and not by the hereditary clerk of the crown as usual? It freely mixes up Tamil and Malayalam, as is still done by the illiterate classes in Nānjinād.
போர்க்கையார் முதலில் கையாள்வதன் பொழுது பூச்சியாக

No. 14
69.

OLD TAMIL.

போர்க்கையார் முதலில் கையாள்வதன் பொழுது பூச்சியாக

1. விளக்கப் படுத்துதல்
2. என்றும்
3. என்றும்
4. என்றும்

(3) என்றும்
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