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The *Santānagopāla* as a Narrative Opening up Intimate Spaces: Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi and Her Poem*

SUMMARY: During my fieldwork in Kerala in 2014 and 2015, made possible by the financial support of the National Science Centre in Poland, I was able to collect several manuscripts by women authors as well as some very rare printed editions of their works.

From the collected sources I have decided to choose a poem based on the *Santānagopāla* theme, a story about a pious Brahmin and his wife losing one child after another. It recurs in the oeuvre of at least three women writers living at the turn of 19th and 20th centuries. We know very little about the lives of the author-esses but the selection of such a theme perhaps was not fortuitous and we will be able to notice their womanly sensitivity in its treatment or scenes from their own lives and gather more information about the authors themselves.

In the present paper I will concentrate on the *Santānagopāla* poem written by Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi (1845–1909).

KEYWORDS: women's writing in Kerala, Sanskrit literature, Santānagopāla, Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi, Kaṭattanāṭuṅ principality

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*yasyāḥ svarūpam akhilam jñātuṃ brahmādayo 'pi na spaṣṭāḥ /
kāmagavī sukavīnām sā jayati sarasvatīdevī //*

keralyāḥ

Victory to the goddess Sarasvatī,
who is the cow of plenty for the great poets,
and whose real nature cannot be clearly known
in its entirety even by Brahmā and others.

Keralī

I. Introduction

It is suitable to start writing a book or a poem with a hymn addressed to Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning. However, in this case the usual eulogy has its special meaning. It is attributed to Keralī, a woman-writer whose name betrays connections with South India, precisely with Kerala. Alas, no further information about her can be given. Her verse has been culled from Veṅḍatta's *Padyavenī*¹ and given in Jatindra Bimal Chaudhari's anthology of Sanskrit verses attributed to Indian poetesses (Chaudhari 2001 v. I: 15).

The present article focuses on Kerala women's writings in Sanskrit, a subject not yet researched in Indology, although, as I will try to show, deserving attention. Kunjunni Raja in his otherwise informative book *Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature* mentions just a few names of poetesses and gives a handful of titles, usually not providing any detailed information concerning their lives and not characterizing their compositions. In the *Kerala Sanskrit Literature. A Bibliography* by S. Venkatasubramonia Iyer, published in 1976, one can find six references to women writers. One could ask whether we receive a real picture of literary creativity in Sanskrit with such minute participation of women in it.

¹ *Padyavenī* is an anthology containing 889 verses ascribed to different poets. According to Aufrecht it was compiled in 1644. The author, Veṅḍatta, introduced himself as a son of Jogajīvena and a grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha (Sternbach 1974: 28).

In the 19th century Swami Vivekananda visited Malabar² and noticed that women there could speak Sanskrit. “When I myself was in that country, I met many women who spoke good Sanskrit, while in the rest of India not one woman in a million can speak it” (Swami Vivekananda 1989: VII. 52), he commented with perhaps utmost admiration. And if they could speak Sanskrit, they definitely did not lack the ability to compose literary works in it. Perhaps nobody cared much about transmitting their compositions, which must have been admired mainly in family circles. Even if they had become true Sanskrit scholars, they usually did not have pupils who could take care of their *gurvīs*’ fame. Nevertheless, the history of Sanskrit literature as well as the picture of Indian society cannot be considered as complete without taking women’s writing into consideration. Since royal courts were strong centres of learning and arts, it seems only natural that both better possibilities of education for women of these royal families and their way of life, which was more open to the outer world, could make them aspire to the position and fame as Sanskrit scholars and poetesses, at least in the royal circles. Their situation was quite different from that of thousands of anonymous Keralite women writers, who belonged to other social strata, developing their literary skills in seclusion of their houses all by themselves and in fact mainly for themselves. In the case of royal poetesses there are also better chances that at least their families have preserved some part of their literary oeuvre proud of their talent and education. That is why my research concentrates on the contribution of royal ladies to Sanskrit literature of Kerala. It should also be mentioned that those families were matrilineal and as K. Saradmoni notices summing up her research on transformation of matrilineal society in the twentieth-century Travancore:

² During the British domination in the region lasting 150 years, Kerala consisted of three parts: Malabar, i.e. northern part of Kerala, which was a part of Madras Presidency, and the native states of Travancore (Mal. *tiruvitāṅkōṭṭu*, *tiruvāṅkōṭṭu*, *tiruvitāṅkūr*) and Cochin (Mal. *kocci*). In 1956 they were joined and formed a state known as Kerala (Mal. *kēraḷa*).

“Matriliny, when compared to patriliney, gave women some amount of autonomy...” (Saradmoni 1999: 15).

During my fieldwork in Kerala in 2014 and 2015 I was able to collect several manuscripts written by women authors as well as some very rare printed editions of their works. From the collected sources I have decided to choose one poem based on the *Santānagopāla* theme, a story mainly found in Puranic literature about a pious Brahmin and his wife losing one child after another. It recurs in the oeuvre of at least three women writers living at the turn of 19th and 20th centuries. One of these poetesses composing the *Santānagopāla* poems was Maṅku Tampurān (1884–1977)³ belonging to the royal family of Cochin. She had no children for the first three years of her married life. After her pilgrimage to Rāmeśvaram in Tamilnadu, she gave birth to her first daughter and gave her a meaningful name—Rāmeśvarī.⁴ Her poem, relating the story of *Santānagopāla* following the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, can also be treated as closely connected with her own life even if the text of this little poem authored by her is silent about her longing for a child.⁵ Usually we know very little about the lives of authoresses but it seems that one should not consider the selection of such a theme as accidental. Possibly the poems themselves, the treatment of the plot as well as still preserved family stories could provide more information about these particular women writers. We will concentrate on the *Santānagopālakāvya* by Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi.

II. The Puranic version of the *Santānagopāla* theme

Let us first introduce the story about a Brahmin whose newborn children died one after another. The plot is known from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 10.86 (Shastree 1997: 300–307) as well as from the *Harivaṁśa*

³ More about Maṅku and her literary oeuvre in Sudyka 2016.

⁴ From the notes prepared by her granddaughter Candrāvali Tampurān whom I met in February 2015.

⁵ According to Kunjunni Raja also Ambāḍi Devaki Amma “has recently produced a musical Radio play, *Santānagopāla*.” (Kunjunni Raja 1980: 274).

2.3.6–114 and *Padmapurāṇa* 6.279, 41–55. The version popular in Kerala follows the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, the most revered and influential of Puranic texts, especially its tenth book. The story can be summarized as follows:

After the Kurukṣetra battle Arjuna visits Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā. There he meets a Brahmin bemoaning his fate, having lost all his nine children at birth. Arjuna swears that the next child the Brahmin's wife may bear in the future will not die. Arjuna vows to immolate himself if he fails to protect the Brahmin's child. Soon the Brahmin's wife is pregnant again. As the day of the delivery approaches, Arjuna goes to the Brahmin's house and takes all the precautions against the child being snatched away by the god of death. Alas! this time the newborn child miraculously disappears. Arjuna searches for the child but not being able to find him, he prepares to enter the fire. Kṛṣṇa stops him telling that he knows where to find all the Brahmin's children. Both Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna start the journey through the worlds. They cross seven regions of the terrestrial world (*dvīpa*) and seven oceans, then the region of darkness. Beyond it shines the supreme light. Crossing the region of light, the divine chariot enters the region of water with floating coils of huge Ādiśeṣa on it. Viṣṇu is reposing on the coils of the snake. He informs them that the Brahmin's children are there and explains that they have been taken to bring both Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna before him. The whole event was arranged to show their virtues and in this way set an example for men. They return to Dvārakā with the Brahmin's sons. Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna give back the children to the delighted parents.

III. The Santānagopāla in Kerala

In the *Bhāgavata* the story ends here but it has its continuation on Kerala's soil, in a particular place on the map. It turns out that Arjuna was given an idol of the Protector of Progeny—Santānagopālamūrti. He, together with Gaṇeśa, was looking for the best place on the earth for it. According to some versions of the legend, it was Gaṇeśa who found the Brahmin's village, pure and emanating the atmosphere of holiness, resounding with Vedic hymns, hence its name Pūrṇavedapuram. Gaṇeśa was

trying to take this place over for himself, however, Arjuna pushed him away and established Santānagopālamūrti. The temple known as Pūrṇatrayīśa (Fig. 1), i.e. the temple of the Lord of Three Vedas (*R̥gveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Sāmaveda*), was built there. Nowadays the place, a suburb of Kochi (Cochin, Anglicized form < Mal. *kocci*), is called Tripunithura (Anglicized form < Mal. *ṭṛppūñittura/ ṭṛppūñattura/ ṭṛppūñattara*). The Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa idol, the Protector of Progeny—Santānagopāla—is worshipped there. It is the best place to beg the God for a child. Certainly, one could hear plenty of stories about childless couples blessed by the God after worshipping the Santānagopālamūrti.

There are also some other temples in Kerala where one can pray before the Santānagopāla. One quite famous shrine is near Changanassery (Changanacherry, Anglicized form < Mal. *cañṇanāśśēri*). It is said that it was built by Rāñi⁶ Gaurī Lakṣmī Bāyī and her husband Rājarāja Varma Kōyil Tampurān⁷ of Lakṣmīpuram Palace, who had no male children and the survival of Travancore was at stake. With no heir to the throne the British Empire could annex the kingdom. One year after the completion of the shrine, the queen became pregnant and the child, future monarch Svāti Tirunāl Rāma Varma (r. 1829–1847), although still in his mother’s womb, was proclaimed the successor. Another Santānagopāla temple is situated among Keralan green fields and groves, not very far from Kozhikode (Calicut, Anglicised form < Mal. *kōlīkkōṭu*). It is Peṭṭkōvil, Cittārikāvu (Fig. 2), a charming, calm place surrounded by various trees, bushes and plants.⁸

Not only prayers offered to the God in his temples but also each and every recapitulation of this story from the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam* acts in the same way—it can give the progeny and help protect children. So

⁶ *Rāñi* – Mal. < Pkt. *rāñī* < Skt. *rājñī* – queen.

⁷ The word *kōil* or *kōyil* is used in the sense of a palace or a *kṣatriya* prince. *Tampurān* (Mal.): lord, king, male in a royal family; for a woman a proper title is *tampurāṭṭi* (Mal.).

⁸ Thanks to Dr. Geethakumary (University of Calicut) and Mr. Rajesh K., a Ph.D. candidate (University of Calicut) I was able to reach this temple.

this is the reason why the story served as canvas to many authors. Perhaps in Kerala there is a special interest in it as, according to the beliefs, this is the place where the protagonists appeared in person. As legend has it, also the Brahmin from Dvārakā moved to Pūrṇavedapuram and became the chief priest. Puliyanūr Nampūtiris are said to be the descendants of that Brahmin (Vaidyanathan 1988: 210).

One can list a great number of works by Keralan authors based on the *Santānagopāla* theme.⁹ There is a Sanskrit poem *Santānagopālam* ascribed to the famous Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (first half of the 17th century) and his friend Pūntānam Nambūtiri authored *Santānagopālacampū* in the Malayalam language. The ruler of Travancore Aśvati Tirunāl Rāmavarman (1755–1795) wrote *Santānagopālacampū* in Sanskrit, which, together with its Malayalam translation, was edited by C. Unnikrishna Warriyar (Kunjunni Raja 1980: 173f). There are anonymous works devoted to that theme,¹⁰ e.g. *Santānagopālaprabandha*. The compositions described in Kerala literary tradition as *prabandhas* were based on Puranic lore and presented as a so-called *kūttu* on the stage by a *cākyār*, namely a professional actor of Sanskrit plays. As far as Kerala performing arts are concerned, it should be mentioned that also the *kathakali* (Mal. < Skt. *kathā*—story + *kaḷi*—play, game) tradition adopted the story from the *Bhāgavata* (Zarilli 1994).

In which manner did women writers exploit such a theme as obtaining and protecting progeny? Were they just relating the Puranic story or unveiling some details from their own life? After all, bearing children and taking care of them were the dominating concerns in their lives.

IV. Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi of Kaṭattanāṭu and her poem

The *Santānagopālakāvya* by Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi will provide answers to these questions. Lakṣmī belonged to the Kadatunad royal family.

⁹ The works in Sanskrit are mentioned in Kunjunni Raja 1980: 238, 135, 146, 173f, 271, 268f, 274.

¹⁰ It cannot be excluded that among anonymous works there are also some authored by women.

The history of Kadatunad (Anglicized form < Mal. *kaṭattanāṭu*) principality is not very well known, although the name of the realm and its rulers appear in English and French annals frequently. Sometimes the French or English forms given to the names make it difficult to connect them with this particular territory and its kings and some authors are not ready to provide proper explanations.¹¹ Moreover, the same historic event as described by English, French or other sources shows different attitudes and evaluations of those, who were the main actors on the Malabar's stage at that time, i.e. in the 17th and 18th centuries. Unfortunately, according to my knowledge, there is no indigenous source which could speak for Kaṭattanāṭu *rājas* and express their opinions on what and why happened during the most turbulent periods of their history. The picture we get from external sources shows them as skilful players, trying to protect their inheritance and make their position as secure as possible. Once we see them fighting with local powers, then with the Portuguese; negotiating with the English, French or Mysore invaders; leaving their ancestral palaces and then coming back. All the time on the move. It is really amazing to see all the interactions of this, in fact, very small principality but geographically located in the region of the utmost interest for Europeans arriving in India. Its rulers were ready to fight courageously against their enemies or employ political strategies to deal with their neighbours: native kings or European commanders and merchants.¹²

The decades of the 19th century were not so stormy because the political situation in the region had by that time stabilized. At that time the interest of the Kaṭattanāṭu *rājas* in promoting local culture is particularly visible. The *rājas* promoted *kathakali* or dance-drama art and there was even an earlier distinctive style known as *kaṭattanāṭu* (Zarrilli 2000: 26, 246).

¹¹ See the account of Alexander Hamilton voyages in (Hamilton 1995 II: 299–301).

¹² William Logan, for many years Collector of Malabar District and the author of voluminous compendium *Malabar* published for the first time in 1887 provides some pieces of information about Kaṭattanāṭu.

At the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries, the kings of Kaṭattanāṭu themselves contributed a great deal to the cultural legacy of the country. They were poets themselves but they also patronised different writers, artists and scholars of profound erudition.¹³ Among the royal literati an important place is held by Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi. She was born in 1845 at Eṭavalattu Kōvilakam nearby Purameri. Well versed in Sanskrit, she authored many poems. One of them is preserved; in the India Office Library there is a manuscript No. 8158 containing the *Santānagopālakāvya*. It was published in 1931 by Italian scholar Mario Vallauri and translated into Italian. In 1940 J. B. Chaudhari included the Sanskrit text in his second volume of *The Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature*, but since then the poem has been forgotten.

Sanskrit theoreticians of literature (for instance Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyaśāstra* 1.14) prescribe that *mahākavyas* (Sanskrit court epic poems) should be composed in chapters called *sargas*. The *Santānagopālakāvya* by Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi consists of 3 *sargas* only. The first chapter contains 43 stanzas, the second 37 and the last one 50 couplets, thus constituting altogether 130 stanzas. The language is simple but elegant. Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi employs various metres, especially at the end of each *sarga*, as it was customary among the poets composing *mahākāvya*s. The third canto abounds in rhyming effects as *yamakas* are used there. Chaudhari in his short introduction preceding the edition of the *Santānagopālakāvya* text states:

In this work we get some beautiful descriptions, e.g., of the Lokāloka mountain, Viṣṇu lying on the serpent Śeṣa, etc. The stavas of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna to Viṣṇu and of the Brahmin to Kṛṣṇa are really good ones. (Chaudhari 2001: 30)

But for us one stanza is of the utmost interest. It happens that in the *sarga-bandha mahākāvya*, the author provides some pieces of information concerning his/her own life and the circumstances of composing

¹³ More about the role of Kaṭattanāṭu *rājas* as patrons and writers in Kunjunnī Raja 1980: 264, 267–269.

the poem at the end of it, as for instance Bhaṭṭi (circa 7th c. AD) does in his *Rāvaṇavadha*. In the *ākhyāyikā* genre, which is a prose *mahākāvya*, the autobiographical narrative is provided in the first *ucchvāsas*, i.e. chapters. In the well-known *ākhyāyikā Harṣacarita*, its author Bāṇa (7th c. AD) gives an account of his early life and mentions his ancestors in the first two *ucchvāsas*, then he presents the life of King Harṣa. The autobiography in Sanskrit as a distinct genre did not exist.

In the case of the *Santānagopālakāvya* of Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi it is the last stanza in which one can come across the self-disclosure of the poetess:

*rogārtayā 'pi ravivarma-kumārakasya
jātādareṇa manasā vacasi prakāmam |
maurkhyam samarpya viṅaṇayya kṛtam mayaitat
kāvyam mudā budha-varāḥ pariśodhayantu || 50 ||*

Although still suffering,
with my mind preoccupied with the birth of baby Ravivarma,
I have eagerly composed this poem in words,
realizing and setting aside (my) fatuity.¹⁴
May the best among the learned gladly examine it.

Ravivarma belongs to the set of names used in the Kaṭattanaṭu royal family for boys. According to the family tradition its male members were named: Śaṅkaravarma, if he was the first male child; Mānavarma, if he was the second son in turn; then Ravivarma, Udayavarma or Kṛṣṇavarma. The ladies of the ruling family could assume one of the following names: Lakṣmī, Mādhavī, Pārvaṭī, Śrīdevī and Omana.

The word *kumāraka* means a little boy. To be precise, according to legal terminology boys under 5 years of age were called *kumāra*

¹⁴ This part of the stanza—“realizing and setting aside (my) fatuity”—could be also interpreted as follows: “introducing into the text (my own) stupidity, while at the same time pondering (every word)”. Anyway, in both cases it could be a form of a pretense of modesty, adopted to gain the audience’s favour. See Kālidāsa’s prototypical modest prelude from verses 2–4 of the first book of the *Raghuvamśa*.

(explained as “easily dying”), *śiśu* under 8, *pogaṇḍa* from the 5th till the end the 9th year and *kiśora* from the 10th until the 16th year of life. So Ravivarma was a little child, maybe an infant or even a newborn. That is all what one can deduce from the text itself.

At the beginning of January 2016 I had a chance to meet several members of the Kaṭattanāṭu royal family, among them the great-grandson of the poetess. Some of them know very little about Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi. But in one of their houses I was shown an old painting of Lakṣmī (Fig. 3). She passed away in 1909 at the age of 64. So the picture showing the traditionally dressed elderly lady is more than one hundred years old although the vegetable paint still looks quite fresh. I was told that Lakṣmī’s children died just after delivery, one by one. Only one of them survived after she had completed the poem. According to the family tradition, by writing the poem *Santānagopāla* Lakṣmī earned merits. Even if only one of her children survived, she had 18 grandchildren, which is 9 multiplied by 2. The Brahmin from the Puranic legend lost nine stillborn babies.¹⁵ So Lakṣmī received a doubled number of Brahmin’s progeny, though in the next generation. I also visited Eṭavalattu Kōvilakam or better to say I was shown what was left of that old palace (Fig. 4). After the land reform the family lost their land and in order to keep the place, they destroyed a part of it. Anyway, one still can see the delivery room (Fig. 5) in which Lakṣmī was born and in which she gave birth to her children. In fact, this is the place in which the two stories meet: the one known from the *Bhāgavata* and the life story of a woman from Kerala. So as in *Tṛppūnittura*, the Puranic story melts with the local context but this time the scale is different—limited to a family circle.

¹⁵ The last child was born alive as the little boy was crying repeatedly, then he disappeared in the sky:

*tataḥ kumāraḥ sañjāto vipra-patnyā rudan muhuḥ
sadyo 'darśanam āpede sa-śarīro vihāyasā //*
BhP X.86.38 (Shastree 1997: 303)

Thanks to collective memory of the members of the Kaṭattanāṭu *rājas* family the story showing what triggered off the compositional process was transmitted to the next century and still is repeated among them. Although extra textual, it should accompany this literary work enlarging and advancing our understanding of it. Without it the interpretation of the last stanza, although disclosing the circumstances, could be different. J. B. Chaudhari in his short *Introduction to the Santānagopāla-kāvya* deduced that the poetess was ill, nevertheless out of the affection for Prince Ravivarma, in order to educate him in theological lore, she composed a poem for him (Chaudhari 2001: 27–29).

V. Conclusion

Summing up, the Santānagopāla theme, at least in the case of Lakṣmī's poem, unveils some details concerning her private life. That is why in this study it is not so important whether the narrative provided by the poetess follows faithfully the plot from the *Bhāgavatam* or any other source. Nor do we analyse its style, etc. These are the rare moments of self-disclosure in women's writings, which are so precious. After all, we know very little about women writing in Sanskrit and even less about the lives of the authoresses. The *Santānagopāla* plot, on which the poem is based, shows not only Brahmin and his wife in despair but also speaks about the yearning of the authoress for a child and about the pain of a woman who had lost her long-desired children. It also demonstrates her unconditional faith in God Kṛṣṇa, an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu who raises the earth from its burden, i.e. makes the *dharāṇi-bhāra* vanish (see *Santānagopālakāvya* of Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi, 3.25, 43, 46). The devotion played a dominant role in Lakṣmī and other Kerala women's life and characterized it. Also her poem is religious in tone, this time, however, the aim of Tampurāṭṭi's work is not only to sing the glory of God but also design the happy end for herself, make the God willing to keep her son alive. Just like he did for the Brahmin whose story is described in the *Bhāgavatam*.

The case of *Santānagopālakāvya* of Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi proves that the compositional material should not be separated from “reference

to a particular creative individual” (Bushell 2005: 67).¹⁶ It is so even in the case of Sanskrit *kāvya* literature, which governed by different rules and regulations seems to be highly depersonalized.

List of illustrations:

Fig. 1. The Pūrṇatrayāśa Temple in Tṛppūṇittura (photo Lidia Sudyka).

Fig. 2. The Santānagopāla Temple—Petṛkovil, Cittārikāvū (photo Lidia Sudyka).

Fig. 3. Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi of Kaṭattanāṭu (1845–1909) (painting by T. A. N. Nambisan; photo Lidia Sudyka).

Fig. 4. Eṭavalattu Kōvilakam (photo Lidia Sudyka).

Fig. 5. The old delivery room in the Eṭavalattu palace (photo Lidia Sudyka).

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¹⁶ After announcing the death of the author (Roland Barthes) and the intentional fallacy (William Kurtz Wimsatt and Monroe Beardsley), contradictory theories take the floor: intentionalism (e.g. G. Thomas Tanselle) presents a theory that claims the relevance of authorial intention as a criterion for interpreting his/her work, the genetic criticism (e.g. Daniel Ferrer) focuses on the reconstruction and analysis of the writing process, the idea of social editing (e.g. Jerome McGann) does not forget about its agent, namely the author and other persons involved in the process of production (e.g. collaborators, the persons who commissioned the work, editors, etc.). There are also some others, as Sally Bushell, trying to recommend other solutions “in which the compositional text is allowed to be both the embodiment of a certain kind of textual meaning and the intentional object of a sequence of acts performed by a single mind” (Bushell 2005: 89).

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Fig. 1. The Pūrṇatrayīśa Temple in Tṛppūṇittura (photo by the author).



Fig. 2. The Santānagopāla Temple—Petṛkovil, Cittārikāvu (photo by the author).



Fig. 3. Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi of Kaṭattanāṭu (1845–1909) (painting by T.A.N. Nambisan; photo by the author).



Fig. 4. Eṭavalattu Kōvilakam
(photo by the author).



Fig. 5. The old delivery room
in the Eṭavalattu palace
(photo by the author).

