

Ravivarman Kulaśekhara the Yādava and Sagara the Son of Yādavī: Real and Ideal Kings in Matrilineal Kerala

CHRISTOPHE VIELLE¹

University of Louvain, Oriental Institute
Place Blaise Pascal 1, B -1348
Louvain-la-Neuve
Belgium
christophe.vielle@uclouvain.be

ABSTRACT: This paper deals with the historical figure of Ravivarman Kulaśekhara (c. 1266–1317 CE), a king of southern Kerala and for a while emperor of South India, who claims in his inscriptions to be a *yadupati* like his father, and at the same time appears to be genetically a Yādava by his mother, according to the matrilineal system of inheritance through the sister's son (*marumakkattāyaṃ*) that was prevalent in pre-modern Kerala among non-brahmins. Moreover, in taking over the Cera imperial heritage in accordance with the solar aspects of his *kuladevatā* (Viṣṇu Padmanābha), Ravivarman pretends to assume a solar dimension compatible with his lunar-family origin by claiming to be *nāmāntara-karṇa* (Karṇa being son of the solar god through the Yādavī Kuntī). The *Jaiminiyaśaṃhitā* of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, an epic probably composed in Kerala under the reign of the same Kulaśekhara (there is an obvious reference to this text in one of his inscriptions), tells a unique story about the brahmin (first) wife of King Sagara, and also emphasizes the role of Sagara's mother who is a Yādavī queen, as if the famous solar king Sagara served as a model for Ravivarman. The paper compares and discusses the genealogical narratives of the epigraphic testimonies and the Purāṇic accounts, and analyses their symbolic value in order to understand the royal ideology expressed according to the Brahmanical tradition within the peculiar socio-cultural context of Kerala.

KEYWORDS: Cera; epigraphy; *Jaiminiyaśaṃhitā*; kingship; Kollam; *marumakkattāyaṃ*; matriliney; medieval South India; Nayar; pre-modern Kerala; Purāṇa; Ravivarman Kulaśekhara; *svarūpam*; Travancore; Yādava.

1. Christophe Vielle is a Senior Research Associate in the Belgian National Foundation for Scientific Research, and Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Louvain.

KING RAVIVARMAN KULAŚEKHARA ACCORDING TO INSCRIPTIONS

The South Indian king Ravivarman Kulaśekhara is an important historical figure (c. 1266 to perhaps 1317 CE), who certainly deserves, after Krishna-swami Aiyangar's preliminary essay (1938), a new study based on all the available epigraphic and literary material. A first step in this direction has been made, for the epigraphic corpus, by N. Sethuraman (1990). Leaving aside the problems of Ravivarman's chronology (especially his regnal dates), in this paper I will concentrate on his genealogy and symbolic attributes.

Ravivarman Kulaśekhara was king in/of the Kūpaka country (Vēṇāṭu in Tamil/Malayalam: he is presented as *vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ* in a Pāṇḍya king's inscription of 1313 CE; Srinivasan, Narasimhaswamy and Ramesh 1982: 244–45, no. 222), in the land of the Keraḷas (understood broadly as Malayāḷam or Mala(i)nāṭu). According to the encyclopaedic *Prapañcahr̥daya* (c. eleventh century, cf. Parpola 1981: 153), which lists the 'seven Konkans' forming the west-coastal 'land of Paraśurāma', Kūpaka, the southernmost one, was located south of (central) Kerala in the narrow sense, itself south of the Mūṣika country.² It thus corresponds more or less to the modern Travancore.³ Its political capital was Koḷambam/Kollam (Quilon), and its main shrine was the famous temple of (Viṣṇu) Padmanābha in Trivandrum/Tiruvanantapuram, or Śrī Anantapuram.⁴

2. *Prapañcahr̥daya* p. 3: *sahyapāde paraśurāmabhūmiḥ | sā saptakonkaṇākyā kūpaka-kerala-mūṣika-aluva-paśu-koṅkaṇa-parakoṅkaṇa-bhedena dakṣiṇottarayāmena ca vyavasthitā* || Quoted by Janaki 1966: 62 n. 14. The *meykkīrtti* of the Coḷa king Rājādhirāja (middle of the eleventh century) speaks in one passage of three Kerala/Malayāḷa rulers, corresponding to the Vēṇāṭu, the Mūṣika and the Cēra/Keraḷa (in the narrow sense) ones (Hultzsck 1899: 56, no. 28, lines 1–2; cf. Menon 2005: 71; Sarkar 1978: 29). Before the beginning of the twelfth century and the fall of the Cera dynasty of Mahodayapuram (see nn. 11, 22, 24 and 27 below), the Vēṇāṭu rulers (*uṭayār*, 'owner'), as *sāmantas* (neighbouring feudatories), owed nominal allegiance to the Cera 'sovereign' (*perumāḷ*; cf. Sreedhara Menon 2007: 123–26, 139; Veluthat 2009: 191–97). However, this threefold geo-political division constituting Kerala (in the broad sense, as a single cultural entity) is valid from the ninth to the middle of the fourteenth century, before the rise of the Sāmūtiri kingdom of Calicut and the further political fragmentation of the Malanāṭu (attested by Ibn Battuta in 1341–45 CE; Yérasimos 1982: 196). The three main coastal cities/trade centres listed by foreign travellers during that period correspond to the three capitals of Eli[-mala] = Mūṣika[-Hill], Koṭuññalūr/Tiruvañcikkūḷam = Mahodayapuram, and Kollam (Padmanabha Menon 1924: 14–16, 270–86, 312–15; for the testimony of Friar Jordanus, c. 1330 CE, see Gadrat 2005: 286, 305).
3. The English name Travancore is related to the Malayalam honorific title Tiruvaṭi usually attached to the Vēṇāṭu rulers; e.g. Malayāḷa Tiruvaṭi Kulaśekhara in the Prātāparudra inscription of 1317 CE (Venkatasubba Aiyar 1947–48; Srinivasan, Narasimhaswamy and Ramesh 1982: 302, no. 283).
4. The 'holy city of Ananta', alias Śeṣa; Malayalam Tirendra re-Sanskritized as Syānandūra (Kunhan Raja 1945: 297; cf. the *Syānandūra Purāṇa Samuccaya*, an unpublished Sthalapurāṇa dated *kali* era 4269/1168 CE). Both places are successively described in the *Śukasamdeśa* (1.40–46, 54–56) by the Keralan poet Lakṣmīdāsa in the first part of the fourteenth century.

As stated in Ravivarman's *praśasti* of 1313–14 CE:

*svasti śrījayasiṃha ity abhīhitaḥ somānvayottamsako
rājāsīd iha keraḷeṣu viṣaye nātho yaduḥśmābhṛtām |
jāto 'smād ravivarmabhūpatir umādevyāṃ kumāraḥ śivād
dehavyāpyaśakābdabhāji samaye dehīva vīro rasaḥ || 1 ||
kṣayaṃ nītvā so 'yaṃ kalibalam ivārātinivahaṃ
jayaśrīvat kṛtvā nijasahacarīṃ pāṇḍyatanayām |
trayastrīṃśadvarṣo yaśa iva yayau keraḷapadaṃ
rarakṣa svam rāṣṭraṃ nagaram iva koḷambam adhipaḥ || 2 ||
jītvā saṃgrāmadhīro nṛpatir adhirāṇaṃ vidviṣaṃ vīrapāṇḍyaṃ
kṛtvāsau pāṇḍyacoḷān naya iva tanumān keraḷebhyo 'py adhīnān |
ṣaṭcatvāriṃśadabdas taṭabhuvī mukuṭaṃ dhārayan vegavatyāḥ
kṛdāṃ siṃhāsanaśthaś ciraṃ akṛta mahīkīrtivāṇīramābhīḥ || 3 ||
kṛtvā keraḷapāṇḍyacoḷavijayaṃ kṛptābhīṣekotsavaḥ
saṃgrāmāpajayena koṅkaṇagataṃ taṃ vīrapāṇḍyaṃ ripum |
nītvā sphītabalaṃ tato 'pi vipinaṃ jītvā dīśaṃ uttaraṃ
kāñcyāṃ atra caturtham abdam alikhat saṃgrāmadhīro nṛpaḥ || 4 ||
ā meror ā malayād ā pūrvād ā ca paścīmād acalāt |
yadukulaśekhara eṣa kṣoṇīṃ kulaśekharaḥ svayaṃ bubhujē || 5 ||*

(*birudas*):

*svasti || śrī || candrakula-maṅgalapradīpa || yādava-nārāyaṇa || keraḷadeśa-punyaparīṇāma
|| nāmāntara-karṇa || kūpaka-sārvabhauma || kulaśikhari-pratiṣṭhāpita-garuḍa-dhvaja ||
koḷamba-puravarādhiśvara || śrī-padmanābha-padakamala-paramārādhaḥ || praṇatarāja-
pratiṣṭhācārya || vimatarāja-bandikāra || dharmataru-mūlakanda || sadguṇālamkāra || catuḥ-
ṣaṣṭi-kalā-vallabha || dakṣiṇa-bhojarāja || saṃgrāmadhīra || mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara ||
jayasiṃhadēva-nandana || ravivarma-mahārāja || śrī-kulaśekharaḍeva ||*

(inscription of Kāñcī; Kielhorn 1896–97a)⁵

Ravivarman was the son of Jayasiṃha, who belonged to the family of Yadu and the lunar race and was king in the Keraḷa country, and his wife Umādevī (v. 1). After defeating his adversaries, Ravivarman married a Pāṇḍya princess,⁶

5. Compare the inscriptions of Śrīraṅgam (Kielhorn 1896–97b; Srinivasan, Narasimhaswamy and Ramesh 1982: 299–301, no. 281) and Tiruvati (Hultzsch 1905–1906), which both omit v. 4; and the Trivandrum inscription (Gopinatha Rao 1920: 53–59, no. 8), which gives only the *birudas*.
6. The fact is confirmed by the *Līlātīlakaṃ*, a grammar of Malayalam (more precisely, *maṇi-pravāḷam*) in Sanskrit from the second part of the fourteenth century, which quotes a verse (7.220) declaring that 'the ruler of Vēṇāṭu, the hero Ravivarman by name, the lord of the Yadus' (*vēṇāṭṭinn uṭayōru vīraravivarmākhyo yadūnām patiḥ*), when still a boy, after having defeated, for the benefit of the Pāṇḍya (over)lord, the (rebel?) king Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, obtained the latter's daughter, as did the young hero Arjuna (Pāṇḍava), who, for the benefit of (his preceptor) Droṇa, defeated King Drupada and later obtained his daughter Draupadī (Krishnaswami Aiyangar 1938: 163–65; Venkataramanayya 1938: 200; Velu Pillai 1940: 97–98). Two additional verses on Ravivarman by his court poet Kavibhūṣaṇa, engraved in the Śrīraṅgam shrine, seem to allude to his attachment to only one wife (vv. 12 and 16, Kielhorn 1896–97b; cf. Velu Pillai 1940: 115), as does one

and when he was 33 years of age (c. 1300 CE) he took possession of (the whole of) Keraḷa, ruling it as if it were his town of Koḷambam (v. 2). Victorious against the Pāṇḍya, he made the Pāṇḍyas and the Coḷas subject to the Keraḷas, and when he was 46 years old he assumed the (imperial) crown as leader of the Keraḷa-Pāṇḍya-Coḷa peoples (v. 3, which can be translated 'having made victory on the Pāṇḍyas and Coḷas with the Keraḷas', and v. 4); as head-ornament of the race (*kula-śekhara*) of Yadu, he took possession of the earth (v. 5).

Ravivarman's *birudas* (i.e. epithets) describe him as 'the regent of the excellent city of Koḷambam',⁷ 'the Kūpaka[-issued] universal monarch' (cf. his Tamil qualification as *tribhuvana-cakravartin*), 'the result of the religious merit of the Keraḷa country', 'the devout worshipper of the lotus-feet of the holy Padmanābha',⁸ and also, more symbolically, as 'the auspicious light of the Moon's race', 'Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa) among the Yādavas', 'Karṇa under another name', and the one 'by whom the Garuḍa banner is established on the (seven) principal mountains'.

RAVIVARMAN'S FAMILY AND MATRILINITY IN MEDIEVAL KERALA

The fact that Ravivarman is claimed in this inscription to be, like his father, a Yādava and a *yadupati*, is often interpreted as testimony to the persistence of a patrilineal system of royal succession, in which the son becomes *yadupati* because he was born from a Yādava father who was the previous king.⁹

of the eulogistic verses by Samudrabandha (*Alaṃkārasarvasvavyākhyā* p. 45; see next n. and C. Narayanan 2002: 122).

7. The eulogy of Ravivarman by his court poet Samudrabandha (the verses in praise of Ravivarman serving as examples to illustrate his *Alaṃkārasarvasvavyākhyā*), beside the constant qualification of Ravivarman as Yadu-lord and Yādava, also often refers to his Kūpaka kingship and the magnificence of the city of Koḷambam (it is compared, for example, to the magnificence of Ayodhyā of yore). See C. Narayanan 2002: 24, 74, 80–81, 108, 114, 122–24, 170, 178, 208–209, 237–38, 251–55, 312, 322, 338, 343.
8. Viṣṇu-Padmanābha is given as the personal deity of Ravivarman's family (*yādavanṛpakuladaivasya bhagavataḥ śrīpadmanābhasya*) in the prologue of his play *Pradyumnābhayudaya*, which is based on the heroic story of the (Yādava) son of Kṛṣṇa (*Harivaṃśa* app29F; Kunjunni Raja 1958: 213) and was intended for performance at a festival (*yātrā*) in the Padmanābha temple. The *Uṇṇunilīsandēśam*, another work in Malayalam (*manipravāḷam*) from the second half of the fourteenth century, when describing the Anantapuram sanctuary, evokes Saṃgrāmadhīra's (i.e. Ravivarman's, cf. 2.77) famous devotion to lord Padmanābha (1.18), who has Garuḍa for his emblem (1.37) (Bayi 1995: 376–78; Bayi 2000: 403–405).
9. See e.g. Krishna Ayyar 1966: 91, 200; Sreedhara Menon 1967: 164; Sreedhara Menon 2007: 143, 196; Bayi 1995: 66; Bayi 2000: 72. Kunjan Pillai (1970: 292–323) holds the view that the 'later' matrilineal system of inheritance found in Kerala was an outcome of the social disturbance occasioned by the Coḷa-Cera 'Hundred Years' War' of the eleventh century (cf. Lalitha Kumari 2004: 141). For critical assessments of this view, see Pillay 1974; Sreedhara Menon 1996: 259–62; Ganesh 1996: 114–17; Veluthat 2009: 156. Sreedhara Menon (1996: 260; 2007: 137) refers to the hypothesis of Basham (1954: 93, 174–75), according to which the matrilineal system of inheritance attested in the post-Cera period (twelfth century

The early Vēṇātu rulers, according to inscriptions from the ninth to tenth centuries, already claimed to be Yādavas, more precisely from the Vṛṣṇi *kula* (cf. M. G. S. Narayanan 1977: 18; Sarkar 1978: 18–19; Unithiri 2004: 34–35), to which Ravivarman's *biruda* 'Nārāyaṇa among the Yādavas' can be connected. However, following Velu Pillai (1940: 93–94; cf. Pisharoti 1940: 6; Raja 1990: 169), and as V. K. R. Menon and M. G. S. Narayanan argued in the case of the Cera dynasty of Mahodayapuram,¹⁰ I shall contend that a matrilineal system of inheritance was already operating in the Kūpaka kingdom, according to which Ravivarman claimed to be a Yādava because his *mother* (i.e. Umādevī) was a Yādavī who, in this case, would have married a foreign king (from Kerala) who was also himself a Yādava.

The *Mūṣikavaṃśa* (MV), a historical *kāvya* by Atula which can be dated to the first half of the twelfth century (Unni 1980: 234, 237),¹¹ explicitly testifies to the antiquity of the matrilineal system of succession in Kerala, at least for the northern Mūṣika kingdom. The Mūṣika rulers claimed to be of the Hehaya line (the Hehayas being themselves Yādavas). However, their mythical ancestor, as described in the poem, is a widowed *queen* from Māhiṣmatī, who had escaped from the fury of the brahmin Rāma Jāmadagnya, who himself, later on, crowned her son as the first Mūṣika king (*sargas* 1–2). This king's eldest son became the new Hehaya king in Māhiṣmatī, while his youngest son succeeded him in the Mūṣika capital of Kolam (*sargas* 6–7). In the historical period in which the story is set (corresponding to the tenth century CE, according to Unni 1980: 107–108, 111–13), when a king is, for the first time, succeeded by the son of his sister (MV 12.90), we hear that a divine sanction has already been given to this 'new' pattern of succession: the queen prayed to Durgā, wishing 'may this earth be the realm, at every step, of kings born as

onwards) could have been the 'revival' of an antique tradition, suppressed for a while under Brahmanical influence, rather than an innovation. For suggestions of the Dravidian origin of such a tradition, see Ramachandra Dikshitar 1933–34; Trautmann 1981: 167–72, 417–25; Rajan Gurukkal 2010: 231.

10. Menon 2005: 62–63; M. G. S. Narayanan 1996: 22, 82–85 (cf. Veluthat 1993: 31 n. 7; Veluthat 2009: 132, 222 n. 33; M. G. S. Narayanan 2002: 113–14, 116. According to Veluthat (2009: 192), 'although the [Cera dynastic] pattern of succession is not clear...this [i.e. matrilineal succession] is not improbable'. On the sun god's *daughter* in Kulaśekhara's drama (cf. next n.) as a perfect model of a mythical ancestor, see n. 27 below.
11. In my view, Atula, the author of the MV, must be identified with Tōlan (*tadbhava* of Atula), the protégé of the royal dramatist Kulaśekhara. The latter king (said to be *mahodayapuraprameśvara* and *kerala-viṣayādhipa*), as patron of the poet Vāsudeva, was also called Rāma(-varman), and his dates, as firmly established by Unni (1977), fall between 1050 and 1150 CE, which fits perfectly with the dates of the reign of the last Cera emperor, i.e. Rāmavarman Kulaśekhara (1089–1124 CE, according to Narayanan and then Veluthat in Cherian 1999: 49, 62–63). One would thus not be surprised if the same Tōlan, who is also credited with the authorship of a lost historical *kāvya* entitled *Mahodayapurēsacarita* (Kunjuni Raja 1958: 18–19; Unni 1980: 206–208), would have composed, after the disappearance of his first patron, the same type of poem for his new (Mūṣika) protector (or the reverse).

sons of the women members of our family [*vaṃśya-nārī-suta*], and the goddess granted a boon such that 'progeny of reputed good quality will surely be born to you; the kingdom too shall pass on to the sons of the women [*strī-putra*] (members of this family)' (*MV* 12.68–69, trans. Menon; cf. Lalitha Kumari 2004: 142–43).¹²

In the case of the Kūpaka king Ravivarman, his *biruda* 'Karṇa under another name' (*nāmāntara-karṇa* = *nāmāntara-yuktaḥ karṇaḥ*, Kielhorn 1896–97a: 148 n. 1) constitutes our first piece of evidence for matrilineal succession, since the *Mahābhārata* hero Karṇa is the son/*aṃśāvatarāṇa* of the solar god through the Yādavī Kuntī. I shall later come back to the solar dimension that Ravivarman also pretends to assume with this *biruda*; here I note only the possible reference by Ravivarman to his Yādavī mother.¹³

More relevant is a short inscription from Śrīraṅgam, located in a gateway between the first *prākāra* (enclosure) and the second (the Kulaśekhara *prākāra*), on a stone jamb bearing the figure of a rampant tiger at the top. The inscription is undated (c. 1310?), but from it we can reasonably conclude, at the very least, that Ravivarman was succeeded by the son of his sister. It runs as follows:

dauhitro jayasimhadēvanṛpater godeśvarasyātmajāḥ
svasrīyaḥ kulaśekharaśya sahaḥo mārttāṇḍabhūpasya ca |
rājā campakakera[|o] raṇajitaprodvr̥ttapāṇḍyeśvaraḥ
ketustambham akalpayam̐ murabhido raṅge śayasyāgrataḥ ||
 (Srinivasan, Narasimhaswamy and Ramesh 1982: 301, no. 282; cf. the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* 1951–52: 5, 26)

I, the daughter's son (*dauhitra*) of King Jayasimhadēva, the son of Godeśvara, the sister's son (*svasrīya*) of Kulaśekhara, the brother of King Mārttāṇḍa; I, Campakakeraḷa, the king by whom the arrogant Pāṇḍya lord has been defeated in battle, I have set up a *ketustambha* (lamp-post, or flag-post, *dhvaja-stambha*, since *ketu* can mean both lamp/flame/torch and flag/banner) in front of the One who lies on the *raṅga*—the Destroyer of Mura.

12. On this 'mythical incident placed on the twilight of the remote and the recent pasts', see Veluthat 2009: 143 n. 10. On post-Mūṣika genealogical records, which give a different account of the origin of matriliney in the 'Kōlattiri' dynasty (i.e. among the 'kings of Kolam' according to the name of their capital in the *MV*; cf. Kōlattunāṭu as the Mūṣika country), see Unni 1980: 16–22.
13. Here the figure of Karṇa can also be understood as the 'supreme donor' (because of the gift of his body-armour, according to the famous episode told in the *Mahābhārata*), as is sometimes found to be the case in inscriptions. See Sharma's paper in this volume; and compare the example, kindly communicated to me by Emmanuel Francis, of a Pallava inscription (Krishna Sastri 1916: 501–17, no. 98) where somebody is compared to Karṇa 'because of his generosity' (*tyāgena*). However, in one of his eulogistic verses in praise of Ravivarman, Samudrabandha says: 'O Yādava (*yadūdava*)! Seeing you who are a constant giver (*aśrāntadāyina*), wise people consider Karṇa to be a miser (*kadaryam*)' (*Alaṃkārasarvasvayākhyā* p. 136; see C. Narayanan 2002: 238)—which appears to mean that as a donor Ravivarman is far *better* than Karṇa.

So this Campakakeraḷa, by specifying his matrilineal genealogy,¹⁴ presents himself as the ‘daughter’s son’ of Jayasiṃha (the husband of Umādevī) and the ‘sister’s son’ of (Ravivarman) Kulaśekhara, and he also gives the name of his (elder?) brother. This Mārttāṇḍa must be Vīra-Udaya-Mārttāṇḍavarman *tiruvaiyār* of the Keralapuram inscription (near Kollam) of *kollam* era 491 = 1316–17 CE, that is, his 4th regnal year (Subrahmanya Aiyar 1924: 89–92, no. 16; cf. Sethuraman 1990: 183), which would confirm that, after having been heir-apparent (*yuvārāja*), Udaya-Mārttāṇḍavarman succeeded his *maternal* uncle Ravivarman.¹⁵

The genealogy which can be inferred from Campakakeraḷa’s statement is presented in Figure 1.

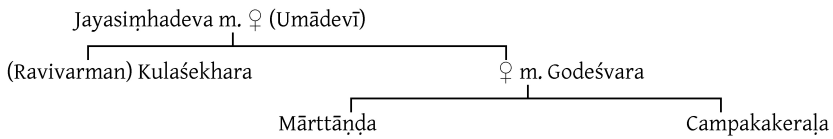


Figure 1. Genealogy as inferred from the Śrīraṅgam inscription.

It is even possible to complete the picture of Ravivarman’s family.¹⁶ In the *Līlātilakam*, in quotations which look like they were extracted from a lost poem, in *maṇipravāḷam*, in praise of Ravivarman (see n. 6 above), the reigning king in Koḷambam at the time (1266 CE) of Ravivarman’s birth (*yadu-śiśōr janma-*, *Līlātilakam* 7.200) is given as the powerful King Kōṭa-Mārttāṇḍa(varman), who sumptuously celebrated the birth of his nephew (as understood by Velu Pillai 1940: 93; cf. Ibrahim Kunju 2007: 8), that is, the son of his sister, herself identi-

14. As seems to have been done about a century earlier, in the Tamil language, when the Vēṇātu prince (*tiruvai*) presented himself as the son (*pillaiyār*) ‘of/by the queen Umā of Vīra-Rāmaṇ’ (*śrī-vīra-rāmaṇ-umaiyammai-y-āṇa/-āya = -iṇ?*)—that is, as the son of the sister of King Vīra-Rāma-Keraḷavarman (Subrahmanya Aiyar 1924: 69–70, no. 10; the same noteworthy names and formulae are used in another record, Ramanatha Ayyar 1924: 63–85, no. 24).

15. This Udaya-Mārttāṇḍavarman is therefore neither the ‘son’ (Krishnaswami Aiyangar 1938: 178) nor the ‘cousin’ (Venkataramanayya 1938: 200; Buyers and McMeekin 2001–2009) of Ravivarman. On the basis of the name Ādityavarman for the ruling king at the time of Ravivarman (himself omitted) as given by Shungoony Menon (1878: 93; cf. also Nagam Aiyar 1906: 259–60, 263), a ‘brother’ of Ravivarman and successor to Udaya-Mārttāṇḍavarman (of whom, logically, he should have been the younger brother) with the name Ādityavarman was postulated by Velu Pillai (1940: 111, 120–23; cf. Raja 1990: 169 where, though their precise kinship is not specified, both Udaya-Mārttāṇḍavarman and Ādityavarman seem to be considered to be Ravivarman’s brothers).

16. There is no support for the statement of Krishna Ayyar (1966: 92–93) that Ravivarman would have had two daughters, and that he religiously dedicated ‘one to the Lord of Kanchipuram and the other to the Lord of Srirangam’.

fiable with Umādevī. A Chinese historical source adds that in the year 1280 CE, the king of Kollam had a younger brother.¹⁷

There is also a tradition¹⁸ that ascribes to the beginning of the fourteenth century (*kollam* era 480 = 1304–1305 CE, i.e. during the reign of Ravivarman) the first adoption into the Vēṅāṭu royal family of two princesses from the Kōla(ttiri) royal family (*kōla-svarūpam*; on Kōlattunāṭu/Mūṣika country, see n. 12 above). The adoption must have been arranged because Ravivarman's sister had no daughter and, consequently, there were no remaining 'princes in the female line' (Malayalam *peṇṅalittampurākkannmār*; cf. Raja 1990: 169–70) after Ravivarman's two nephews Mārttāṅḍavarman and his brother Campakakeraḷa (according to the rules of male primogeniture; cf. n. 21 below).

It is under the reign of the latter Vēṅāṭu/Kūpaka king that the Dominican Friar Jordanus Catala of Severac (who came to Kerala in 1320 CE and in 1329 was made bishop of Kollam—'Columbum', = Sanskrit Koḷambam—where he stayed for several years) says, in his *Mirabilia Descripta* (about 1330):

In this India it is never the legitimate sons of great kings or princes or barons who inherit their fathers' property, but only their sisters' sons. For they say that they are not sure that the former are their sons, because their wives and mistresses could have conceived or given birth by another man, whereas it is not so in the case of their sister, because whichever man's son it is, they are sure that he came from the womb of their sister and therefore is truly of their own blood.¹⁹

17. The *Yuanshi* or *History of the Yuan Dynasty*, a Chinese historical compilation dealing with the Mongol embassies sent to the kingdom of Kollam (and the reciprocal sending of embassies by the king of Kollam to the Mongol court in China), refers for the year 1280 to a Binadi (= Vēṅāṭu) king and his younger brother Kenaquebulamu (= ?), for the year 1282 to the Binadi king only, and for the year 1283 to a king called Wani (Pauthier 1867: 603, 605; Rockhill 1914: 430, 434, 438 n. 1; Nilakantha Sastri 1939: 150–53; Sen 2006: 306–308). The name 'Wani' can be interpreted as the *naḥṣatra* Bharāṇī (according to the custom in the Travancore dynasty to give the ruler—as his personal name, in addition to another personal royal name ending in *-varman*—a *naḥṣatra* name, such as Bharāṇī, Svāti, Kṛttika, etc., followed by Tirunāl, meaning the star under which the king is born), or as representing the word *rāṇī*, i.e. (Umādevī as) the 'regent-queen' (cf. Umādevī as the 'Queen Mother' according to Ibrahim Kunju 2007: 8). 'Wani' is also used in the *Yuanshi* to name the ruler of Kollam in the year 1344. Marco Polo notes nothing peculiar about the king of Kollam for the years 1292–93 except his political independence (Pauthier 1867: 643).
18. I have not identified the precise source, if there is one, underlying this tradition reported by Mateer (1871: 15) and Shungoony Menon (1878: 93); cf. Nagam Aiya 1906: 260; Padmanabha Menon 1929: 6, 191 (with an additional anecdote, on which see also Velu Pillai 1940: 121–23; Raja 1990: 169–72); Sreedhara Menon 1967: 101; Sreedhara Menon 2007: 163; Bayi 1995: 66; Bayi 2000: 72. For further such adoptions of Kōla-svarūpam princesses in the Travancore royal family, see Krishna Ayyar 1966: 202 (list); Ibrahim Kunju 1976: 149–50 (rules); Tarabout 1986: 53; and the detailed account by Raja (1990).
19. *In ista Yndia, numquam filii legitimi magnorum regum seu principum aut baronum hereditant in bonis patrum suorum, sed solum filii sororum. Nam dicunt quod non sunt certi si illi sunt eorum filii, quod eorum uxores et domine possent de alio concepisse vel generasse sed non sic de sorore, quia cujuscumque hominis sit, certi sunt quod de ventre sororis sue exivit et sic per consequens vere est de eorum sanguine* (*Mirabilia Descripta*, section 83; Gadrat 2005: 221, 255–56, 283–84). On this

A few years later, the Arab traveller Ibn Battuta, when staying in ‘Malabar’ (in the years 1341–43 and 1345 CE), would also note, as peculiar to the country, the same general custom of the transmission of kingship to the son of the king’s sister (Yérasimos 1982: 196).

All of this clearly testifies to the prevalence of the matrilineal system of inheritance in the Kollam/Kūpaka kingdom of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, as it is found in the Travancore royal family until the twentieth century, and confirms that this system, known as the *marumakkattāyaṃ* system (‘inheritance of/through the nephews’, Malayalam *maru-makan*, plural *-makkaḷ*, ‘sister’s son(s)’, plus *tāyaṃ* = Sanskrit *dāyaṃ*, ‘inheritance’), was, at that time, in use across the Kerala country among non-brahmins²⁰—that is, at least, from high kings, whether *kṣatriya* or not, to common Nayar gentlemen.²¹ This is explicitly stated in a thirteenth-century Malayalam commentary on the *Arthaśāstra* (1.14.2), and in the fourteenth-century *Laghudharmaparakāśikā* also known as *Śāṅkarasmṛti* (Lalitha Kumari 2004: 144, 146–49):

...as far as Rāmakṣetra [or Bhārgava-kṣetra, viz. Kerala in a brahmin perspective] is concerned, where the nephews inherit the property [*bhāgineyā hi dāyinaḥ*]. This (inheritance) is among non-Brahmins...

(*Śāṅkarasmṛti* 1.23c–24a)

However, if we assume that Ravivarman became king within a family practising the matrilineal system of succession, we still have to explain how he could possess both a Yādavī mother and a Yādava father. My hypothesis in this matter is that Umādevī was the sister of the previous Kūpaka king, and that her ‘royal consort’ (Ibrahim Kunju 2007: 8) Jayasiṃha (who is never described as the Kūpaka king and has left no inscriptions of his own, as underlined by Velu Pillai 1940: 94–95) was a *foreign* (but nonetheless Keralite) husband, and, more specifically, a (*somavaṃśa*) Yādava *rājan* (of the Hehaya line) originating

account, see also Padmanabha Menon 1924: 282; Sreedhara Menon 1996: 259; Sreedhara Menon 2007: 137.

20. With the noteworthy exception of the Payyannūr Nampūtiris (Nārāyanan Nambūdiri 1992: 152–54).
21. Succession to kingship in the royal joint families of Kerala (known as *svarūpams*) operated in the same manner, as did succession to the office of *kāraṇavan* (the name of the eldest male member, head of the *taṛavāṭṭi* or ‘house’, i.e. the matrilineal joint family) among the common Nayars—that is, through the senior surviving male (Trautmann 1981: 417–19; Tarabout 1991: 79–80, 101–105). On the role of ‘seniority’ (*mūppū*) in the *svarūpams*, see Raju 1998; Ganesh 1996: 100–101, 114–15; Ganesh in Cherian 1999: 222–27; Ganesh 2002: 158–63; Raghava Varier 2002: 123–24; John 2007: 33–48; Veluthat 2009: 262. The rule for succession by male primogeniture in the Travancore royal family was as follows: ‘1. The surviving younger brothers of the Maharaja, according to age, and by the same mother. 2. The sons of the sisters of the Maharaja, according to age. The sons of elder sisters succeeded before those of the younger sisters. 3. The sons of the eldest maternal aunt of the Maharaja, according to age. 4. The sons of the daughters of the eldest maternal aunt of the Maharaja, according to age. The sons of elder daughters succeeded before those of the younger sisters’ (Buyers and McMeekin 2001–2009).

from the Mūṣika country. This would have constituted a political innovation as compared to previous marriages of Vēṇāṭu king-sisters with (*sūryavaṃśa*) *kṣatriya* husbands (of higher status) from central Kerala. For there is a traditional view that the last Cēramān Perumāḷ of Mahodayapuram, Rāmavarman Kulaśekhara (reigned 1089–1124 CE),²² shifted his capital to Kollam and ‘founded’ the Travancore line of rulers²³ through his marital union with a Vēṇāṭu Yādavī queen, whereas the Cochin rulers were the descendants of his sister (who married a Nampūtiri brahmin):

With the fall of the Kulaśekhara Empire the son of Rāmavarman Kulaśekhara [by the Vēṇāṭu Yādavī queen] inherited [in Kollam] the political power of the Kulaśekharas [and their imperial title of ‘Kulaśekhara Perumāḷ’] and his nephew [that is, the son of his sister by a Nampūtiri brahmin] [inherited] their religious authority [with the hereditary title of Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ, in Mahodayapuram and, after 1341 CE, in Cochin].²⁴

(Sreedhara Menon 1967: 173; 2007: 150; cf. Sreedhara Menon 1967: 161; 2007: 140–41; Veluthat in Cherian 1999: 65)

22. See n. 11 above for M. G. S. Narayanan and Veluthat’s dating of the end of the reign of the ‘last’ Cera overlord (see also, however, n. 24 below), which fits perfectly with the ‘immemorial tradition’ giving the date of *kollam* era 300 (= 1125 CE) for the first marital alliances of princes called Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ (I suppose from central Kerala)—or, later on, Kōyil Tampurān (themselves from northern Kerala, but installed with their family houses in Travancore)—with Vēṇāṭu royal ladies (as reported by Thurston and Rangachari 1909: 296, from the *Travancore Census Report* 1901). According to Raja (1990: 171–74, on the basis of the anecdote first told by Padmanabha Menon 1929: 191 and interpreted by Velu Pillai 1940: 121–22), the first settlement, in the Travancore sub-territory of Kīḷimānūr, of Kōyil Tampurāns from the north Kerala Parappūr *svarūpam*, was made in order to continue their traditional marriages with the north Kerala Kōla-*svarūpam* princesses installed in the Travancore sub-territory of Āṭṭiṅṅal, and is therefore contemporary with the first adoption of the latter into the Vēṇāṭu royal family (see n. 18 above).
23. ‘The native accounts go on to state that Cheramān Perumāḷ bestowed on his son, Veera Kerala, the southernmost part of his empire, lying between Quilon and Cape Comorin. This territory descended from Rajah Veera Kerala by nephews, according to the custom of Malabar’ (Mateer 1871: 14–15).
24. The purely sacred/ritual kingship implied by the Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ function attached to the senior position (*mūppū-sthānam*, cf. n. 21 above) may explain why the political/ruling kingship in Cochin was attached to the second most senior member of the *svarūpam* (Ibrahim Kunju 2007: 23; Tarabout 1991: 103), giving the impression that the senior member was ‘abdicating the throne’ (Sreedhara Menon 2007: 151) and was like an ascetic renouncing worldly affairs. Nevertheless, in the year 1225 CE (according to the dating of Kunjan Pillai 1970: 391–92; cf. Veluthat 2009: 152, 154 and n.), a copper-plate grant issued for a merchant of Mahodayapuram by the local king Vīra-Rāghava Cakravartin (Venkayya 1896–97) still presents the latter as a Cēramān, belonging to a royal line which goes back to the ‘emperor’ Vīra-Keraḷa Cakravartin. In a similar fashion, the rulers of Mahodayapuram are still termed *keraḷa-cakravartins* in the regional Sanskrit and early Malayalam literature of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. Both of these examples indicate the continuity of the claim of such kings to (if not their effective preservation of) nominal overlordship and superiority of status *vis-à-vis* the other Kerala kings (Kunjunni Raja 1958: 153–54, 198–200; Sreedhara Menon 2007: 150–51; Ibrahim Kunju 2007: xii–xiii, 17–18; Veluthat in Cherian 1999: 63; Veluthat 2009: 196).

The fact is that in the kinship system known in more recent times, the status of the Cochin royal family was considered to be higher than that of Travancore: the girls of this family had *tali*-marriage only with Nampūtiri brahmin boys, while the girls of the Travancore royal family had *tali*-marriage with *kṣatriyas* of higher rank known as Kōyil Tampurān *kṣatriyas* (cf. the socio-anthropological study of these hypergamous unions by Gough 1961: 319–23; also Fuller 1976: 115–18; Trautmann 1981: 421–23; Tarabout 1986: 44–46).

A tentative genealogical scheme of the line of royal succession at the origin of the Travancore dynasty would therefore be as shown in Figure 2.

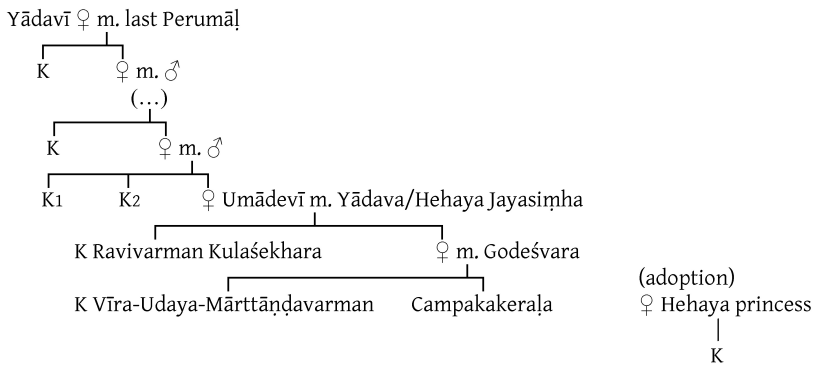


Figure 2. The Travancore royal succession (K = king).

RAVIVARMAN AS A SOLAR YĀDAVA

His double Yādava parentage would explain how Ravivarman, apparently without much difficulty, was able to pretend to assume, at 33 years of age, sovereignty over the whole Kerala country (of which the only two effective political powers at the end of the thirteenth century, according to foreign sources, were Vēṇāṭu and Kōlattunāṭu, the independent kingdoms of Coilum and Ely in Marco Polo’s report, Pauthier 1867: 642–50). He was a Yādava through his Kūpaka mother (of the Vṛṣṇi *kula*), and at the same time he was a Yādava like his Mūṣika father (of the Hehaya *kula*). It is to be noted that, according to the matrilineal system of inheritance, after the first adoption of Mūṣika princesses into the family the Yādava dynasty of Vēṇāṭu shifted from its original Vṛṣṇi *kula* to the Hehaya *kula*.

Common symbolic attributes also closely associated northern and southern Yādavas: Ravivarman has a Vaiṣṇava Garuḍa banner (*dhvaja*), which was also the flag-sign of the Mūṣika kings (MV 15.25: *devo mukunda iva pannagavairilakṣmā*; cf. Unni 1980: 158); his personal deity, Viṣṇu Padmanābha, had his abode (lying on Śeṣa) both in the southern and in the northern Ananta-

puram shrines;²⁵ and, above all, only (later) Travancore and Kōlattiri kings were recorded as performers of the unique royal ritual called the *bhadradīpa*, which involves solar aspects of the god Viṣṇu.²⁶ The oldest recorded performance of the *bhadradīpa* is by Ravivarman himself, in the Raṅganātha temple (Śrīraṅgam), the most famous southern abode of Anantaśayana Viṣṇu, as already hinted by Velu Pillai (1940: 105). In the third eulogistic verse added to Ravivarman's *praśasti* in the Śrīraṅgam inscription, it is indeed declared by his court poet Kavibhūṣaṇa:

*bhūpālair ilakārtavīryasagarair yaḥ pūrvam āsīt kṛtaḥ
paścāt prauḍhatamaharaṃ yadupatis taṃ bhadradīpotsavam |
cakre śakra ivāśrayaḥ sumanasām saṃrāt trayīdharmavid
raṅge 'smin rucirāṅkasamśritaramārociṣṇave viṣṇave ||*

The festival of the auspicious lamps, which disperses the most profound darkness, and which in former days was performed by the kings Ila, Kārtavīrya and Sagara—that [festival], afterwards, the Yadu lord, who is the asylum of the well-disposed as Śakra (Indra) is of the gods, the universal monarch who knows the *dharma* of the

25. Cf. n. 8 above. The northern Anantapuram shrine, a lake temple in the Kasagarod district (Sarkar 1978: 197–99), is historically linked with the southern Anantapuram shrine, being traditionally seen as the latter's 'original seat' (*mūla-sthāna*; the legendary account is given in Bayi 1995: 20–22; Bayi 2000: 27–28). The Keralan poet Pūrṇasarasvatī (most probably of the same period as Ravivarman), in his *Hamsasaṃdeśa*, after having described the Anantaśayana Viṣṇu shrine of Śrīraṅgam (vv. 14–17) and the southern Anantapuram shrine (v. 26), prefers to describe in northern Kerala the Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa) shrine of 'Raktadruma' (v. 29), i.e. Triccamaran/Tricchambaram (Taliparamba, Kannur district; Sarkar 1978: 32–33, 176–79), to whose deity the Mūṣika kings paid homage (MV 13.62–66; Unni 1980: 182–83)—and he does so despite the fact that the deity there does not lie (or no longer lies, according to MV 13.63) on the serpent bed. The Ādi-Keśava-Perumāḷ temple in Tiruvattar, near Padmanābhapuram (in present-day Tamil Nadu; Sarkar 1978: 141, 233; Bayi 1998: 64–79), in spite of its old name of 'Ādi-Anantapuram' (and the fact that the *bhadradīpa* ritual was performed there before the eighteenth century, according to Shungoony Menon 1878: 169; cf. next n.), must be viewed as secondary in regard to the northern/southern symbolic topographical value of Kerala's two great Ananta-Padmanābha shrines.
26. On the *bhadradīpa* ritual and its reinstatement in the Padmanābha temple as a regular royal ceremony (performed twice per year, at the solstice) by the founder of the modern state of Travancore, King Mārttāṇḍavarman (the son of an adopted Kōla-svarīpam princess; reigned 1729–58), see Shungoony Menon 1878: 168–69; Nagam Aiyā 1906: 361; Velu Pillai 1940: 338; Ibrahim Kunju 1976: 116–19; Venkitasubramonia Iyer 1977: 26–27 (copied by Unni 2006: 403); Bayi 1995: 108–12, 321–22, 407; Bayi 2000: 114–19, 344–46, 436; Vielle 2002: 352–53. See Raja and Bayi 2002: 12–17 for an exegesis of this *yāga* by N. R. Pradeep Nambodiripad, head of the Neṭumpilḷi Taraṇanallūr Mana (the Nampūtiri brahmin house that exercised, in hereditary fashion, the highest ritual authority in the temple; Venkitasubramonia Iyer 1977: 25 [copied by Unni 2006: 402]; Bayi 1995: 272–77, 282–83; Bayi 2000: 292–96, 302–303). On the other side of Kerala, the *bhadradīpa* ritual is presented as having been performed for an unnamed Kōla(ttiri) king in the unpublished *Bhadradīpadīpikā* (fourteenth or fifteenth century?), a Tantric work which describes it at length (Unithiri 2004: 156; Unni 2006: 334–35, and 336 on the unpublished *Bhadradīpakriyā* probably composed by the same author, both works referring to the same guru).

three Vedas, celebrated, here at Raṅga, for Viṣṇu resplendent with Ramā (Lakṣmī) resting on his radiant lap.

(Kielhorn 1896–97b, v. 7; cf. Vielle 2008: 322–23)

Thus the solar nature, compatible with a lunar (Yādava) ancestry, that Ravivarman pretends to assume with his *biruda* ‘*nāmāntara-karṇa*’ (as the sun god’s son ‘under another name’) has to be connected, on the one hand, with the imperial Cera heritage that the king, as (the reputed descendant of the last) ‘Perumāḷ’ Kulaśekhara-deva (cf. his title in the Tiruvati inscription, Hultzsch 1905–1906) and sovereign of all the Keralas, is supposed to take over, since the Cera dynasty of Mahodayapuram belonged to the solar line;²⁷ and also, on the other hand, with the solar power of Viṣṇu as his *kuladevatā*,²⁸ entrusting him with the *tejas* of a Vaiṣṇava Sun (cf. Kavibhūṣaṇa, *raviś ca ravivarmā ca dvāv imau tejaḥsaṃnidhī*, v. 11 of the Śrīraṅgam *praśasti*; or Samudrabandha, *yadunātha tejasā bhāsvān, Alaṃkārasarvasvavyākhyā* p. 45, cf. C. Narayanan 2002: 123).

SAGARA THE SON OF YĀDAVĪ IN THE JAIMINĪYASAṂHITĀ OF THE BRAHMĀṆḌA PURĀṆA

The reference, in the verse of Kavibhūṣaṇa quoted above (pp. 376–77), to the three mythic kings (Īla, Kārtavīrya and Sagara) who are said to have performed the *bhadradīpa* prior to Ravivarman, is an obvious allusion to (and the best *terminus ante quem* for) the epic work entitled the *Jaiminīyasaṃhitā* (*JaiSa*) of

27. The kings of the ‘second’ Cera dynasty (c. 800–1120 CE), with Mahodayapuram in central Kerala as their capital, were, at least according to their names, of the solar race (M. G. S. Narayanan 1977: 18; Narayanan in Cherian 1999: 50; Veluthat 2009: 69, 192). In the *Laghubhāskariyavivarāṇa* composed in 869 CE, the court astronomer Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa (Kunjunni Raja 1958: 16) says about his royal patron Sthāṇu Ravi Kulaśekhara that he belongs to the *ravikula* and the *dīptāṃśuvaṃśa* (Veluthat 1993: 33, with n. 24 referring to M. G. S. Narayanan 1972 = 1996). *Mūṣikavaṃśa* 12.44 underlines the Hehaya–Raghu opposition when describing a conflict between the Mūṣikas and the (central) Keraḷas. Moreover, in the play *Tapatisaṃvarāṇa* by the royal dramatist Kulaśekhara (nn. 10–11 above), the choice of the *sun god’s* daughter (Tapatī) as the heroine of the love story and, more precisely, the divinely chosen mother of the son intended to become the new ‘emperor’ (*cakravartin*) is also highly significant in light of a matrilineal system of succession. The later *Keraḷamāhātmya* explains that the king installed by Paraśurāma at Bālāpurī (Kochi) descends from the son of Lava (himself a son of Rāma)—that is, from the solar dynasty of Ayodhyā—whereas the kings enthroned by the Bhārgava at Śrīvardhanapurī (Trivandrum) to rule southern Kerala, and at Gokarṇa to rule northern Kerala, were *soma-kṣatriya* brothers (which, after the adoptions of *kollam* era 480 referred to above, n. 18, is matrilineally right).

28. Compare the series of Tamil inscriptions in the Śrīraṅgam shrine which refer to the foundation of a brahmin settlement or village bearing the name of the king (Ravivarmanacaturvedimaṅgalam), with a temple especially dedicated to the (i.e. Ravivarman’s) god Ravi-Nārāyaṇa-Perumāḷ, the ‘Lord Nārāyaṇa (as the) Sun’ (Srinivasan, Narasimhaswamy and Ramesh 1982: 244–45, no. 222; 262–63, no. 239; 264–65, no. 241).

the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*,²⁹ where the same three kings are introduced, in the same order, in relation to this ritual, which is able to provide kings with Viṣṇu's solar power.³⁰

The *bhadradīpa* is the recurrent royal ritual theme within the narrative structure of the *JaiSa* (see Appendix I). However, it is the long war between the (solar) Kosala and the (lunar) Hehaya kings that, before the central episode of the victory over the latter by the great brahmin-warrior Rāma Jāmadagnya, forms the main thread of the story itself. The narrative focuses on three epochs in their antagonism, which is bound up with their respective genealogies (see the details in Appendix II): the beginnings, the time of Kārtavīrya, and, finally, the time of Sagara. As for the declared three main characters of the *JaiSa*, they are, on the one hand, the Bhārgava brahmin Rāma Jāmadagnya, and on the other, the universal monarchs Kārtavīrya and Sagara. But whereas the Hehaya emperor Kārtavīrya, although the most powerful there ever was, comes to a tragic end due to the superiority of the Bhārgava brahmin-warrior, Sagara, as a rightful king, finally has the capacity to put an end to the Hehaya-Kosala conflict. In this respect, one can say that Sagara (from the point of view of the supposed brahmin author of the *JaiSa*) was the figure offering the most compelling model of kingship to the *JaiSa*'s royal and brahmin audience, who I am inclined to think were the royal court of Ravivarman himself.

There appear to be some 'Keralan' peculiarities to the story of Sagara in the *JaiSa*. For a start, the emphasis on the character of Sagara's mother, who, like Ravivarman's mother, is a Yādavī; and also an original sub-story involving Garuḍa, Viṣṇu's vehicle, as the brother of Sagara's brahmin (and first) wife. To make these 'Keralan' features clear, here is an abstract of the beginning of the story of Sagara as told in the *JaiSa* (*adhyāyas* 16–21):

16. Genealogy of the Kosalas from Tridhanvan to Subāhu; his pregnant wife Yādavī is poisoned by a co-wife, with the result that her pregnancy is stopped for seven years. Subāhu, defeated by the Hehaya Tālajaṅgha, takes refuge, with his wife, in the ashram of sage Aurva.

17. Death of the old Subāhu in the hermitage. Yādavī is prevented by Aurva (prophesying the greatness of her son) from following her husband onto the funeral pyre. Birth of Sagara, who lives in the hermitage as a boy. After his initiation, his mother tells him who his father is. His royal education. The people of Ayodhyā hear from sage Vasiṣṭha about Subāhu and Yādavī's son; they go to Aurva's hermitage and meet Yādavī. At the same time, Garuḍa arrives at the hermitage to ask Aurva's advice, and explains the reason for his coming.

18. Garuḍa's story: his mother Vinatā (Kaśyapa's wife) told him about the death-curse (once uttered by a visiting *muni*, Upamanyu by name) on his elder

29. See Vielle in press for an edition of the first 15 chapters with a detailed introduction; Vielle 2002 and 2008 for preliminary studies.

30. The opening of the description of the ritual declares that 'the supreme power of Viṣṇu is the Sun, store of all *tejas*, all-mighty' (*viṣṇoḥ śaktiḥ parā sūryaḥ sarvatejonidhir vibhuh;* *JaiSa* 33.4cd).

sister Sumati should she marry any *dvija* (understood as a brahmin) other than Upamanyu, who for the redemption of his *pitṛs* had been asked at Gayā to marry and become a father. Vinatā, who at that time was the slave of her sister Kadrū (the other wife of Kaśyapa), had then met a pious woman in an ashram, who prophesied to her the birth of a son (Garuḍa) who would be able to win her her freedom. It is to the same woman that Vinatā sent Garuḍa, to find a remedy for the curse affecting Sumati.

19. Garuḍa met the woman, who directed him to (her son) Aurva for advice about his sister's problem. When Garuḍa is in Aurva's hermitage, the young Sagara is presented to him; Garuḍa decides to give him to Sumati in marriage, which allows an escape from the curse (since Sagara is not a brahmin). The wedding is celebrated. The people of Ayodhyā praise Sagara and insist upon his return to the city and state as their king.

20. Sagara, with the blessings of Aurva, returns to Ayodhyā along with his father-like guru, his mother, his wife and his people. With the military help of the Kāśī king's son, he fights the Tālajaṅghas, reconquers the city, and crowns himself king.

The name Yādavī for the mother of Sagara is already given in the *Harivaṃśa* (10.33a, = *BḍP* 2.3.63.130a, *VāP* 88.131a; cf. Kirfel 1927: 325 v. 39a), which mentions 'his wife Yādavī', *patnī tu yādavī tasya*, where 'he' is the 'dissolute' (Brodbeck 2011: 54) or rather 'unfortunate' (*vyasanin*) Bāhu (*Harivaṃśa* 10.30a, = *BḍP* 2.3.63.126a, *VāP* 88.127a; cf. Kirfel 1927: 324 v. 36a), rather than Subāhu as in the *JaiSa*. But in the *JaiSa* there is a special emphasis on Yādavī's name and her role as the mother of the future king, acting as a regent-queen (in exile) after the death of her husband.

The fact that Sumati is the sister of Garuḍa is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1.37.14; earlier, in v. 4, she is given as the daughter of Ariṣṭanemi, which is another name of Kaśyapa according to *Mahābhārata* 12.201.8), and also in a similar verse from the common text of the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*, which is not in the corresponding passage of the *Harivaṃśa* (cf. Kirfel 1927: 329 v. 67):³¹

ṣaṣṭim putrasahasrāṇi suparṇabhaginī tadā |
mahotsāhān kīrtimato jagrāha sumatiḥ sutān || Rāmāyaṇa 1.37.14 ||

But Sumati, Suparṇa's sister, chose sixty thousand vigorous and renowned sons.
(trans. Goldman)

ṣaṣṭim putrasahasrāṇi suparṇabhaginī tathā | BḍP 2.3.6.158cd, VāP 88.159ab
mahābhāgā pramuditā jagrāha sumatis tathā || BḍP 2.3.6.159ab
mahātmanas tu jagrāha sumatiḥ svamatir yathā || VāP 88.159cd

In the *JaiSa*, the story of the curse affecting Sumati is the means by which Garuḍa is introduced as a friend and is allied to Sagara, the (future) emperor.

31. On the relationships between the corresponding passages of the *BḍP*-*VāP* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, see Bock 1984: 33–35. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (4.4.1) simply presents Sumati as the daughter of Kaśyapa (*kāśyapaduhitā*).

The problem resulting from the curse is solved by a marriage that conforms to the restricted meaning of its words. However, the solution, consisting of a noteworthy example of *pratiloma* marriage (a brahmin girl marrying a *kṣatriya* boy), has to be explained in the socio-cultural context of Kerala (since in the Cochin royal family tradition, it was the *queens* who married brahmin boys): in this case it may serve to contextualize the fact that, from this ‘abnormal’ marriage, the resulting 60,000 sons of Sumati were adharmic and eventually all destroyed. It is exactly the opposite of the *anuloma* marriage of the *kṣatriya* girl Reṇukā, the daughter of Prasenajit (here given as a king of the solar line, *JaiSa* 1.48–51), with the brahmin Jamadagni: this hypergamous union will give birth to (Paraśu-)Rāma, who will destroy all the impious *kṣatriyas*.

On the basis of a few thin Purāṇic elements, the author of the *JaiSa* thus created a new version of the story of Sagara’s childhood, in which Yādavī, as his mother, and Garuḍa, as his friend and the brother of his wife, play important and original roles. This is not so surprising if the *JaiSa* was composed at the time of Ravivarman Kulaśekhara and the mythic Sagara was serving as a model for this Keralan king. Ravivarman, after all, was a solar universal monarch, and a Yādava through his mother; he had Garuḍa, Viṣṇu’s vehicle, as his emblem; and he also performed the Vaiṣṇava-Saurya royal ritual of the auspicious light. Through all these peculiar features, the *JaiSa* constitutes an interesting testimony concerning royal ideology in medieval Kerala.

APPENDIX 1

CONTENTS OF THE *JAIMINĪYASAṂHITĀ* (ACCORDING TO THE RECENSION IN 95 *ADHYĀYAS*)

[*Jaimini-Hiraṇyanābha-saṁvāda*]

1. King Hiraṇyanābha’s questions: why was Bhāratavarṣa reduced by 400 *yojanas* because of the sons of Sagara, and how much land was reclaimed from the ocean by Rāma Jāmadagnya? Jaimini tells the Ikṣvāku genealogy from the beginning, up to King Sagara.

2. New question from King Hiraṇyanābha: how did the conflict arise between the Kosala king Vasumanas and the Hehaya king Bhadraśreṇya, and why, later on, did Sagara have to defeat the Hehayas? Jaimini tells the Yadu/Hehaya genealogy up to Bhadraśreṇya. Story of the ruin of Vārāṇasī under the Kāśī king Divodāsa, who kills the hundred sons of Bhadraśreṇya when assailed by them.

3–4. In the sky, the *gandharva* Durmada and the *vidyādhari* Unmadā play a trick on Purūravas and Urvaśī. Urvaśī curses them both: Unmadā will be born on earth as the daughter of the Videha king and will not marry her lover, and Durmada will take birth firstly as a *rākṣasa* and secondly as the reborn Unmadā’s son; only after both his and her death will they be allowed to come back to the sky.

4–6. Unmadā, reborn as the Videha princess Hariṇī, is abducted by the *rākṣasa* Piṅgākṣa, who is Durmada reborn. Piṅgākṣa is then killed by the Kosala king Vasumanas while Vasumanas is out hunting. She falls in love with Vasumanas, but at her subsequent *svayaṃvara* it is Bhadrāśreṇya who takes her by force.

7–9. After a first fight with Vasumanas followed by Divodāsa, Bhadrāśreṇya keeps Hariṇī, who gives birth to Durdama. A few years later, Bhadrāśreṇya, with his son, attacks Divodāsa and is defeated again; he is also attacked by Vasumanas twice, without a winner.

10–15. King Vasumanas and his son Tridhanvan make an alliance with the Kāśi king Pratardana and his son Vatsa against the Hehaya Bhadrāśreṇya and Durdama (themselves helped by the *rākṣasa* Bhīmākṣa, nephew of Piṅgākṣa). Final victory of the Kosalas and the Kāśis.

16–21. **Sagaropākhyāna**, at the (provisional) end of which King Sagara asks the sage Vasiṣṭha about the cause of the power of the Hehayas.

Vasiṣṭha-Sagara-saṃvāda

21–25. Vasiṣṭha describes the encounter, in Śvetadvīpa, of Nārada with Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. The god is asked by the sage to explain the reason for Bali's great power. The latter is said to have obtained, from the Daitya Prahlāda (who himself, in his desire to gain Viṣṇu's heart, had learned it from the goddess Earth), the knowledge of the rules for performing the holy *bhakti* rite (*vrata*) of *bhadrādīpa-pratiṣṭhā*, which goes back to Viṣṇu. The god teaches Nārada, who then goes to the Hehaya king Kārtavīryārjuna.

26–36. **Ilopākhyāna**. Nārada tells Kārtavīrya about the success of the 'establishment of the auspicious lamps' in the old days through the story of Ila/Sudyumna, the first royal performer of the *vrata*, who before learning the *bhadrādīpa-pratiṣṭhā-vidhi* (described in *adhyāyas* 32–35) had also learned, from the sage Sanatkumāra, the rules of the *pitṛpūjā* (described in *adhyāyas* 27–29).

36–37. Beginning of the **Kārtavīryopākhyāna**: King Kārtavīrya, after having been taught by Nārada, performs the *bhadrādīpa-pratiṣṭhā*. Then he meets Dattātreya on the bank of the Narmadā.

38–43. **Pativratopākhyāna**, told by Kārtavīrya's *purohita* Garga, to explain the origin of Dattātreya, Viṣṇu's *avatāra*.

43–45. After performing the *bhadrādīpa-pratiṣṭhā* again, Kārtavīrya gets boons from Dattātreya. His victory over Rāvaṇa. His world-conquest.

46–51. **Janakapraśna**. Questioned by Kārtavīrya on *advaita*, Dattātreya repeats to him the discourse given by the sage Asita when previously questioned by the Videha king Janaka on the same subject.

52–84. The rest of the story of Kārtavīrya and the story of the *avatāra* Rāma Jāmadagnya (**Bhārgavacarita**).³²

[Jaimini-Hiraṇyanābha-saṃvāda]

84–95. Sagara performs the *bhadrādīpa-pratiṣṭhā*. His world-conquest. The

32. *JaiSa adhyāyas* 59 to 68.55 and the end of 81 to 95 = *BdP* 2.3, *adhyāyas* 21 to 30.55 and 44.32 to 58. On the insertion of a portion of the *JaiSa* into the Bombay edition of the *BdP*, see Vielle 2005: 538–40.

story of his sons (who dig up 1000 *yojanas* of the coast, falling into the ocean), the descent of the Gaṅgā, the submersion of the *tīrtha* Gokarṇa, and the final recovery of 600 *yojanas* on the west coast by Rāma, whose sacrificial ladle (*sruva*), sent into the sea, goes 200 *yojanas* from south to north, including Śūrpākara,³³ up to Gokarṇa.

Jaimini thus finally answers the king's very first questions, concluding that in doing so he has told the stories of the great men Kārtavīrya, Rāma and Sagara.

APPENDIX 2
MYTHO-HEROIC GENEALOGIES IN THE JAIMINĪYASAMHITĀ

Manu

> Ikṣvāku > 100 sons, including:

- (Kosalas of Ayodhyā) Vikuṣi/Śaśāda > Purañjaya > Anenas > Pṛthu > Pṛthulāśva > Ārdra > Śyāvastha > Bṛhadaśva > Kuvalayāśva > Dṛḍhāśva > Haryaśva I > Nikumbha > Saṃhitāśva > Prasenajit (father of Reṇukā, Jamadagni's wife) > Yuvanāśva > Māndhātṛ > Purukutsa > (from the Narmadā,) Trasadasyu > Anaraṇya (killed by Rāvaṇa) > Haryaśva II > (from Mādhavī,) Vasumanas > Tridhanvan > Trayyāruṇa > Satyavrata/Triśaṅku > Hariścandra > Rohitāśva > Harita > Cuñcu (defeated by Kārtavīryārjuna) > Vijaya (ditto) > Ruruka > Subāhu > (from Yādavī,) Sagara > Aṃśumant > Dilīpa > Bhagīratha > (...) > Hiraṇyanābha
- (Videhas) Nimi > Janaka > (...) > Bandhumant (Hariṇī's father) > Vegavant (Citrāṅgī's father)

> Ila/Sudyumna > Purūravas > (from Urvaśī,) Āyu > Nahuṣa > Yayāti (Mādhavī's father) > Yadu >

- (Yādavas) Sahasrajit > Śatajit > Hehaya > (Hehayas) Dharmanetra > Kṛti > Sahajit > Mahiṣmant > Bhadrāśreṇya > (100 and later 10 sons, from Cārvaṅgī and others; then, from Hariṇī,) Durdama > (from Vegavant's daughter Citrāṅgī,) Kanaka > Kṛtavīrya > Kārtavīryārjuna > (100 sons including) Jayadhvaja > Tālajaṅgha > (100 sons including) Vītihoṭra

(without genealogy) > (...) > Yādavī (mother of Sagara)

(from Āyu)³⁴

- (Kāśis) Divodāsa > (from Mādhavī,) Pratardana > Vatsa/Śatrujit

33. On this *tīrtha* belonging to the southern Anantapuram *kṣetra* (*Syānandūra Purāṇa Samuccaya*; cf. nn. 4, 8 and 25 above), see Vielle 2010.

34. The *JaiSa* does not specify whether the Kāśis descend from Nahuṣa (as in *Harivaṃśa* 23) or from his brother (as in *Harivaṃśa* app7, the *BḍP-VāP* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*).

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|-------------------------|
| BḍP | <i>Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa</i> |
| JaiSa | <i>Jaiminīyasamhitā</i> |
| MV | <i>Mūṣikavaṃśa</i> |
| VāP | <i>Vāyu Purāṇa</i> |

REFERENCES

- Alaṃkārasarvasvayākhyā* of Samudrabandha, ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 40. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1915.
- Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*. 1951–52. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya, ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 79–80, 82. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1924–25. Malayalam commentary ed. K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī and V. A. Ramaswami Sastrī, 3 vols. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1930, 1938, 1945.
- Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. Bombay: Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press, 1906 (*śake* 1828, *vikramasamvat* 1963).
- Haṃsasamdeśa* of Pūrṇasarasvatī, ed. K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 129. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1937.
- Harivaṃśa*, crit. ed. P. L. Vaidya. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1969–71.
- Jaiminīyasamhitā* of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. See Vielle in press.
- Keraḷamāhātmya*. Trichur: Bharata Vilasam Press, 1912.
- Laghuhāskariyavivarāṇa* of Śāṅkaranārāyaṇa, ed. P. K. Narayana Pillai. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 162. Trivandrum: University of Kerala, 1949.
- Laghudharmaprakāśikā* of Śāṅkara. See *Śāṅkarasmṛti*.
- Līlātilakaṃ* (Malayalam), ed. Suranad Kunjan Pillai. Thiruvananthapuram: State Institute of Languages, 1996 (2nd edn).
- Mahābhārata*, crit. eds V. S. Sukthankar *et al.* Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933–66.
- Mūṣikavaṃśa* of Atula, ed. K. Raghavan Pillai. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 246. Trivandrum: University of Kerala, 1977. English trans. K. P. A. Menon (Classical Sanskrit Literature of Kerala, 8), Delhi: Nag, 1999.
- Pradyumnābhūdāya* of Ravivarman, ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 8. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1910.
- Prapañcahr̥daya*, ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 45. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1915.
- Rāmāyaṇa*, crit. eds G. H. Bhatt *et al.* Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1960–75. English trans. Robert P. Goldman *et al.*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984–2009.
- Śāṅkarasmṛti*, ed. and English trans. N. P. Unni. Turin: Corpus Iuris Sanscriticum (vol. 4), 2003.
- Śukasamdeśa* of Lakṣmīdāsa, ed. N. P. Unni. Delhi: Nag, 1985. English trans. K. P. A. Menon (in *Nine Gems of Sanskrit Literature*), Delhi: Nag, 1996.
- Syānandūra Purāṇa Samuccaya*. Manuscript transcript 722, Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library, University of Kerala.
- Tapatisamvarāṇa* of Kulaśekhara, ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 11. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1911. English trans. N. P. Unni and Bruce M. Sullivan, Delhi: Nag, 1995.
- Uṇṇunīlisandēśaṃ* (Malayalam), ed. Elamkulam P. N. Kunjan Pillai. Kottayam: Sahitya Pravartaka, 1985.
- Vāyu Purāṇa*, ed. H. N. Āpte. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, 49. Poona: Ānandāśrama, 1905 (*śake* 1827).
- Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, crit. ed. M. M. Pathak. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1997–99.

- Basham, Arthur Lewellyn. 1954. *The Wonder that was India*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson.
- Bayi, Aswathi Thirunal Gouri Lakshmi. 1995. *Sree Padmanabha Swamy Temple*. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
- 1998. *Thulasi Garland*. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
- 2000. *Sree Padmanabha Swamy Temple*, 2nd edn. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
- Bock, Andreas. 1984. *Der Sāgara-Gaṅgāvatarāṇa-Mythus in der episch-purānischen Literatur*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Brodbeck, Simon (trans.). 2011. *Who's Who in Ancient India? The Solar and Lunar Dynasties in the Harivaṃśa*. <http://blogs.cf.ac.uk/historyofgenealogy/resource/Bigdoc.pdf>
- Buyers, Christopher, and John D. McMeekin. 2001–2009. 'Travancore: Brief History—the Kulasekhara Dynasty.' <http://www.royalark.net/India/trava.htm>
- Cherian, P. J. (ed.). 1999. *Perspectives on Kerala History: The Second Millennium*. Thiruvanthapuram: Government of Kerala, Gazetteers Department (now Kerala Council for Historical Research).
- Fuller, C. J. 1976. *The Nayars Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gadrat, Christine. 2005. *Une image de l'Orient au XIV^e siècle: Les Mirabilia Descripta de Jordan Catala de Sévérac*. Paris: École des Chartes.
- Ganesh, K. N. 1996. 'Polity and Society in Medieval Kerala: Preliminary Considerations.' In K. K. N. Kurup (ed.), *New Dimensions in South Indian History (Felicitation Volume in Honour of Dr. M. R. Raghava Varier)*: 96–124. Calicut: University of Calicut/Association for Peasant Studies.
- 2002. 'Land Rights and Political Structure in Medieval Vēṅāṭu.' In R. Champakalakshmi, Kesavan Veluthat and T. R. Venugopalan (eds), *State and Society in Pre-Modern South India*: 144–71. Thrissur: Cosmbooks.
- Gopinatha Rao, T. A. 1920. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. 2. Trivandrum: Government Press (reprint Government of Kerala, Department of Cultural Publications, 1992).
- Gough, Kathleen. 1961. 'Nayar.' In David Murray Schneider and Kathleen Gough (eds), *Matrilineal Kinship*: 298–404. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hultzsch, Eugen. 1899. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 3, part 1: *Miscellaneous Inscriptions from the Tamil Country*. Madras: Government Press (reprint Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1987).
- 1905–1906. 'Tiruvadi Inscription of Ravivarman; A.D. 1313.' *Epigraphia Indica* 8, inscription no. 2: 8–9.
- Ibrahim Kunju, A. P. 1976. *Rise of Travancore: A Study of the Life and Times of Mārtāṇḍa Varma*. Trivandrum: Kerala Historical Society.
- 2007. *Medieval Kerala*. Thiruvananthapuram: University of Kerala/International Centre for Kerala Studies.
- Janaki, Kumari S. S. 1966. 'Paraśurāma.' *Purāṇa* 8: 52–82.
- John, Binu Mailaparambil. 2007. *The Ali Rajas of Cannanore: Status and Identity at the Interface of Commercial and Political Expansion, 1663–1723*. PhD thesis, Leiden University (published Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2012).
- Kielhorn, Franz. 1896–97a. 'Arulala-Perumal Inscription of Ravivarman of Kerala.' *Epigraphia Indica* 4, inscription no. 17: 145–48.
- 1896–97b. 'Ranganatha Inscription of Ravivarman of Kerala.' *Epigraphia Indica* 4, inscription no. 18: 148–52.
- Kirfel, Willibald. 1927. *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa: Versuch einer Textgeschichte*. Bonn: Kurt Schroeder Verlag.
- Krishna Ayyar, K. V. 1966. *A Short History of Kerala*. Ernakulam: Pai and Co.
- Krishna Sastri, H. 1916. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 2, part 5. Madras: Government Press (reprint Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 2001).
- Krishnaswami Aiyangar, S. 1938. 'Ravivarman Kulaśekhara (the Emergence of Travancore into Historical View).' *New Indian Antiquary* 1: 147–80.
- Kunhan Raja, C. 1945. 'Some Sandeśa Kāvya & Malabar Geography.' In D. R. Bhandarkar et al. (eds), *B. C. Law Volume*, part 1: 293–307. Calcutta: Indian Research Institute.
- Kunjan Pillai, Elamkulam P. N. 1970 [1953, Malayalam]. *Studies in Kerala History*. Kottayam: National Book Stall.

- Kunjunni Raja, K. 1958. *The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*. Madras: University of Madras. 2nd edn, 1980.
- Lalitha Kumari, C. 2004. *Laghudharmaprakāśikā: A Study (Sanskrit Text)*. Delhi: New Bharatiya Book Corporation.
- Mateer, Samuel. 1871. *The Land of Charity: A Descriptive Account of Travancore and its People*. London: John Snow (reprint Asian Educational Services).
- Menon, V. K. R. 2005 [1928–43]. *History of Medieval Kerala*, eds Rathi Ramachandran et al. Delhi: Pragati Publications/Indian Council of Historical Research.
- Nagam Aiya, V. 1906. *The Travancore State Manual*, vol. 1. Trivandrum: Government Press (reprint Asian Educational Services; reprint Government of Kerala, Gazetteers Department/Kerala Council for Historical Research, 1999).
- Narayanan, C. 2002. *A Study of Samudrabandha's Commentary on Alankārasarvasva*. Calicut: University of Calicut.
- Narayanan, M. G. S. 1977. *Re-Interpretation in South Indian History*. Trivandrum: College Book House.
- 1996. *The Perumals of Kerala: Political and Social Conditions of Kerala under the Cera Perumāls of Makotai (c. AD 800–1124)*. Calicut: M. G. S. Narayanan.
- 2002. 'The State in the Era of the Cēramān Perumāls of Kerala.' In R. Champakalakshmi, Kesavan Veluthat and T. R. Venugopalan (eds), *State and Society in Pre-Modern South India*: 111–19. Thrissur: Cosmbooks.
- Nārāyanan Nambūdiri, P. P. 1992. *Āryans in South India*. Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
- Nilakantha Sastri, K. A. 1939. *Foreign Notices of South-India, from Megasthenes to Ma Huan*. Madras: University of Madras.
- Padmanabha Menon, K. P. 1924–29. *History of Kerala Written in the Form of Notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar*, vols 1–2. Ernakulam: Government Press (reprint Asian Educational Services).
- Parpola, Asko. 1981. 'On the Formation of the Mīmāṃsā and the Problems Concerning Jaimini.' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde und Sudasiens* 25: 145–77.
- Pauthier, Guillaume. 1867. *Le livre de Marco Polo*. Paris: Didot.
- Pillay, K. K. 1974. 'The Matrilineal System of Inheritance in Kerala.' *Journal of Kerala Studies* 1: 181–88.
- Pisharoti, K. Rama. 1940. 'Ravivarman Kulaśekharadeva – (a Note).' *Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute* 8: 6–8.
- Raghava Varier, M. R. 2002. 'State as Svarūpam: An Introductory Essay.' In R. Champakalakshmi, Kesavan Veluthat and T. R. Venugopalan (eds), *State and Society in Pre-Modern South India*: 120–30. Thrissur: Cosmbooks.
- Raja, R. P. 1990. 'Tiruvitāṅkūr rājyaṃśavum atinṭe vērukaḷum [The Travancore Dynasty and its Roots].' In *Smarāṅika: śrīcittira-tirunāl granthaśāla plāṭṭinaṃ jūbili-granthaṃ*: 169–89. Tiruvananthapuram: Śrīcittira-Tirunāl Granthaśāla.
- Raja, R. P., and Aswathi Thirunal Gouri Lakshmi Bayi (eds). 2002. *Surrender: Sree Padmanabha Swamy Temple Renovation Souvenir*. Trivandrum: Sree Padmanabha Swamy Temple.
- Rajan Gurukkal, [P. M.]. 2010. *Social Formations of Early South India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Raju, S. 1998. *Political Organisation of the Medieval Self-Forms: Svarūpam and Mūppu-vāḷca*. Kottayam: Mahatma Gandhi University/School of Social Sciences.
- Ramachandra Dikshitar, V. R. 1933–34. 'The Marumakkattāyam and the Śangam Literature.' *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 9: 255–67.
- Ramanatha Ayyar, A. S. 1924. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. 5. Trivandrum: Government Press (reprint Government of Kerala, Department of Cultural Publications, 1999).
- Rockhill, W. W. 1914. 'Notes on the Relation and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coasts of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century, Part I.' *Toung Pao* 15: 430–47. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/156853214X00249>
- Sarkar, H. 1978. *An Architectural Survey of Temples of Kerala*. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Sen, Tansen. 2006. 'Yuan Khanate and India: Cross-Cultural Diplomacy in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.' *Asia Major* 19: 299–326.

- Sethuraman, N. 1990. 'Ravivarman Kulasekara.' In K. V. Ramesh, S. P. Tewari and M. J. Sharma (eds), *Indian History and Epigraphy: Dr. G. S. Gai Felicitation Volume: 179–86*. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.
- Sharma, Mahesh. In this volume. 'Lineage, Power and Perception: Comparison of the Royal Chambā Genealogy with Contemporary Epigraphs, 800–1650 CE.'
- Shungoony Menon, P. 1878. *History of Travancore from the Earliest Times*. Madras: Higginbotham (reprint Asian Educational Services; reprint Government of Kerala, Gazetteers Department/Kerala Council for Historical Research, 1983).
- Sreedhara Menon, A. 1967. *A Survey of Kerala History*. Kottayam: Sahitya Pravarthaka Coop. Soc. Ltd.
- 1996 [1978]. *Cultural Heritage of Kerala*. Madras: S. Viswanathan Publications [Cochin: East-West Publications].
- 2007. *A Survey of Kerala History*, 2nd edn. Kottayam: DC Books.
- Srinivasan, P. R., H. K. Narasimhaswamy and K. V. Ramesh. 1982. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 24: *Inscriptions of the Raṅganāthasvāmi Temple, Śrīraṅgam*. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Subrahmanya Aiyar, K. V. 1924. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. 4. Trivandrum: Government Press (reprint Government of Kerala, Department of Cultural Publications, 1999).
- Tarabout, Gilles. 1986. *Sacrifier et donner à voir en pays Malabar*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- 1991. 'Au «royaume» des brahmanes, les guerriers sont rois: Souveraineté, pouvoir et statut au Kérala.' In Jacques Pouchepadass and Henri Stern (eds), *From Kingship to State: The Political in the Anthropology and History of the Indian World (Puruṣārtha 13)*: 75–122. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.
- Thurston, Edgar, and K. Rangachari. 1909. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. 3. Madras: Government Press (reprint Asian Educational Services).
- Trautmann, Thomas R. 1981. *Dravidian Kinship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Unithiri, N. V. P. 2004. *Studies in Kerala Sanskrit Literature*. Calicut: University of Calicut.
- Unni, N. Parameswaran. 1977. *Sanskrit Dramas of Kulasekhara*. Trivandrum: Kerala Historical Society.
- 1980. *A History of Mushikavamsa*. Trivandrum: Kerala Historical Society.
- 2006. *Tantra Literature of Kerala*. Delhi: New Bharatiya Book Corporation.
- Velu Pillai, T. K. 1940. *The Travancore State Manual*, vol. 2: *History*. Trivandrum: Government of Travancore (reprint Government of Kerala, Gazetteers Department/Kerala Council for Historical Research, 1996).
- Veluthat, Kesavan. 1993. *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*. Delhi: Orient Longman.
- 2009. *The Early Medieval in South India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Venkataramanayya, N. 1938. 'Ma'bar (from 1311 to 1323 A.D.)' *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras* 12: 192–216.
- Venkatasubba Aiyar, V. 1947–48. 'Srirangam Inscription of Kakatiya Prataparudra; Saka 1239.' *Epigraphia Indica* 27, inscription no. 48: 304–12.
- Venkayya, V. 1896–97. 'Kottayam Plate of Ravivarman of Vira-Raghava.' *Epigraphia Indica* 4, inscription no. 41: 290–97.
- Venkitasubramonia Iyer, S. 1977. *Religion, Art and Culture*. Trivandrum: College Book House.
- Vielle, Christophe. 2002. 'An Introduction to the *Jaiminiyasaṃhitā* of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāna*.' In Mary Brockington (ed.), *Stages and Transitions: Temporal and Historical Frameworks in Epic and Purāṇic Literature (DICSEP 2)*: 337–57. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
- 2005. 'From the *Vāyuprokta* to the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*: Preliminary Remarks towards a Critical Edition of the *Vāyuprokta Brahmāṇḍapurāna*.' In Petteri Koskikallio (ed.), *Epics, Khilas, and Purāṇas: Continuities and Ruptures (DICSEP 3)*: 535–60. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
- 2008. 'La date de la *Jaiminiyasaṃhitā* du *Brahmāṇḍapurāna*: Une confirmation épigraphique du début du XIV^{ème} siècle AD.' *Indologica Taurinensia* 34: 311–23.

- 2010. 'Śūrpāraka et dakṣiṇa-Śūrpākara: À propos de l'exploit géographique de Paraśurāma, du Konkan au Kérala.' In Sylvie Vanséveren (ed.), *Calliope: Mélanges de linguistique indo-européenne offerts à Francine Mawet*: 237–45. Brussels and Leuven: Peeters.
- In press. *La Jaiminīyaṣaṃhitā du Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Madhyamabhāga), Épopée mythologique éditée et traduite*, vol. 1: *Introduction – Adhyāya 1–15*. Brussels: Safran (Lettres des Indes, 1).
- Yérasimos, Stéphane (ed.). 1982. *Ibn Battūta: Voyages*, vol. 3: *Inde, Extrême-Orient, Espagne & Soudan*. Paris: François Maspero.