CHAPTER V

SANSKRIT DRAMAS AND CAMPUS BEARING ON KERALA HISTORY

The number of original dramas produced in Kerala was very meagre before the 10th C AD. The dramatic art flourished in those days, these dramas also shed abundant light into the history and culture of Kerala.

**Attur Krishnapisaroti’s three drammas**

**Raksapurusakam, Samanvayam, Yogavilasitam**

Krisnachandra is the pen-name of Attur Krisna Pisaroti (1875-1964 AD). The reputed scholar teacher, poet, dramatist, essayist, researcher and musicologist who enriched both Sanskrit and Malayalam literature over half a century. In Kerala he is better known for his significant contribution to Kerala History, literature and music eventhough his services to the other fields have also won due recognition. He was awarded the prestigious title Panditaraja by the king of Cochin and a contemporary scholar remarked that he is truly a king among scholars richly deserving the title.

Krisnachandra was born on Wednesday the 14th of Kanni in the Malabar Era 1051, the star of the day being Uttram. This is equivalent to 29th September 1875. In his own diary he was noted the date of birth after careful verification as follows.

The words in the stanza denote the Malabar era 1051 according to the Katapayadi system of notation. He was born as the fifth issue of Pappikkutti pisharasyar of Attart Pisharam which is located in the Attur village of Talappalli Taluk of the former Cochin state. His Father was Narayana Namputiri of Vatakettattu house of Vellattannur.
Krsnachandra composed three plays in Sanskrit viz, Raksapurusakam, Samanvayam, Yogavilasitam. For his theme he chose some well known anecdotes from the pages of ancient Kerala History, these anecdotes have already been collected by him in some of his Malayalam books. His three full-fledged drammas in Sanskrit embracing the realm of ancient Kerala History.

**Raksapurusakam**

Kerala was ruled by kings who were virtuous and models of that institution. Gradually the monarchy gave way to some sort of democracy within limited pattern. Raksapurusa, the protector or administrator replaced the king. This was a necessity of the period. The ruling king had no nephew to succeed to the throne nor a son who might have stepped into inherit the throne. The aged king adopted a prince from a neighbouring country to provide a successor. But against his expectations the princess became a tyrant even before he actually succeeded to the throne. Atlast the king dismisses him in a will and appoints three Raksapururasas through a decree. These Raksapururasas are to be elected by the representatives of the people. This in short is the gift of the theme of Raksapurusa, the first in the trilogy. This drama is in seven acts.

The present sanskrit drammas are primarily based on the anecdotes narrated by the author in his Malayalam book Keralakatha. The book contains five anecdotes under the titles. (1) Kuttam kuti (2) Kulam eri (3) Yogam vannu (4) Perumalayi and (5) Parivartanam. These stories are conceived in a sequence and they strike to represent a progressive development of social and cultural aspects of Kerala.

Raksapurusaka represents the first of these entitled ‘Kuttam kuti’ which means ‘they assembled’. The assembly mentioned here is the great assembly that converged to elect the Raksapururasas. It was the culmination of a series of events which led to the inevitable end. The gradual deterioration of monarchy had given way to democratic set up.

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1. Ed. by Dr. N.P. Unni - Sanskrit plays of Krsnachandra - Delhi 1993- P 37 - 207
2. Keralakatha Part 1 & 2, Tricchur 1951 contains several such stories.
The characters are drawn from the ancient Kerala society and some of their representatives still survive despite the vast political change that has taken place. The dramatists has only changed the Vernacular names the story is narrated without deviating the traditional patterns and behavior of the people. Hence the difference in their names alone need be noted here. The following table shows the Sanskritised names and their Vernakular versions in the original story.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskritised Name</th>
<th>Vernacular Version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kamala</td>
<td>Kaimal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syamata</td>
<td>Ittikkali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattaraya</td>
<td>Ilamkur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sridasa</td>
<td>Nampi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurumbha</td>
<td>Netumkurup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komala</td>
<td>Unnimata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandalika</td>
<td>Cirutamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karta</td>
<td>Utayavar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adhyaksa</td>
<td>Pramani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senapati</td>
<td>Perumpatanaykkan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other minor characters are referred in terms usually associated with the servants and dependents of aristocratic house holds.

**Reflection of Kerala culture**

Rev. H. Gundert in his lexican called ‘A Malayalam and English Dictionary’ define the term as ‘the regent of old Kerala chosen by Brahmin representatives for three to twelve years. Further he states that “the 18 chiefs of the armed Brahmins” are also referred to by the term. Old works like Keralolpatti and Keralamahatmya contain references to Raksapurusas.

In the present drama the term stands for the representatives of people choosen by the assembly for a period of three years. After the term they are given the title of Saudhapati or Matampi. They get a palatial mansion and some servants under them. Both Brahmins and Nayars send their representatives for the elections.
Samanvayam

Samanvaya a play in six acts. This play is the 'dramatisation of the story entitled 'Kulameri' which means the family prosperity. The alliance between the Namputiris and Nayars of Kerala brought about by the inter-caste marriage was a progressive feature of the Kerala Society. The drama contains some details which are only hinted at in the original story. For instance the role of the Astrologer is drawn more vividly in the sanskrit version. In all other respects there is no change from the original. The characters in the drama and their counterparts in the story are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Original Representation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahmadatta</td>
<td>Madhurappalli Acchan Nampi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhavadasa</td>
<td>Manakkulam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sivadatta</td>
<td>Sivadattan Nampi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panakara</td>
<td>Natuvazhi Panicker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalini</td>
<td>Unnikkutti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daksi</td>
<td>Kunjamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srikumara</td>
<td>Vatakkan Valattu Nampi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Manava the father of Nalini and the commander of the Raksapurusas is mentioned in the original story 'Srikaryapurayoga means the assembly conducted at the Trkkariyoor temple in Kerala which in ancient times had a glorious tradition as the centre of cultural activities.

Assemblies of Temples

In ancient times the Brahmins of Kerala used to assemble in the precincts of temples to discuss social and cultural aspects of their life. The first act of this play mention such an assembly help at Srikaryapura (Trkkariyoor) in Kerala. The assembly in question gave permission to Brahmins to marry, Nayar ladies if they so desire.
**Snataka Brahmins**

The Namputiri Brahmins brought to Kerala by sage Parasurama had evolved several customs to restrict their population and to preserve their wealth. Accordingly they decided that only the senior son of a family shall marry from his own caste. Others should observe celibacy and engage themselves in the propagation of vedic lore by imparting instructions to youngsters. They were also authorised to perform temple rituals. Such Brahmins were called Snataka Brahmins. Snatakas gradually began to indulge in illicit relationship with local girls and this posed a big social problem. Hence it was decided in later times that they may marry Nayar ladies without looking their status. The story of this play is centred round this important social change that brought two powerful communities into close relationship.

**Matuladayadavyyavastha**

The second act of this play contains a reference to this system. According to this, the niece of the family inherits the property and wealth. This is called the matrilineal mode of inheritance. Till very recently the Nayar community of Kerala observed this system. Komala, the niece of Karmala and Kalyani the niece of Srikantha in the play represent the system.

**Khaluri / Kalari**

In this play there are reference to Khaluris or Kalaris of Kerala. They stand for the fencing schools having 42 feet in length. In some schools there is a presiding deity also. Traditionally there were 108 such schools in ancient Kerala spread over the 18 prominent regions. These schools belonged to six traditional groups, one of them being Dronampalli tracing their origin from the great Dronacarya of Mahabharata. Even women were sometimes given training in these institution.

**Astamangalyaprasna**

In the third and fourth acts of this play an astrologer is asked to perform this astro-

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3. In the MV of Atula is said that the custom began to from the 10th century
logical calculation. For this eight auspicious thing have to be provided. The astrologer
draws the diagrams and calculates the signs in the presence of these auspicious materi-
als. This astrological calculation is made to find out the reasons for the difficulties faced
by a family.

**Yogavilasitam**

Yogavilasita, a drama in seven acts based on the story ‘Yogam’ Vannu’. It means
which destiny. Here again there is no significant change in the course of events. The
different versions of characters in sanskrit and in the original may be noted as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Sanskrit Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Srikantha</td>
<td>Pirakkal Marutt ankottu Natuvazhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallapuresa</td>
<td>Mallappuratthacchan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sastradvijas</td>
<td>Cattiranampimar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divakara</td>
<td>Maccampillli Cakara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisakara</td>
<td>Maccamkali Cikara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalyani</td>
<td>Iccikkavu Koccukunjamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhavi</td>
<td>Valiya Kunjamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolanatha</td>
<td>Kollur Karanavar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kartarinatha</td>
<td>Muttat kaimal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here again the great assembly is mentioned. This time is meets at the Trkkakara temple
at Cochin.

**Yatrakkali**

In the second act of this play Nisakra introduce himself as a professional artist
of Yatrakkali - a pastime of the Namputiri Brahmins of Kerala, and it brings out the

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4. [Image of text]
memory of a period of ancient Kerala when they were wielding weapons and ruling the country. The word Yatrakkali is derived from ‘Sastrakkali’ where Sastra stands for weapons like sword and shield. It is also referred to as Sanghakkali. Since a group is involved. Terms like Maccamkali, Panenkali etc. also refer to this pastime.

There are different opinion regarding the origin of the pastime, according to one it refers to a procession of Brahmins set out to defeat the Buddhists. The story alluded to in Keralolpatti that a sage called Jangama met these Brahmins and gave some useful hints is also hinted at in the play. Here also the sage appears and asks Divakara to recite a stanza of four lines to please the god in Ganopasana. This is referred to as Nalupadam in Yatrakkali.

The performance has a divine as well as human aspects. Among participants a vedic scholar and Kayar leader are prominent. The later is supposed to be proficient in the varieties of fishes and he carries a basket on his head containing fishes. Srikantha the Nayar leader in the play is ridiculed pointing out this aspect. Yatrakkali was used to be performed till very recently though at present there is hardly any troup to perform this interesting diversion.

Ganopasana

The second act of this play depicts a Ganopasana by Namputiri Brahmins. Divakara is the leader of the group performing this ritual. The Sastra Brahmins sit around the belt metal lamp lit with five wicks and worship Ganapati and other deities chanting hymns using the vedic accent. This rite is intended for victory over the enemies and it is usually performed in some temples. In the play the ritual is conducted to establish virtue in the land. Formerly the function had some political aspects also.

Assemblies in Temples

In the Trkkanamatilakam temple referred to as Gunakapura in this play there is a large hall near the tank. It used to be the venue of many assemblies in old times. There the Brahmins well-versed in the vedic texts and smrtis used to pronounce their decisions.
**Sastradvijas**

The naturalised Nambutiri Brahmins of Kerala wanted to play a role in administration of Kerala, by entering into marriage alliances with the Nayar ladies they could secure much local influence. Then they trained themselves in the art of war in the fancing schools of the region. These Brahmins are referred to as Sastradvijas. Divakara of this play is a representative of this class. The Yatrakkali gave them opportunity to be in constant practice of the art. This development of Brahmins wielding weapons in Kerala gave rise to terms like Brahmaksatram. The Sukasandesa of Lakshmidos a 14th C. message poem in sanskrit produced in Kerala referred to their influence\(^5\). These Sastradvijas acquired proficiency in all the 18 types of training in weapons according to Keralamahatmya\(^6\).

**Mumurseruvrata**

In this play Srikantha states that he is going to enter the battle field restoring to this ritual. He is under the impression that his nieces has died in the battle. The ritual is in the form of fighting to death in the battle without caring for ones safety. A class of soldiers who act like this is referred to as Caver in the local parlance. These soldiers fight and die for a cause. The term under reference has some allusion to the Caver system of ancient Kerala.

**Matampi**

This play refers to the institution of Matampi. The term has its origin form Matanampi meaning a baron owning mansion. The Raksapurusas of Kerala is given this status at their retirement with the imposing title Soudhapati meaning Matampi. Matam in Malayalam is a derivative of Mahasandha in sanskrit.

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5. Vide Supra - P 53 ff
6.  
   [Sanskrit script image]
In addition to these mentioned above there are many small but significant items which contain reflection of Kerala culture. In short Krshnachandra has composed a trio of sanskrit drammas reflecting the ancient historical and cultural features of his native land and he has succeeded in his attempt⁷.

**Balamartandavijaya**

Balamartandavijaya⁸ is a dramma written by Devarajasuri, who was a protege of Prince Rama Varma in the reign of Balamartanda Varma (AD 1729-1758). The dramma consisting of five acts was edited and published by Sambasiva Sastri. Actually the work is more aimed at giving an account of the reconstruction of the Padmanabhasvami temple by Martandavarman than describing the reign of the king. Whatever is said in it as relating to the military operations and administrative reforms of the king, has some association with the reconstruction of the temple.

A conundrum in prastavana reveals that the dramma was written one Devaraja Suri whose humility and such other qualities had been admired by Rama Varma Kulasekhara, king of Travancore. After the Bharatavakya the poet has added one verse in which he says that he had been a dependant of Rama Varma from his very boyhood. Therefore it is clear that Devaraja was a protege of Rama Varma even while his uncle was the ruler it is said that he was a native of Pattambi in the Tirunelveli District of Tamilnadu, who later settled down at Asramam near Suchindram⁹.

Sambasiva Sastri has given a synopsis of the dramma "His highness Martanda Varma was disguised with the task of governing the country for long as it tended to lead the way to the decadance of his devotion and the influence of infatuation. Once while devoutly worshipping the God Sri. Padmanabha with the desire of carrying on the Govt. of the country without any infringement of his devotion, his highness had a vision of the Lord and obtained a benediction from the gracious Deity that he would beset with infatuation

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⁷ For more details - Skt plays of Krsnacandra - Ed. by Dr. N.P. Unni-Delhi 1993
⁸ TSS 108, 1930
⁹ Ullur’s statement that Devaraja was born at asramam is unsupported - KSC III P 302
eventhough he might be assuming the reign of Govt. Further, he was blessed to rule as the
victory and servant of Sripadmanabha after renovation of the dilapidated temple at
Trivandrum with the resources acquired through the Subjugation of the numerous
neighbouring princess, by propitiating Sri. Padmanabha by the performance of
Mahabhiseka ceremony, according to Rajasuya rites and then by dedicating the kingdom
to him. Thus, infact the king attained the gratification of being styled Bala Martanda and
realised the result of such benediction by the amassing of riches through conquests, by
the renovation of temples, by the performance of the Mahabhiseka and by the dedication
of the whole kingdom to Sri. Padmanabha10".

Apart from its bearing on the history of the Padmanabhaswami temple the dramma
contains a mass of materials that may appear to be useful, for the history of Martanda
Varma’s reign. It has to be stressed here that the dramma, like many others of the
same type, is a semi historical composition. There is an abundance of historical facts, but
the fact are mixed with fiction and utterly confused in chronology.

As the hero of the dramma lived in the modern age, we have other sources as well
for the history of the period. This equipment would enable us to distinguish the elements of
fiction added to true history by the composer. The events described in the third act of the
play may be taken as an instance. It is devoted to describe the digvijaya under taken by
Martandaavarma in the territory east of the ghats. The king Subdued, it is related all the
rulers of the east namely the Pandya, Cola, the Setupati, the Karnataka, the Andra, the
Yavana etc. This is nothing but fiction. For we know from many other sources that Martanda
Varma neither undertook such an expedition nor was he strong enough for such an enter-
prise. The records of the English East India Company, the Padmanabha Swami temple
etc. would give us a clear picture of the political position of Travancore at that time. It is
known beyond all doubts that in the early part of his career Martanda Varma was fleeing
for life, not being able to withstand the opposition of a few local chieftains. Later on he got
over the difficulties, and even at the Zenith of his power was not in a position to conquer the
eastern territory. Further, almost the whole of the eastern main land of the Peninsula was

10. Preface to the Balamartandavijaya Pp 2-3
then under the sway of the English and their allies like the Nabobs or Arcot with whom Martanda Varma had established cordial relations. The statement that the Pandya, Cola, and Pallava rulers were subdued is unhistorical, became these royal families had ceased to exist many centuries before Martanda Varma was born. Moreover, we have very authentic records on the life of Martanda Varma, from his accession to death. But none of them furnishes a hint to show that Martanda Varma went out beyond the eastern frontier of Travancore after his assumption of kingship.

It is stated in the dramma that the Raja started his expedition from Suchindram and first entered Madurai and then moved on to Srirangam. There he stayed and sent some divisions of the army to conquer different regions. Having done this, the soldiers were again gathered together and proceeded to Ramesvaram and then to Tiruchandur. He returned to Travancore via Tirunelveli.

The conquest of the eastern kingdoms is described mainly in three verses. In another verse the king is stated to have defeated all the kings who ruled from the cape in the south to the Himalayas in the North. Sambasivasastrī has identified the setvasyaksoni mentioned in a verse\textsuperscript{11} as the kingdom of the Setupati of Ramanad and observed that the victory over the prince Setvasya or Kakkur is historically authentic\textsuperscript{12}.

The Sutradhara, in one of his dialogues with the Nati, reminds her of a previous occasion on which she was rewarded by Martanda Varma with a gold ring for her excellent performance of dance in connection with the Navaratri festival -

\begin{center}
\texttt{Theoband}
\end{center}

give a clue for identifying the venue of the performance.

From the historical point of view the mention is of great importance. This festival was originally celebrated at Valliyur which was one of the seats of royalty in old Venad. In a later period, consequent on the abandonment of Valliyur and the permanent settlement

\textsuperscript{11}. Sambasivasastrī - Intro P. 5
\textsuperscript{12}. K. Sambasiva Sastri - Intro P. 5
of Kalkulam the venue of celebrations was also changed. Till 1797 AD it was celebrated at Padmanabhapuram and from that year onwards the practice became optional, i.e. in some years it was celebrated at Padmanabhapuram and in some other years at Trivandram. From 1840 AD Trivandrum became the permanent place for the celebrations. Since the drama speaks of the performance in the early part of Martanda Varma’s reign we can say on safe grounds that the venue of celebrations was the Tevarakkettu Koyikkal at Kalkulam. If so, it is clear that the Navaratri Mandapa attached to the Padmanabhapuram palace was in existence long before the reconstruction of the palace complex by Martanda Varma, as fold by the chronicles of the Padmanabha swami temple.

The kings performance of meditation lasting for a month and the Maghasnana towards its end at Sankhatirtha is a piece of new information. The sanghatirtham has to be identified with the modern Sankhumukha, a sea beach of Trivandrum. The identification is borne in by the usage occurring in the 18th verse.

The prevalence of making the gift of decorated cows in those days is not a new fact. The chronological disagreement involved in this statement is indeed great.

The king is stated to have made the gift of one thousand cows at the time of his embarkation on the new programme of ‘Digvijaya’, and it is mentioned in this context that the king had before that time extirpated the rebels and annihilated the Kuncu Tampis. Therefore the commencement of the campaign, and the Kamadehunudana should be chronologically placed after the murder of the Tampis.
The execution of the Matampiar is a fact attested to by other records as well. But, their extirpation took place after the beginning of the temple renovation.

The murder of the two Tampis, as mentioned in the dramma, was an event that took place before the extirpation or the Matampimar. This is correct and true to the contents of other documents.

But the actual murder of the two Tampi brothers as stated in the dramma, does not seem correct, as we have other detailed accounts of the slaughter of the two, which relate that the elder of the two brothers was killed by a group of royal soldiers in a trap, and that the younger was caught, tied up and laid on the floor by the king’s men, where upon the Maharaja mercilessly thrust his dagger into the Tampi’s belly and opened it.

Quilon was conquered -

The conquest of Quilon is a fact known from many sources.
The passage does not specify the enemies defeated, but it definitely refer to the defeat of the Dutch at Kolachal. Devaraja’s account of the event is precise and historically borne in.

Gift of the Mahodayagrama to the poet -

It is stated in the dramma that just before his departure for the Digvijaya the Maha-raja granted the village of Mahodaya to Devaraja. This is a fact not known from other sources. The Mahodayagrama may be identified with Puliyurkuricci alias Rajasimhamangalam where the Udayagiri fort was rebuilt by Martanda Varma.

There are eight Yoga Brahmins, and the king had but half a vote

In the fourth act the king asks Babhravya to bring in the Bhagavanmandiradhikarin. Then enter one Karmandin and seven brahmans.

The dramma reveals that on the orders of the king one and seven Brahmins were introduced to the king. The karmandin could easily be identified with the Svamiyar who was the spiritual head of the temple, and president of both the Sabha and the yogam. These eight persons formed the Sabha of Trivandrum. But, Sambasiva Sastri has taken them to be the yoga Brahmins in the sense of the constituent members of Ettarayogam, together with the king. This springs from the erroneous notion that the Sabha and the yogam (ie. Ettarayogam) were identical institutions.

could be identified with princess Parvati Bayi mother of Ramavarma. The reference to princess who was the sister of Martanda Varma is very important from the historical point of view.
Martanda Varma’s sister mentioned by Devaraja has to be identified with the adoptee princess from Kolattunad, who was the mother of Rama Varma. Devaraja’s mention highlights from historical points.

The usage proves that she was named Parvati a fact which is known from other sources as well. The expression नामानुसार दासी shows that she was the daughter of one of the sisters of the two adoptee princess left at Kolattunadu and that the first two are adopted as sisters to Rama Varma.

1. The king had vaisnavite tendencies.
2. The king worshipped the deity in temple, only after circumambulating outside.
3. Karyakara is the Sanskritised form of Karyakkar.
4. The Sripadam palace was called so became the holy waters from the fact of Sri Padmanabha fell there.
5. The Orrakkal Mandapa is referred to.
6. The Anaval’s office to report to the king the affair of the temple.
7. The Tamil Brahmanas are mentioned as the Dasas.
8. The royal palace was then in the Sripadam premises and in his visit he worshipped. 
9. The king prayed to the deity that the govt. might be taken over by him.
10. The king wished that Padmanabha show be anointed as the Maharaja.
11. The duty of the Dasa class was to keep the corns and also the rice for Payasam.
12. Sripadmanabha assumed the sovereignty of the state and offered his sword to the Maharaja as a tocken.
13. The kings of Travancore from the time of Martanda Varma were styled as Yuvarajas and the Usage Maharaja, as applied to them, is only a verbal embellishment.
royal orders were to be passed under the seal of Padmanabha.

15 The symbol of Sripada on the crest of Travancore kings suggests that the king is the servant of Sripadmanabha.

**Kaumudisoma**

Paruttiyur Krsna Sastri in his Nataka named Kumudisoma reveals that he wrote the work as ordered by Rama Varma, king of Travancore. About his patron, the poet says:

The poet was a protege of Ayilyam Tirunal Rama Varma, ruler of Travancore (ME 1036 - 1055). The expression as applied to him is very significant from the historical point of view. Ayilyam Tirunal was the successor of Utram Tirunal in whose reign the relation between Travancore and the British was much strained. The Madras Govt. and the Governor General were hostile to the Travancore Government on many issues. Such as the upper garment issue of Nadar women. The difference of opinion grew to such an extent that the Raja was warned by the British, that the upper cloth issue would be solved even at the point of the byonet. Utram Tirunal died before the issues were settled, and the first task of Ayilyam Tirunal was to save the country from the impending occupation by the British. He took very effective steps to display the abuses against the Travancore Government for which he introduced a series of administrative reforms. The abolition of paper monopoly in 1863, the accord on inter-portal trade in 1863, the introduction of the Indian Civil and Criminal procedure codes in Travancore in 1861, conversion of the chief court into the ‘Sadr Court’, the formation of courts of small

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14. For more details see - Sanskritic sources - K. Mahesvaran Nair - 1983, Pp 143 - 172 - KSC III - 285, KSSC IV - 159 - 167
15. KSC Vol. IV - P 131
causes, dedication of the state Anchal for public use, the introduction of retiring pension for public servants, establishment of the royal college and school for boys as well as girls, formation of the Book committee etc. are some of the reforms introduced by AT. As a result of all these and other measures Travancore, which a few years back was severely warned against inefficiency corruption, persecution, economic instability, etc. came to be recognised as the model Indian state.

It seems in these circumstances the usage applied to Ayilyam Tirunal is very significant. The verse ‘Pathodhih Parikhayata’ etc. composed by Krsna Sastri in praise of A T is too general to serve and historical purpose.

Pradyumnabhuyudaya:-

The Pradyumnabhuyudaya of Ravivarma Kulasekhara (1299-1314 AD) is a dramma in five acts. The author Ravivarma Kulasekhara ruler of Kollam, identifiable with Ravi Varma Kulasekhara alias Sangramadhira.

Author

Ravivarman Kulasekhara is the famous king of Quilon who became the emperor of Kerala and the over lord of the Pandyas and the Cholas. He was born in 1266-67 AD, as the son of King Jayasimha of Kerala and Umadevi, and belonged to the Yadava family of Quilon (Kolamba). He gained possession of the neighboring kingdom of Venad from Vikrama Pandya, the younger brother and coreigent of Manavarman Kulasekhara I, who had conquered the district during the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Ravivarman defeated Vikrama Pandya in battle and married his daughter. “He took possession of Kerala in his 33rd year (1299-1300 AD), he vanquished Virapandya, made the Pandya and the Colas subjects of the Keralas, and crowned himself as king of Malabar on the banks of the Vegavati at the age of fortysix (1312-13 AD). Subdued the Pandyas, Colas and Keralas chased Vira Pandya to Konkana, thence to the forests conquered the northern country and returned to Kanci, where is the fourth year of his reign he made a gift of

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16. KSC Vol. IV - P 131
17. TSS -VIII , 1910 Tvm
some lands to the temple of Arulalanatha. But achievements proved ephemeral. Vira Udaya Marthandavarman proclaimed himself as the ruler of Venad, and he was helped by Virapandya. Such revolts in Kerala forced Ravivarma to leave Kanci and returned to Kerala.

Ravivarma was a poet and a patron of latter. In some of the inscriptions he is addressed as Daksina Bhoja. Two well known poets, Sanidra bandher and Kavibhusana flourished in his court, former is the author of a learned commentary on Alankarasarvasva which contains many verses in praise of Ravivarman; the latter must have also written some works, but we know only the eighteen verses of the Srirangam inscription as his. Still it is quite possible that Ravivarman himself is the author of the dramma Pradyumnabhyudaya, though it could have been revised by the scholars of his court.

**Theme**

The Pradyumnabhyudaya describes in five acts the story of Pradyumna killing Vajranabha and marrying his daughter Prabhavati. The story is taken from the Harivamsha, but the author has made several alteration in the story. The plot of the dramma seems to have some topical allusion. The hero Pradyumna defeats his enemy Vajranabha in battle, and marries his daughter, this may have a reference to Ravivarman’s fight with Vikrama Pandya, and his subsequent marriage of the daughter of the vanquished enemy to his non-extent work Haravilasa and he is to be identified with the author of Balaramayana and other works. This Rajasekhara lived in the beginning of the 10 C. From these dates the royal dramatist’s date may be fixed at about 900 AD. In other words he is to be identified with Ravivarman Kulasekharan who must have ruled over Kerala between the years 885 to 913 AD. Later on Raja had admitted that the problem needs further study.

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18. TSS - 40, Vide infra
19. Vide supra
**Historical content**

In the first act, Sutradhara says that the dramma was first enacted at the instance of the Rajaparishad that flourished under the patronage of Ravi varma. The passage is:

This passage furnishes the following significant points for the history of Sangramadhira: Ravivarma was proficient in all arts. He had a court of poets and scholars of Quilon. Many rulers had been held under his vassalage. Dharma was his guideline. The city of Quilon was greatly developed by him. The dramma was enacted at the instance of the royal court.

It has been further made clear that the performance was arranged on the occasion of Yatrotsava of Sripadmanabha to be identified with the Arat festival. Since there had been two half yearly festivals in the temple, the reference may apply to both of them. But, we are inclined to identify the same with the Painkuni festival that has been described by poets as the Vasantotsava, eventhough it occurs just before the dawn of the Vasanta season, since the Sutradhara proceeds to say that the Vasantha has just arrived. He says:

From this we may take the festival to be the same as the Painkuni Utsava.

**Kings**

About the dramatists and the dramma the Sutradhara says:

Then the Nati adds:

This is followed by a verse glorifying the king, cited by the Sutradhara

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20. Pradyumnabhyudaya Pp 1 - 2
21. Pradyumnabhyudaya - P 2
This refers the son of Jayasimha was a hero not only in the battlefield but also in the assembly of the learned. Both his weapon and intellect were sharp. He won his enemy, kings, and opponents with Sastra and buddhi respectively.

Another piece of useful information furnished by this Nataka is that the king is described as Tribhuvanavijaya. The appellation Tribhuvanavijaya applied to Sangramadhira is very significant for history. Here Tribhuvana means the Cera, Cola and Pandya kingdom. This springs from the old supposition that Tamilakam was formed by three political units headed by three crown kings as Mudimannar. In the post-sangam period of history, Rajaraja Cola I was the earliest to be qualified for the cognomen of Mummudiccola, meaning the Cola who had three crowns. Rajaraja son Rajendra also justified the Cognoman by taking to other countries by conquest. At the same time the cognoman tribhuvanacakravartikatal as assumed for the first time of Kulottunga Cola I. The expression "Emperor of the three worlds" implies only that he was the lord of the Cera, Cola and Pandya kingdoms. In subsequent times the attribute Tribhuvanacakravartikatal was assumed by all Cola and Pandya irrespective of whether they deserved it or not. The reference to the munravani in the passage arallomunravanisaye cerna bhasavisesam has to be explained as a reference to the three avanis or kingdoms of the south, namely Ceranadu, Colanadu, and Pandinadu. This makes as understand that the king wrote the dramma after his eastern campaign was undertaken a fact that would undermine the extent supposition that Sangramadhira never returned home after the eastern campaign and that the dramma was written before he undertook the eastern expedition.

23. Act 1 Verse 4, P 2
24. 23
Two dramas of Balakavi

Balakavi is the another of two dramas, Ramavarmavilasam25 Ratnaketudaya26. From the epilogue to the Radnaketudaya it is known that Balakavi was a native of Mulladrum in North Arcot district in Tamil Nadu. He was the son of Kalahasti and grandson of Mallikarjuna. He comes to Kerala in search of literary patronage and he became the court poet of Ramavarma of Cochin Royal family. The date and identity of the poet and his patron have been a subject of controversy among scholars27. According to the tradition record by the editor of Ratnakatudaya Balakavi was a court poet of Manavikrama of Calicut but from the works we know that he was in the court of Ramavarma of Cochin. If this is accepted Balakavi can be assigned to 16th C. AD.

Ramavarmavilasam

Ramavarma Vilasam is a dramma in five acts describing the story of Ramavarman, the king of Kochin. Entrusting the entire government of his state to his brother Godavarman, the king goes to Tulakkaveri, and there meets a girl named Mandaramala. He falls in love with her, marries her, and lives with her there for some time. Then he hears from his brother that his country is being attacked by enemies. He comes back to Cochin, takes charge of the Government and defeats all the enemies.

In the prologue to Ramavarmavilasa, it is stated that king Ramavarman was born to his mother by the grace of the goddess of Valayapura (Uraka)28. It is further said that the king went on pilgrimage after entrusting his kingdom to the crown prince Godavarman. It is mentioned that the king visited Ramesvara, Sriranga and Cidambara.

In the interlude Kaveri informs her friend Kanaka that king Ramavarman of Cochin is going on a pilgrimage along with his forces after entrusting, his official duties to his brother Godavarman.

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25. R - 3873 a - Vide KSC 363 - 367
26. Tanjore 4490, this was printed in Srividya press, Kumbhakonam
27. Vide CKSL - P 162 - 163
28. [Dharmamrita, p. 128]
The second act begins with the entry of a messenger by name Sarangika. He has been sent by Godavarman from Cochin to deliver a message and a jewel necklace to king Ramavarman.

In the interlude to the forth act, through a conversation between Kumudini’s and Kalamanjari, the marriage of the king Ramavarman with Rasacandrika according to the Gandharva system is announced. Besides, the king’s return to his city and his beloved’s visit to her native country after the lapse of her course are mentioned. The king takes rest in his palace after his tiresome tour. The crown prince goes to meet him and is warmly received after presenting the sword, he shows the king the painting on the walls of the palace done by eminent artist illustrating his pilgrimage to Cidambaram, Sriranga and Kanci etc. The king speaks very highly of the paintings and congradulates his nephew.

There is no scope for historical references even though the hero is a ruling king. His arrangement for his brother to occupy the thrown in his absence as also the gratitude of the Pandya king may have historical reference, but they are not of any significance. The play also does not throw much light to the character of the king

**Ratnaketudaya**

Ratnaketudaya is a dramma in five acts describing the love between prince Ratnaketu of Malava dynasty and Lilavati, daughter of king Jayasena.

Ratnaketudaya gives the description of some places which are historically important. One is Cochi the capital of his patron Ramavarma. Balakavi travelled through different places and finally reached Kerala. Kerala is full of spices like cardomom Arecanut tree and coconut trees. The Cochi is just like Amaravati\(^{29}\). Ratnaketu passes through

\(^{29}\)
Coladesa. The poet describes Coladesa as follows in Ratnaketudaya.

The famous Cidambaram temple and deity Siva is also described in Ratnaketudaya.

The information that can be gathered from these two drammas are of some are in the reconstruction of the mediaeval history of Cochin.30

Rukminiparinaya

Rukminiparinaya31 is a dramma written by Aswati Tirunal Ramavarma. It occurs following passage about the Kulasekhara Rama Varma Maharaja.

Sitaraghava

The Sitaraghava32 is a Nataka in seven acts composed by Ramapanivada whose identity is a much debated, and at the same time controversial point in the literary history of Kerala. Ramapanivada’s identity with Kunchan Nambiar is perhaps the cardinal point of the issue33.

30. For more details see CKSL - P 155 KSC II - 363 - 367
31. Kavyamala , 40 Bombay, 1927 - See also Kunhunni raja. K. - Kairali, 30, 1946 P 138 ff
Vide KSC - Vol. III - P 319 - 327 ; KSSC - Vol. IV - 188 - 189; CKSL - P 173
32. TSS No. 192, 1959
33. KSC - Vol. III - Pp 355 - 471
The Prastavana of the first act is full of historical information. It is stated that the
drama was composed for enacting in the assembly of Brahmin’s wellversed in the Vedas,
Sastras and Kavyarasa who had some to Trivandrum from far and wide on an invitation
extended by Vanci Martanda Varma. The Sutradhara says -

In the prose passage reference is made to the gosti of the Brahmins who have
come from all directions. Ullur identifies this with the congregation of men invited for the
Murajapam. He has not, however, mentioned the grounds on which the identification is
based. For historical reasons, the identification is based. For historical reasons, the
identification does not seem sound. The Murajapam was a ritual conducted once in six
years for which the Nambutiris from the whole of Kerala were specially invited by the king.
The expression hardly applies to the Murajapam congrega-
tion. The adjective applied to Martandavarma reveals that
the work has written, after the dedication of the state to Sripadmanabha is the year 925
M.E.

Srngarasudhakara

The Srngarasudhakara is the Bhana composed by Prince Asvati Tirunal, nephew
of Rama Varma alias Dharmaraja. He was an eminent scholar in bot sanskrit and
Malayalam. The Srngarasudhakara was written by him for performance in the
Caitramahotsava in the Padmanabha Svami temple.

In the Stapana of Bhana the Sutradhara gives a short note on the author. In the
was the nephew of Rama Varma Kulasekhara.
The work would help us to the identification of Vasantotsava. There had been actually two festivals in the Padmanabhaswami temple in the months of Alpas; and Painkuni. But none of them falls in the Vasanta rtu which covers two months, Caitra and Vaisakha. Ullur identifies the Vasantamahotsava with the Painkuni festival, but the ground for the identification has not been specified even though he had identified it in a different way on a previous occasion. It seems that he said so because painkuni is nearer to Vasanta than Alpas.

But the Srngarasudhakara speaks of a festival the Caitramahotsava, celebrated in the month of Caitra, which forms the first month is Vasanta. So we are inclined to think that in those days another major festival, different from the two mentioned already was celebrated in the temple in the month of caitra.

**Subhadradhananjaya, Tapatisamavarana**

Kulasekhara Varman is credited as the author of the Cheraman Subhadradhananjaya and Tapati Samvarana and is described in the opening lines of the plays. However his identity in a problem, in that several authors share that name. Indeed several kings of Kerala who used the title Kulasekhara ruled from Mahodayapuram. Mahodayapuram identified with the modern Tiruvancikulam near Crangannore at the mouth of Periyar.

Kulasekhara Varman of Mahodayapuram was one of the few great rulers who wielded their pen as well as their sceptre. He is remembered not only as a great patron of literature but also a dramatist and as a master in the art of historians. His contribution towards enriching the Sanskrit literature of Kerala can never be overlooked. Kulasekahra is believed to have written five works in all. Three of them have been published while the other two are known only through references.

35. KSC - Vol. III - P 488
36. SPT - Vol. V - No. II - P 42. The festival is explained as the Cittira Utsava
37. Skt dramas of Kulasekhara - a study - Dr. N.P. Unni, P 21
38. TSS No. XI - P 6
39. Ascaryamanjari, Tapatisamvarana, Subhadradhananjaya, Vicchinnabhiseka, Mukundamala
Subhadradhananjayam

The famous story of Subhadradhananjaya\textsuperscript{40} is Dhananjaya Arjuna’s abduction of Subhadra provides the content of this drama. The source of the plot is the Subhadraharana episode in Adiparva of the Mahabharata. The dramma tells the story in five acts, with suitable changes.

He possessed all the auspicious marks of a distinguished personage. ‘With an elevated nose, a neck that is thick and shoulders that are lofty, ear lobes decked and hence touching the shoulders, hands stretching upto the knees, his tall body with a golden complexion was indeed a solace to his people\textsuperscript{41}. The prologue of Subhadradhananjaya also supplies some information about the author. He claims that the lotus of his heart is purified by the dust from the feet of the ever present Visnu. He acquired the essence of knowledge by charming the ocean of Mahabharata with his brain which resembles the Mandara mountain in the act and has gathered experience by confusing Tapatisamavarnam. He is the sovereign of the whole of Kerala, rich in paddy fields and his friends are free to share his riches. He is sure that the people will welcome his work as their own inspite of the fact that they are familiar with the works of Kalidasa and others\textsuperscript{42}.

Tapatisamvaranam

Tapatisamvaranam\textsuperscript{43} is a dramma in six acts describing the love of the heroine. Tapati and the hero Samvarana, and is the subject of this volumes.

Personal details from this work

The early history of Kerala being shrouded in obscurity it is impossible to known much about the king with any certainly. From the prologue to this drama\textsuperscript{44}. It is known that

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{40} TSS No. 11, 1912
\item \textsuperscript{41} TSS No. 11 - Pp 4 - 5
\item \textsuperscript{42} Ibid, for more details - CKSL - P 8 - 19
\item \textsuperscript{43} Ed. by T. Ganapatisastri, 1911. Pub. the same with intro., Delhi 1987
\item \textsuperscript{44} 
\end{itemize}
he was a king of Kerala and that he had his capital at Mahodayapuram. He refers to himself as "the best of the descendants of the Kerala family". He characterises himself as an ardent admirer of the 'Paramahamsa' ascetics of the highest order. He compares his hands with the sun. Since they dispel the darkness of poverty of Brahmins by giving away presents in plenty. Even before writing his drammas he won recognition in the literary field by composing the prose work Ascaryamanjarikatha.

**Vyanghya Vyakhya commentary**

A Brahmin contemporary of Kulasekhara has commented upon his drammas with a view to bringing out the suggestions. The commentaries are known as Samvaranadhvani and Dhananjayadhvani are generally referred to as Vyanghya Vyakhya. The author of the commentaries called Vyangya Vyakhyaya was a contemporary of the royal dramatist. He was a Brahmin most probably a Namputiri. Paramesvara Mangalam, on the banks of the river Curnika (Periyar) might have been his home. Undoubtedly the royal dramatist regarded the commentator in high esteem since the latter was invited to the royal court and was asked to write commentaries upon the drammas. As already mentioned above the commentator in his introduction to the commentary gives a detailed account of his visit. Nothing more is known definitely regarding the where abouts of the author. It is suggested that the name of the commentator might be sumatin. This suggestion most probably is based on the reference of Sivarama to the earlier commentary where he also gives the information that the earlier commentator was contemporary of the dramatist. The contemporaneity of the anonymous commentator with the dramatists has been questioned by some scholars without adducing sufficient reason. Apparently they ignore the reference of Sivarama to the Vyangya Vyakhyya commentary and its author. Some try to identify the author of the Vyangya Vyakhyaya with Tolan. But there is no conclusive evidence to warrant such a supposition.

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45.
From the prefatory verses to the Dhananjaya dhvani it is known that the commentator was close friend and confidant of the king. Hence the information given by him is of great importance. Moreover his statements often corroborate those of the king. For instance, in the prologue of Subhadra dhananjaya the king qualifies himself as “one who has acquired the essence of Mahabharatha”. This is corroborated by the following statement in the Vyangya Vyakhyas.

By way of introduction, the Dhananjayaddhvani gives the following information sage Bharata learned the art of dramaturgy from Brahman and composed Natyasastra. He introduced dramatic art in our world. King Kulasekhara following the rules of Natyasastra composed two drammas abounding in rhythm, sentiments and suggestive words. The commentary is intended to bring out their suggestive import along with the instructions of their representation on the stage.

The commentator narrates the circumstances under which the commentaries were written. It may be summarised as follows in his own words: “Getting up early in the morning, I performed the morning rites in the river Curnika and visited the temple at Paramesvaramangalam, dedicated to Visnu. Returning to my house I washed my hands and legs and warmed myself before a blazing fire. I was meditating and praying, when a Brahmin messenger sent by the king of Kerala presented himself before me. I received him cordially and enquired the purpose of his visit.

He informed me that the king wished to meet me. Then I travelled in his company towards Mahodayapuram by the Curnika river in a canoe provided with cot, bed and other comforts.

There I met the king seated on a throne. His natural lustre seemed to have increased owing to the radiance of the rich stones adorning his crown. An elevated forehead, a prominent nose, lofty shoulders, long eyes and lengthy shanks contributed much adorn his person. Surely, the red painted fore arms and feet betrayed the signs of a king. Since they possessed auspicious marks of a wheel, conch-shell etc. His face lotus glit-
tered in the brilliance of the rich stones on his ear-rings. His neck surpassed the conch-shell in sound and shape. His breast was anointed with saffron, camphor and sandal pastes. The blue silkon garments worn by him attracted the attention of the onlookers. He was engaged in conversation the topic being Visnu - the supreme spirit. The lotus hold in his left hand was being closed by the other. He was loved and admired by one and all with modesty I entered the assembly room. The king received me with sweet words. Hardly had I stood there for a moment when the king sought the permission of the assembly with a smiling look and retired to his private chamber along with me. Conversing humorously we entered council chamber inaccessible to others. Once I was seated comfortably, the king spoke to me in a pleasing manner.

I have brought you here, Oh ! scholar, since you are a postmaster in the art of histri-onics. I have decided to assign a certain work to you. I have composed two drammas, Samavarana and Dhananjaya. Both these drammas were written using suggestive words. Suggestive poetry has found acceptance at the hands of scholars.

**Vasulaksmikalyana**

In addition to the drama Vasulaksmikalyana included in Sadasiva Diksita’s Balaramavarmayasobhusana there is another dramma of the same name written by Venkatasubrahmanyadhavarin who was another protege of Rama Varma. The plots of the two drammas do not show any substantial difference, and at the same time are related to the personal like of Rama Varma. However, minor differences are noticable in the plots.

Sadasiva’s narration in this ; The ruler of Sindhurajya had a daughter named Vasulaksmi whom he decided to give in marriage to Balarama Varma, the ruler of Travancore. But, the queen wanted to get her daughter married to a sinhalese prince, for which she transported the princess to Lanka. But in the voyage the ship was caught in a whirlpool and was forced to land at the Travancore coast. Vasumadrajan, brother of Balaramavarma’s lady took the princess to his sister. Vasumadraja was the Travancore ruler’s officer posted in the Antadurga. The king fell in love with Vasulakshmi. Nitisagara,

46. TSS 224, 1968
Vide - KSC III - P- 458 - 459
the Travancore minister informed the Raja of Sindhuraja of the happenings, whereupon Sindhuraja came to Travancore and gave his daughter in marriage to Balarama Varma.

Venkatasubrahmanya Diksita’s narration is the following. The minister Budhisagara who has seen a portrait of Vasulaksmi the Sindhu Princess, is anxious that the king should marry her so that the political influence of Travancore may extend northwards and his friendship with the Hunaraja (English East India Company) may also be strengthened. When the news is received that the Sindhu princess is voyaging to Ceylon, the minister manages to waylay this ship in Travancore water with the active co-operation of the Hunaraja. Vasuman the officer in command of the sea coast who is also brother of Ramavarma’s consort, sends the captive princess to the royal court. The king falls in love with her and meets her in the royal pleasure garden; the jealous queen tries to remover her rival by marrying her to the Cera prince Vasuvarman, but the plot fails as the king and his Vidsusaka impersonate the Cera prince and his friend. Atlast the queen gives her consent for the marriage. According to A.S. Ramanatha Iyer and Ullur, Rama Varma’s marriage with the Sindhu princess was a not a historical event, but a symbolism of the establishment of trade relation with the merchants who came from Sindh and Kutch.

The name of the heroine Vasulaksmi, which means literally the ‘Goddess of wealth’ may aptly indicate a personification of the anticipated commercial prosperity of the state consequent on the colonisation by the northern marchants, whose introduction into the country and the grant of special privileges to whom were, however first viewed with disfavour and jealously by the conservative ‘native of the soil’ as personified in the legal consort Vasumati. (the earth) until their prejudice was faded over by proper arguments adduced by the able minister; while Vasuman (the port officer) who was also convinced of the advantages that would happen to the state by Vasulakmi’s marriage heartily sided with the minister in his endeavour to win over Vasumati’s consent.

47. Intro. to TSS No. 224, 1968, Pp 3 - 4
48. TAS - Vol. V - Pp 118 - 126
In Venkatasubrahmanya’s dramma it is said that Kaccdesa was located north of Sindhuraja. In the second act of the hero says: "It appears that the name Indhurajya has been applied to the country of Setupati. The Setupati owes his title to the territorial name set which in inter changable with Sindhu.

Venkatasubrahmanya states that Rama Varma’s uncle Martandavarma was in friendly relation with the Sindhuraja. It is said in the dramma that the matrimony was aimed at developing good relations with the Hunaraja or the English. If Rama Varma developed direct trade with Sindh, it would have enraged the English, instead of pleasing them.

No special significance could be ascribed to the particular mention of Sindh, because neither the province of Sindh nor the Sindhis of that time had any remarkable position in international trade. In matters of inland trade also the Sindhis had no place in Travancore. There was no Sindhi population in the 18th C. Travancore as known to history.

Antadurga mentions in the drama should be identified with Vattakotta, which is located at the lands end of India and then frontier of Travancore.

It is stated that the dramma included in the Yasobhusana was written for enacting in connection with the Vasantotsava of Lord Padmanabha. Ullur identified this with the Painkunni Utsava.49

Other Dramas

Annadatrcarita is a drama by Balarama Panikkar on Perumkurrucian Ceralatan.

Rasasadanabhana of Vidvan Ilaya Tampuran contains an account of the various entertainment in connection with the festival at Kotungallur temple. Many of the descriptions of the scenes and situations are quite true to the 19th C. of Kerala. Special mention may be made to the description of the Ottamullal, Chakyar Kuttu etc.

49. KSC - Vol. III - P 459
50. An incomplete anonymous commentary on the drama is also available, Madras Govt. oriental man. library.
51. Ed. Kavyamala, 37, Bombay 1886 - 1922 - Vide KSSC IV - P 342 - 343; KSC IV- P 37 - 38 - The Kalikeliyatrabhana is the same work.
The mode of dress among the Malayalis, the Yatra festival of Kali in the temple, the visit of the king, the method of worship in the Kerala temple etc. described here.

Chandralekhasataka⁵² by Rudradasa dealing with the marriage of Manaveda with Candralekha, the princess of Anga in four acts called yavanikas. Srngarasarvasvabhana⁵³ of Anantanarayana of Coravana composed to be enacted at Tirunavay at the time of mamankam. Vasumati manavikrama⁵⁴ of Damodarabhatta of Kakkassery is a dramma in seven acts dealing with the marriage of king Manavikrama of Calicut with Vasumati, the daughter of his minister Mannattaccan.

Srñagaramanjaribhana⁵⁵ of Ratikara written for staging at the yatra festival of Srirama of Karimpuzha (Nilapaga)

CAMPUS

Dr. A.A. Macdonel has remarked that “History is the one weak spot in Indian literature. It is in fact, nonexistent”. According to Dr. A.B. Keith ‘Sanskrit literature for all its great merits is deficient in simple prose narrative on interesting themes”. Historical campus though they belie the statement of Dr. Macdonell, on the whole substantiate the truth of the observation of Dr. Keith. The hero of any historical campus, as of any sanskrit kavya, is presented as a superman.

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⁵³ KSSC III - P 297 - 299, CKSL - P 113
⁵⁴ KSSC - I - P 414 - 128; CKSL 188 - 189
⁵⁵ KSSC - III - P 616 - 617, CKSL - P 223
The Prabandhas or short campu kavyas form an important section of sanskrit literature. These campu kavyas gives us much information on some of the important historical figures of ancient Kerala. Kerala has to her credit a good number of campus having historical importance. The most important among the Campus are Balaramavijaya and Ramavarma vijaya.

**Astamimahotsava**

The Astamimahotsava\(^56\) is a prabandha in Campu style written by Melputtur Narayanabattatiri, the well known author of Narayaniya. He has written several works in the form of prabandhas at the request of his friend Iravicakyar of Kuttenceri for Kuttu performance at festival occasion.

The Astami mahotsava is an original Campu kavya describing the Astami festival in the temple of lord Siva at Vaikkam (Vyakhralaya) in Kerala. This work consists of 41 verses interspersed with 22 prose passages and one Dandaka.

The temple is situated on the eastern bank of the Vembanad Lake between Kottayam and Ernakulam. The grandeur of the annual festival conducted on the eighth lunar day is well brought out by the author. The work brings to light the regular features of temple festival in Kerala.

Author expresses his humility regarding his poetic abilities and also stresses the importance of the Astamimahotsava\(^57\). The poet introduces a Vidhyadhara called Sangitadesika in order to narrate to the story of the Astami festival.

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56. TSS No. 249, Prabandha samahara - Part II, Ed. & Pub. by Dr. K. Raghava Pillai Tvm. 1980
   Ed. by Chunakkara Unnikrishna Variar, Mal. tran. by Unnikrishna Variar, Kavana Kaumudi, Kottakkal, 1923 by Camprol Ambadevi Tampuratti with introduction by Vatakumkur.

57. [Handwritten note]
There is a holy place, Vyaghrapura, in the Kerala region where many brahmin of great virtue reside. There is a flag-staff infront of the temple. It touches the clouds and shines like a ladder for people to reach the feet of Siva. Goddess Bhadrakali presides over the southern part of the temple.

**Time of Astami festival**

On the dvadasi day, in the after noon, beautiful women employed to clean the temple premises and the whole area sprinkle holy water and purify the place. They purified under the flag-staff and decorated with auspicious material. Afterwards a noble Brahmin emerges from the temple. He performs the pooja under the flag-staff and he hoist the ceremonial flag. All the people salute the flag and pray to the lord to save them from their difficulties.

The next day announces the coming out of the lord of the universe for the great festival of lamps. Afterwards people of all age like courtesans, learned brahmins also congregate there attracted by that sound. The lamps are now kindled in the whole temple area. Soon the Lord of Universe setsforth to see the festival of lights mounted on a huge elephant shining on both sides with chamaras.

Feather fans and while parasols are seen from above the lord with the accompaniment of resounding beating of bheri instruments. The Lord proceeds the southern region followed by multitudes of devotees. The lord makes three rounds and enters the temple, dismounting from the huge elephant. Later all people go their way. Thus ten beautiful day pass by with great celebration.

On the Astami day, the twelth day of the festival the market place is occupied at one part by merchants. The market place became a pageant with precious gems, costly orna-

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58. AM - 11
59. AM - 13
60. AM - 16
61. AM - 21
ments etc. Another side there are courtesans wandering from one shop to another. People from several regions engaged there for a long time in buying and selling. The people of entire world who are dwelling within four mountains viz. the Vindhya, Himalaya, Astagiri and Udayagiri also arrive at this place.

Then two handsome young men come out from the temple premises, holding a Vetradanda. The Brahmins and the multitudes of devotees followed singing songs in praise of lord Siva. The God is mounted on the elephant. His eyes are round with devotion and he is the very embodiment of majesty. The procession accompanied by the music of several instruments and the noise of the prayer to Lord Siva, reached the northern side of the temple in Pradaksina.

**Lord Subrahmanya Joins**

Then suddenly the army of Sadanana reach there with galloping horses and soldiers mingled with the ocean of people and he approached Siva. The procession accompanied by the music of several instruments, coming with fan of pea-cock feather and some mountain on elephant and some walking on foot. Afterwards Lord Trisulin reach the eastern outer courtyard of the temple, with Lord Sikhivahana and adorns the prelincs of the two big banyan trees.

Later Lord Visvanatha remains near the banyan tree being attended by Gandharvas, Vidyadharas, and divine beings. Another group of beautiful ladies standing in rows holding lamps honoured Lord Subrahmanya, who is remaining near by on the back of a huge elephant. After that there arose defending tumult from different types of instruments viz. conches, Dundubhi, Mrdangam etc. along with the joy of all the people. Suddenly the troops of Kinnara women danced in the sky with great pleasure. They showered flowers. Then all the instruments stopped playing.

Under the banyan tree, all the people worshipped the Lord with singing stotras. Their hands were joined in salutation and they pray with Puspanjali. For seeing that
festival, very eagerly the Sandhya, the evening twilight approached there shining with payodharas smeared with red hint.

**End of the festival**

Later lord Siva coming in circumbulation adorns the northern part of the temple, surrounded by many people moving in unison Lords Sanmukha accompanied with his army in great pomp takes leave of Lord Siva. Then Trisulin occupies the entrance to his own temple surrounded by his devotees.

The lord dismounted from his elephant and disappears into the temple premises like the sun who also disappear behind the Astacala. Then it is night fall and the people who are exhausted by the celebrations also relax. Early in the morning the deep sound of the conch awakensness all of them and in due course the sun also rise from the eastern horizon.

Lord Siva accompanied by several soldiers, elephants and devotees goes to the big lake on the northern side of the temple for a holy bath. Then all the people take bath in the same waters purified by his bath. Quickly he returns to his abode.

This is the first literary composition exclusively devoted to a description of the celebration of a temple festival in Kerala. In this Narayanabhatta has in addition to extolling the presiding deity there, gives us a reliable record of Vaikkam and men and matters during his time63.

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63. For more details -
(a) Prabandha manjari - Dr. N.P. Unni - Rastriya samskrita samsthan, 1998 Pp 289 - 305
(b) Melpattur Narayanabhatta - Astami Mahotsava by S.K. Sreedevi- pub. in Purnatrayi - Vol. XXV - Nos. 1 & 2, 1998
(c) Astamiprabandha campus - Dr. T.G. Ramachandran Pillai, Kerala samskaram Lakkam II, (Feb) Kerala Sarkar, 1984 , Tvm
(d) CKSL - P 145
Balaramavijaya

Balarama Vijaya is a historical campus which deals with the heroic exploits of prince Balarama, the heir-apparent to the throne of Bimbala. The author of the work is Sitarama as is mentioned in the beginning of the Campus. According to Dr. K. Kunhunni Raja, Sitarama was a cola writer the patronage of king Ramavarma of Vatakumkur. The editor says that Sitarama was the son of Vaidyanatha Makhi. The editors statement in his contribution that the authors teacher was Vaidyanatha Makhi is also incorrect. The poet states that he is a student of the well known poet Ramabhadra Diksita. Dr. Raja assigns the author to the 18th C. AD. Dr. S. Venkitasubrahmania Iyer states that the poet gives some idea of the nature of warfare in the 17th century. Vatakumkur places the author in the latter half of the 17th century. The work begins with a description of Malaya mountain and ends with hero’s marriage with Parvati, the heroine. It is devided into two stabakas consisting of verses 201 and 120 respectively. The theme of the work is the war between Vatakumkur and Tekkumkur. The author is no mean poet. The account of the hero’s welcome which the city gives the Victorians Balarama Varma is picturesque. The mountain Malaya, Uttaravahins, river Valkalesa, the capital city

64. Ed. by Dr. K. Raghava Pillai, TSS No. 194, 1961. First pub. in JKOUML - Vol.IX Nos. 4 - 10, No. 4; KSSC III - P 46 - 48 ; KSSC IV- 235 - 246 (Palm leaf MS No.1246)
65. Bimbala is identified with Vatakumkur, which was one of the principalities of Kerala and was annexed to Venad by the King great Martandavarma in 1750 AD.
66. CKSL - P 239
67. Verse VII
68. Verse IV
CKSL - P 239 - KSSC IV - P 234 ; KSC III - P 44
69. KSLB - P 324
70. KSSC - IV - P 235
71. This river is identified as Vaṭayāra, or Vatakkanaru
72. Valkala is Vaikkom according to Ullur (KSSC III - 46) But Vadakkumkur identifies Valkala as a place near Vaṭayāraru (KSSC IV - P 236) See Valkalesastava, Bhasatrasimakam, Vol. XI - Nos. 3 - 4, 1961
Manaspada\textsuperscript{73} and Balatavi\textsuperscript{74} are described in this campu.

**Keralabharana**

Keralabharana\textsuperscript{75} by Ramachandra Makhin, a Tamil writer is written on the model of Visvagunadarsa campu by Venkatadhvarin. It may be briefly considered here since it refers to the customs and manners.

The customs of Kerala are vividly described by the author. He refers to the legend that Kerala was created by the mythological creator, Parasurama in the following words.

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The author deals with the famous city of Anantapura or Syanandurapura adorned with the deity of Padmanabha. The land is strewn with temples dedicated to all types of gods and Goddesses. The work gives realistic description of different parts of South India, besides Kerala.

The customs of Kerala\textsuperscript{76} are discussed through a conversation between two pies, which taken place when Narada visits the hermitage of Agastya. In their discussion, they make some remarks about the women of Kerala which are not very sympathetic. According to them the women are of masculine nature and free-willed. They marry one but associate often with other men. It is said that in Kerala, a Brahmin making love to another wife is not considered to be the sin if she does not belong to the Brahmin caste. At the

\textsuperscript{73} Manaspada may be identified as Ettumanur, though Vatakumkur gives it as Mannattu near Vatayaru (KSSC - IV - P 237
\textsuperscript{74} Balatavi is Ilamkavu, Ilamkavu Bhagavati is the household goddess of the royal family of Vatakumkur.
\textsuperscript{75} T.C. 1621, Tanjore 4031 - A
It may be assigned to the 18th C. AD
\textsuperscript{76}
same time, men of other castes should not make advances to a Brahmin women, since Brahmins are considered to a superior to the other caste.

Further the author refers to the customs of Brahmin. A men should wear one sacred thread called Yanjopavita before marriage. But after marriage he should wear two threads according to the convention of the caste. People pass urine on the way side and they wash their face and mouth in the same tank where women are bathing. Above all after finishing their education instead of marrying and settling down they make love to other wives. Among the Nambutiri Brahmin only the oldest son was allowed to marry from their own caste. Others could only have Sambandha with women of other castes. K.M. mentions this practice and there may be more truth in it than on the other works dealing mainly with legendary.

According to this work the climate and other features of Kerala are suitable for the performance of all types of sacrifices and hymns, and so Parasurama did penance and created the land by propitiating the sea-god Varuna.

**Padmanabharacita**

Sri Padmanabharacita is an unpublished Campu kavya describes the legendary history. The first five of Tvm in 6 stabakas and some portions of the 6th stabaka are available and the rest is lost to us. The author of this Campu is a poet named Krsna as is evident from the following passage.

He is said to have been protege of king Martandavarma (AD 1729-1758) of Travancore. The work was written at the instance of Kartika Tirunal Ramavarma who was a prince at that time in the state of Travancore.

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77. For more details KSSC IV - P 347 - 348; CKSL - P 240
78. SPT III - KSSC IV - 156 - 157; KSC -Vol.- III - 305 -309
79. Krsna Sarma or Krsna kavi
The Campu deals with the story of the origin of the Sripadmanabha swamy temple. The matter is taken from Anantasayanaksetramahatmya in which the legendary history of the temple is described in a puranic style. The first stabaka deals with the description of the city of Tvm and also given a beautiful picture of Sripadmanabha Svamy temple. The story current about the legend of the sage Divakara is dealt with the second stabaka. The third stabaka narrates the effort of Urvasi to obstruct the penance of the sage and the fourth forms the description of Lord Visnu. The fifth deals with the search after the divine boy by the sage.

In the beginning of the work he states that the reigning king was Martanda Varma. The king is described to have acquired rajyalaksmi by his own prabhava. In this instance there is an indirect reference to the fact that he had no ready inheritance of the kingdom, but he acquired inheritance by his own efforts. The verse is

In the succeeding verse he says that the bards who have sweet words surround him like the honey bees lover on the Vasantacuta. This is followed by another verse that glorifies the king to the maximum

Here, the king’s moral strength is praised. Martanda Varma as known to history, was a king of high morals. He has been in history a controversial personality, but nobody has yet cast any doubt on the moral side of his character. On the process of the king Krsna Sarman adds a few there verses of excellent poetic charm. They are not quoted here as
their purport is too general. But, there is one verse of great historical value among them.

In this verse what matters for the historical purpose is the reference to the sisters of Martanda Varama. We know from other records that Marthanda Varma had no direct sister. At the same time Krsna Sarman refers to his sisters. As is in the plural we can well understand that the sisters were not less than three in number. It is also known in history that a princess from Kolattunad was adopted as Martanda Varma’s sister. She has to be identified with princess Parvati or Mahisurendranandini adverted to by Devaraja Kavi as the king’s sister. Therefore, the sisters spoken of by Krsna Sarman should be identified with the four princesses of Pallikkovilakam, adopted to the Travancore royal house of by Martanda Varma.

As the second adoption is known to have been made in 925 M.E. It becomes evident that the campus of Krsna Sarman was composed between 925 and 933 M.E.

**Ramavarmavijaya**

Another Campus is by anonymous authorship, Ramavarmavijaya written on the exploits of Svati Tirunal Maharaja of Travancore (1813-47)

The author does not disclose his name, but says that he was a Pancalanyalagraharavasin, there by indicating that he was a Brahmin belonging to the Mahadanapuram near Kanyakumari Ullur cites a few lines from the work, stating that the work is incomplete. Kunnunni Raja also the same view. However, there is a complete copy of this work in the Kerala University manuscript library.

80. KUOML - MS No. 1126
    KSLB - P 385, KSSC - IV - 343 - 344
81. KSC - IV- Pp 4 - 10, 32 - 33
82. CKSL - P 240
83. Dr. Venkita subrahmania Iyyer - JKOUML - Vol. XVI - No. 4, 1967
The subject matter of the work is an account of the journey of king Rama Varma to Kanyakumari. Specific details of the king are wanting still, he has been identified with Maharaja Svati Tirunal Rama Varma on the following consideration.

Svati Tirunal was very fond of chariot journey. It was he who instituted the charist procession on the Vijayadasami for which purpose he built a new chariot of superb artistic excellence. This chariot had been described by local bards in verses, and portrayed by artists on the canvas.

The hero of the Campu is stated to have been accompanied by his younger brother and not less than three nephews. The reference fits well Svati Tirunal because, he had a younger brother named Utram Tirunal Martanda Varma and five nephews, the sons of princess Rukmini Bayi and Rama Varma Koyittampuran of Puliyakkara. The nephews included Ayilyam Tirunal Rama Varma and Visakham Tirunal Ramavarma.

The title Ramavarma vijaya is very appropriate because the word Vijaya is often used also in the sense of journey.

The work as a whole does not possess any amount of historical significance. Still it contains a remarkable piece of historical information. About the hero, it is said that he was able to write poems in eighteen language in the light of the general accomplishment of Svati Tirunal.

Syanandurapuravarnanaprabandha

SVP84 of Rama Varma Swathi Tirunal Maharaja of Travancore85 is a Campu. Among the several eminent Skt writers the royal family of Travancore has produced. His highness Sri. Swati Tirunal is one of the greatest. The name of Swati Tirunal is most remarkable as he represented a rare combination of the highest qualities and attainments as a ruler as a

84. Pub. by the Govt. of Travancore, 1920
   Composed in 1838 also see KSSC IV - P 458 - 466; KSC - IV - P 13 - 14;
   CKSL - P 180 - 181
85. Also known as Garbhasriman, was born in 1813 AD
patron of arts and letters and especially as a great musical composer and poet.

It is divided into ten section called stabakas. It deals with the legendary history and festivals of Sri. Padmanabha Swami temple in Trivandrum. The subjects dealt with respective are the juvenile sport of the God. His divine appearance, description of the divine body from head to foot, description of the temple, the holy tirthas, the festivals, the hunting ceremony, the Arattu procession, the bathing in the sea and the Laksadipa festival.

**Legendary history and festivals**

The Prabandha of Svati Tirunal gives references of the Sri. Padmanabha Swamy Temple at Thiruvananthapuram. It mainly deals with the legendary history, various festivals and also other matters related to the temple. The legendary story narrated by the poet ascribes the origin of the temple to a sage Divakara by name. Besides this the text deals with the description of Lord Padmanabha the deity of the temple, the other deities installed in the temple campus, the sacred city of Syanandurapuram, the thirthas the various mandapas and an account of the various festivals.

The origin of the temple, has been handed down through the centuries in the form of legends, also indicates that the house of God is very ancient. Svati Tirunal also narrates this legend and ascribes the origin of the temple to Divakara. The story described in this prabandha is as follows:

There was a sage Divakara who originally lived at Anarta, and was an ardent devotee of Lord Visnu. He practised strict penance for seeing with his naked eyes Lord Visnu. The God pleased with his devotion, appeared before Divakara in the form of a handsome child. He asked the child who he was and who his parents were. The child replied that he did not know the details of his parents but assured the saint that his company could bring him peace and joy in life. The child however threatened to run away from him. If he of-

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86. The poet has taken the story of the origin of the temple from the Anantapura mahatmya

87. The poet has taken the story of the origin of the temple from the Anantapura mahatmya
fended him on any manner. The attractive boy began to play with him and do all sorts of mischiefs and pranks characteristic of his age. The saint was very much delighted and tended him well. But one day the boy put into his mouth a salagrama to which the saint was doing puja and annoyed at this, he warded the boy off with his left hand. The divine child immediately disappeared, telling the repenting saint that he could see him thereafter only at Anantavana. Distressed at this thoughtless deed and disheartened by his ignorance about the location of the new place, he wandered a long distance. After a long journey and asking every object he met on the way where Anantavana was, he reached the place fully exhausted in holly and begged of the Lord’s pardon in a stream of prayer. Suddenly he saw the divine boy in the hollow of a gigantic Madhuka tree. Immediately the tree fell down and he saw the lord in the Anantasayana form with his head at the place now known as Thiruvallam, feet at Trippadapuram and the mid part in Tiruanantapuram. He prayed to the Lord to assume a form within thrice of the length of his staff (danda) and thus short enough for him to do his worship. Accordingly the Lord reduced himself to the present dimensions and after blessing the devotee disappeared. The sage got a temple constructed in the place and arranged for the daily service.

But there is no further information regarding the details of Divakara or his time. The Lord having been pleased, ordained that from then onwards, Pujas, to him at that place should be conducted by Tulu Brahmins from the same part of the country as Divakara hailed. To this day half the number of Pujari in the temple continue to be performed by Brahmins drawn from the Tulu country.

Another generally accepted version of the origin of the temple relates it to famous saint Vilvamangalathu Svamiyar\textsuperscript{88}, whose name is linked with the histories of several temples in South India. Some variations in the details are also met with\textsuperscript{89} Svati Tirunal in his narrative follows the version connecting the temple with Divakara. This is appropriate

\textsuperscript{88} Ullur considers that this sage belonged to the end of the 12th century AD. KSC - Vol. I - Pp 131 - 132
\textsuperscript{89} See - V. Nagam Aiya - TSM - Vol. III - Tvm 1906, Pp 32 - 33
because there are literary and epigraphically evidences to show that the temple has been in existences earlier than the earliest age assigned to Vilvamangalathu svamiyar.

In the third stabaka there is a description of God Padmanabha. The poet describes Lord Padmanabha, inside the shrine of the Temple, conceived as Adinarayana reclining on the serpent of Ananta. We get a grand description of the deity from head to foot as seen by the sage Divakara, and the duties associated with him like Lakshmi, Bhumi, Jaya, Vijaya, Garuda, Narada etc. The other features of the deity as mentioned by the poet90.

The next two stabakas deal with the pratistha of the Deity in the temple there. The fourth stabaka deals with the other deities installed in the temple campus like Sriksna Narasimha, etc. Some historians hold the view that the shrine of Sriksna, which is a separate temple located with the main temple walls, is older than the shrine of Sri. Padmanabha91.

The work gives an account of the various Tirthas and also of the different parts of the temple such as Sribalimandapa Ekasitamandapa, Dwajastamba, Kulasekharamandapa, Vrajamandapa and the lofty Gopuram with poetic exaggeration.

The following four stabakas describe the annual festival Utsava in the temple. The poet describes elaborately the festivals held twice a year92 and also other ceremonies like Bhadradipam, Murajapam and Laksadeepam.

The Murajapam is said to be the voice of Vedic India expressing itself in Travancore93. This is an important ceremony held in the temple once in six years. The Bhadradipam is to be performed twice a year and when twelve. Such has been duly performed a Murajapam prayer occurs. This ceremony concludes with a grand illumination in the temple campus called Laksadipa.

90. SVP III - 4 - 19
91. S. Padmanabhan - Temples of South India, Tvm 1977, P 120
92. There are two festivals in a year at the temple in the month of March & October.
93. N.K. Venkitesvaran - Glimpses of Travancore, P 32
There are also other Japams tracked to the main ceremony. Four kinds of Japams. The Murajapam, Mantrajapam, Sahasranamajapam, and the Jalajapam are to be performed everyday. The description of the four kinds of the japams are also dealt within the poem. The poem also mentions about the Bhadradipapuja conducted twice a year in the month of Dhanu and Mithunam. The Laksadipam is a grand spectacular show of illumination when the whole premises of the temple will be flooded with lights. The poet has imagined that the sun has risen at night in Syanandurapura with extra ordinary splendour\textsuperscript{94}.

**Other Campus bearing on Kerala history**

Ardramaholsava Campu\textsuperscript{95} by Keralavarma Tampuran of Neytallur dealing on the Tiruvatira festival celebrated at Pantalam.

Indrasabha\textsuperscript{96} is a campu kavya written by Kunnampu kurup of Kuttamattu dealing with an account of the life of the people in modern Kerala.

This is in the form of a discussion among Indra Bali - Narada and Brhaspati in the court of Indra in two sections called vilasas.

Kasiyatraprabantha\textsuperscript{97} of Paccu Muttat of Vaikkom dealing on the pilgrimage of king Virakerala Varma of Cochin to Benaras in 1852.

\textsuperscript{94} For more details see - SVP - A study - Srilatha. A. - Uty of Kerala - 1980
\textsuperscript{95} KSSC - IV - P 639
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid - V - P 233 - 237
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid - IV - P 522; CKSL - P 263; KSC - IV - P 160
Kirtivilasa98 of Rama Svami Sastri of Ilattur is a campu composed in 1858 in eulogy of Ayilyam Tirunal, when he was Yuvaraja. Only one Ullasa is now available.

Krsnavarmaprasasti99 is a campu written by Nilakandhan Mussat of Manantala on Krisna Varma Tampuran of Katathanad.

Manavikramabhupalacarita100 (Manavikramiya) of Vedantaramanujacarya, eulogising the Zamorin of Calicut, who was the son of Manorama and who died in 1856 and describing his pilgrimage.

Nayanidarasana101 of Kumaranallur Vipra is a Campu deals with the construction of a special palace at Kutamalur for Devanarayana.

Sri Visakha Tulabhara Prabandha102 of A.R. Raja Varma on the Tulabhara ceremony conducted by Visakham Tirunal Maharaja of Travancore.

Tirunal Prabandha103 of Kerala Varma Valiya Koiltampuran written in honour of the birthday celebration of Ayilyam Tirunal

Above mentioned these dramas and campus sheds some light on the dark period of Kerala History.

98. KSC - IV - 188 - 189; KSSC - IV - P 408 ; VD - III - Pp 299 - 301
99. KSSC - VI - P 170
100. Ibid IV - P 252; KSC - IV - P 110 - 112; KSLB - P 357; CKSL - P 266
101. Ibid - P 346 - 347; KSC - III - P 53 - 56
102. Ibid - VI - P 42; KSC - V- P 805
103. SPT - Karkataka IV - ME - Article - Valiya koyi Tampurante oru balya krti
     KSC IV - P 395 ; KSSC - V - P 116 - 118