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தனிநாயகம் அடிகளார்



உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்
International Institute of Tamil Studies



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இயக்குநர்

உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்

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அணிந்துரை

காலத்தால் உருவாகியும் வளர்ந்தும் முதிர்ந்தும் மொழிகளுக்கெல்லாம் மூத்த மொழியாக இருப்பது தமிழ்மொழி, எனினும் அதன் இளமையையும் எளிமையையும் தெளிவையும், இனிமையையும் உலகறியச் செய்ய முனைப்புடன் செயல்பட்ட அறிஞர் பெருமக்கள் பலர். அவர்களுள் “திறமான புலமையெனில் வெளிநாட்டார் அதை வணக்கம் செய்தல் வேண்டும்” என்ற மகாகவியின் மந்திர மொழிக்கேற்பத் தமிழ்மொழியின் பெருமையை உலகமெல்லாம் பரவச் செய்த பெருமக்களுள் தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளாரும் ஒருவர். அவர் உலக நாடுகளுக்கெல்லாம் தாமே தூதாகச் சென்று தமிழின் பெருமையை, தமிழனின் அருமையை, தமிழ்நாட்டின் தனித்தன்மையை எடுத்துக் கூறித் தமிழின் உயர்மொழிப் பண்பை உலகறியச் செய்தவர். உலகத்தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம் தோன்றக் காரணமானவர்.

உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி மாநாடுகள் காணச் செய்தவர். ஈழத்தில் 02.08.1913இல் நாகநாத கணபதி பிள்ளைக்கும் (ஹென்றி ஸ்தனிஸ்லாஸ்) சிசில் இராசம்மா வஸ்தியா பிள்ளைக்கும் திருமகனாகத் தோன்றியவர். உலகெங்கும் சென்று உயர்தமிழுக்கு உரிய பெருமை கிடைக்கப் பாடுபட்டவர்.

தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளார் உலக நாடுகளுக்குச் சென்று தமிழ்மொழியின், தமிழ் இனத்தின் பெருமையை

உலகறியச் செய்தபோது ஆய்வாளர்களும் தமிழ் ஆர்வலர்களும் தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சி இதழொன்று ஆங்கிலத்தில் வெளியிட வேண்டும் என்ற கருத்தினை அவரிடம் தெரிவித்தார்கள்.

அதன் பயனாக உலக நாடுகளில் பணியாற்றிவரும் தமிழறிஞர்களை ஒருங்கிணைத்துத் தமிழாராய்ச்சியை ஒருமுகப்படுத்தவும், வளப்படுத்தவும் 1952இல் **Tamil Culture** என்னும் முத்திங்கள் இதழை அடிகளார் தொடங்கினார். அவ் இதழில் தமிழ்ப்பண்பாடு, தமிழர் கல்விநிலை, தமிழர்களின் சிந்தனைச் செழுமை பற்றிய கட்டுரைகளைச் சமகால மேலைநாட்டு இலக்கியத் திறனாய்வுக் கோட்பாடுகளுக்கேற்ப அடிகளார் எழுதினார். மேலும் பல மேநாட்டறிஞர்களின் கட்டுரைகளையும் இடம்பெறச் செய்தார். அவருடைய நூற்றாண்டு விழா, மாண்புமிகு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித் தலைவி அம்மா அவர்களின் மேலான ஆணைப்படி தமிழ்நாடு அரசின் சார்பில் உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனத்தில் சிறப்பாக நடத்தப்பட்டது. அவர் தொடர்புடைய நூல்கள் வெளியிடப்பட்டு அவரது தமிழ்ப்பணி போற்றப்பட்டது.

தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளாரை ஆசிரியராகக் கொண்டு 1952 ஆம் ஆண்டு முதல் முத்திங்களிதழாக **Tamil Culture** என்னும் இதழ் வெளிவந்தது. இவ்விதழின் தொகுப்புகள் இன்று உங்கள் கரங்களில் தவழ்கின்றன.

இவ்விதழ்கள் தமிழ்த் தொண்டு பரவுசீர்க் கருத்துக் கருவுலங்கள்; காலங் காலமாக நாடெங்கும் ஒளிவீசக் கூடியவைகள்; அருகிவரும் தமிழாய்வுக் களங்களுக்கு கலங்கரை விளக்கொளிகள்; அரிதின் முயன்று அன்னைத் தமிழ் வளர்த்த தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளாரின் **Tamil Culture** முத்திங்கள் இதழ்களை ஆண்டுவாரியாக ஒன்றுதிரட்டித் தொகுப்பு நூல்களாக வெளியிடப்படுகின்றன.

தமிழறிஞர்களின் தமிழ்த் தொண்டினை எப்போதும் பாராட்டுவதில் முதன்மையானவர் மாண்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித் தலைவி அம்மா அவர்கள் ஆவார். மாண்புமிகு அம்மா அவர்கள் தமிழ் மீதும் தமிழர் மீதும் தமிழ்நாட்டின் மீதும் தமிழ்ப் பண்பாட்டின் மீதும்

கொண்டுள்ள அன்பும் கருணையும் அளப்பரியன. ஆதலால், இவற்றின் மேம்பாட்டுக்கெனப் பல திட்டங்களை மேற்கொண்டு வருகின்றார்கள். ஒல்லும் வகையெல்லாம் தமிழ் வளர்த்து வரும் மாண்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித்தலைவி அம்மா அவர்களுக்கு உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனத்தின் சார்பில் நன்றிகளைப் பதிவு செய்கின்றேன்.

தமிழ் மொழி வளர்ச்சிக்கு ஆக்கமும் ஊக்கமும் அளித்துவரும் மாண்புமிகு தமிழ் ஆட்சிமொழி, தமிழ்ப் பண்பாட்டுத் துறை, தொல்லியல் துறை (ம) பள்ளிக் கல்வித் துறை அமைச்சர் கே. சி. வீரமணி அவர்களுக்கும் நன்றி.

தமிழ் வளர்ச்சிப் பணிகளில் ஆர்வத்தோடு நாட்டம் செலுத்தித் தமிழ்த் தொண்டாற்றிவரும் தமிழ்வளர்ச்சி மற்றும் செய்தித்துறைச் செயலாளர் முனைவர் மூஇராசாராம் இ-ஆ.ப. அவர்களுக்கும் இதயம் கனிந்த நன்றியினைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன்.

இந்நூல் சிறப்பான முறையில் மறு அச்சப் பெற முனைந்து உழைத்த உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவன அனைத்துப் பணியாளர்களுக்கும் அச்சகத்தார்க்கும் என் நன்றி.

இயக்குநர்



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The Tamil Development and Research Council

THE EDITOR

The constitution of the Madras State Tamil Development and Research Council is a great step forward in equipping and modernising Tamil for the purposes of functioning in a democracy. We congratulate the Minister for Education on having convened such a select and representative body and on having incorporated aims the realisation of which should usher in a new era for the Tamil language and literature as well as for other branches of Tamil studies. The aims are so purposive that a new impetus will be given to works in Tamil in such neglected fields as archaeology, social anthropology, economics, education and other social sciences. These studies will be rendered still more necessary and of permanent value as Tamil becomes progressively the medium of instruction at the University level and the official language functioning in all aspects of civic life.

Such functions of the Development and Research Council as have been outlined, range from the study of the pre-history of Tamil Nad and the publication of inscriptions and old manuscripts to an increase of literary productions of interest to children and neo-literates. The Council envisages also a programme of new publications which will add considerably to reference literature and to other fields of contemporary and topical relevance. A wide range of activities is again included in the provision : " To take such other measures as are necessary to develop the Tamil language and to spread its use as a vehicle for all transactions both in the educational and other fields ".

Broadly speaking, any activity which professes to develop the Tamil language must be related to contemporary needs and problems, since a language is a social factor which is never developed in a vacuum irrespective of the people which speak it and the contemporary social and civic uses which it serves. There is need for Tamil to become increasingly an effective instrument for the expression of modern thought and modern needs, and we would urge the Research Council to see to increasing the output in the Tamil medium of solid and basic literature in Politics, Government, Economics, Social and Industrial Psychology and Education. The vast body of Tamil literature which we have inherited, while representative of admirable humanistic traditions, was the creation of a leisured class for leisurely periods. Today the various ramifications of societal interest need a great number of other studies which will make contemporary life and citizenship meaningful and happy. These studies meant for the Tamil public cannot be mere translations of foreign classics and foreign text-books. The translations of foreign standard classics are necessary for the understanding and inter-change of human thought, but can have only a complementary value to original books which should be written for the Tamil reader by those with an understanding of the Tamil background and the present literature available in Tamil.

Such original works are also necessary if lecturing in Tamil at University level is to be done without any loss of standards. The immediate need while introducing College lectures in the Tamil medium is to provide the undergraduate with a reasonable number of Tamil books in each subject so that they cover his field as widely as possible, even though he is expected to have recourse to English books in the same field to broaden his acquaintance with his subject and have a wider background than can be provided for him immediately in Tamil.

Literary productions for school and college, and for adult education conceived as a life-long process of self-

realisation and self-development will need considerable educational research to precede and direct them. The literary productions and text-books should be graded, should respond to the interests and activities of the age group for which they are intended, and should stimulate creativity. When we consider the advances made in the pedagogical sciences and the small extent to which the results of experiments and research have been utilised in the educational literature in Tamil, we feel a more realistic and modernised approach should be made to deliver education from the stereotypes to which it is a prey unless research and vision can direct its activities with due regard to social changes and social needs.

We place great hopes in the future activities of the Tamil Development and Research Council. Hence we give elsewhere the complete text of the Government Order* constituting the Council. Its activities will not only benefit Madras State, but also other countries like Ceylon, Malaya, Mauritius and South Africa where Tamil functions as a medium of education and civic life.

* Madras Government's Order, G.O. Ms. No. 297 Education dated the 16th February 1959—published under News and Notes in this issue (Page 59).

A Dravidian from Spain

P. JOSEPH

That is what he used to call himself not only in private talk, but even on the public platform. He pandered, however, to no racial revivalism; nor had he any linguistic axe to grind. He merely spotlighted an anthropological problem comprising a vast area, extending across three continents from India to the British Isles, along western Asia, northern Africa and southern Europe.

The late Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J., the eminent historian, who, born in Spain, made India his adopted motherland was in the line of Nobili and Beschi, Caldwell and Pope in his service for Dravidiana. But there was one essential characteristic in which he differed. Whereas they made their studies a more or less obvious vehicle to convey their particular doctrine, he, though a missionary like them, hardly ever allowed his historical perspective to be clouded by any overtones of dogma.

As one who helped in his attempt to decipher the Indus Valley script I came, perhaps, in a little closer contact than some other students. That contact started in mid-June 1935 when a young man from Tamilnad, clad in quite the orthodox manner, arrived at the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. The welcome he received and the subsequent arrangements made for his stay in the *urbs prima in Indis*, to which he was a total stranger, left an indelible mark on his mind. They were evidence of a large-hearted humanity, that reached out to everyone in need of help, encouragement or sympathy.

* Four years ago, Indology in general and the study of Indus Valley Civilisation in particular suffered a grievous loss in the death of Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J. In memory of that eminent historian, who died before he could complete the publication of his researches in the decipherment of the Indus Valley Script, we publish in this issue this brief sketch of his work by a former student and collaborator.



REV. FATHER H. HERAS, S. J.

During nearly 15 years of association I had watched Fr. Heras pore over tome after tome of sources, ranging from archaeological reports to photographic albums of unpublished steatite seals, and amass literally a cart-load of material, which subsequently was sorted out and bundled into neat packets, comprising the groundwork of different topics to be discussed in his monumental work, "Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Studies". His industry was amazing. All the available time, apart from what was set aside for religious duties, was devoted mainly to one interest,—the *magnum opus*. It ultimately grew into such an all-consuming passion that he seemed to have no other topic even of ordinary conversation. His jokes too had a proto-Indian or a proto-Mediterranean flavour. Even at night he seemed to have thought of nothing else, for more than once he told me that he had stumbled on the solution of a ticklish problem in his sleep! This magnificent obsession resulted in the addition of hundreds of volumes to the library. For a glimpse of ancient Dravidian society he acquired the Tamil Sangam works. For a grasp of the near-eastern and Mediterranean cultures he gathered all the available material on the excavations conducted at Persian, Mesopotamian, Anatolian, Palestinian, Egyptian, Cretan, Aegean, Italian, Iberian, French, British and Irish sites. These source books together with the works of several authors in many European and Indian languages on the various topics the vast study gave rise to make the library of the Indian Historical Research Institute one of the best, if not the best, equipped in India on proto-Indo-Mediterranean culture. The bibliography at the beginning of Vol. I of "Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Studies" no doubt gives an idea of the vast erudition that has gone into its compilation. But I happen to know definitely that many books consulted were not mentioned for the reason that they had no direct bearing on the subject. Were these books also taken into account, the amount of reading that has been put in staggers the imagination.

As mentioned at the outset, the upshot of his long research was the conviction regarding the basic racial unity of the whole region from India to Eire along a huge fertile crescent. The similarities between the Indus Valley, Sumerian, Egyptian, Cretan, Aegean, Etruscan, Iberian and Druidic (British and Irish) civilisations were too numerous and too fundamental to be accounted for by anything short of ethnic homogeneity; commercial contact alone cannot provide sufficient explanation. While discussing the name of the wide-spread race, he shocked philological purists and orthodox pundits alike with the bold equation: Dravida = Druid = Dramila = Termiloi = Trm-mli = Tamil, signifying 'sons of the sea'; these variations of the same name—an apter could hardly have been found—were applied to the same people at different times and in different climes along the Arabian, Mediterranean and Atlantic sea-boards. He had few equals in perceiving general trends as against individual peculiarities. There are plenty of experts, no doubt, on the culture of each region within the aforesaid crescent, but not many who can correctly assess the large cultural patterns pervading the whole area. Their perspective as specialists is restricted and in their preoccupation with the trees they often lose sight of the wood. The very fact that he was not a mere specialist in any particular field was his greatest asset; he could thus command a wider vision of the panorama that unfolded itself before his mind's eye than he would have been otherwise able to do.

Another result of his study was the smashing of the Aryan myth. Overwhelming proof came to hand to the effect that the Aryan, a grand extrovert and an uncouth brawny nomad with superior weapons of destruction, blazed a trail of fire and pillage wherever he went, until he was civilised by the brainier man whom he had subjugated. Then, exercising his shrewdness, he seized the opportunity offered by circumstances to pass off the wonderful things he found—unprecedented material pros-

perity, excellent literature, highly developed philosophy and advanced religious system—as his own. There was nothing to stop him. The conquered could do nothing about it. And thus started the biggest historical hoax, which it has taken nearly four millennia to expose. Fr. Heras was quite convinced that in Vedic and Puranic literature there is vast non-Aryan and pre-Aryan material. He firmly believed that for a proper assessment of proto-Indian culture one should master not only the Dravidian languages but also Sanskrit. For lack of this combination the study of Indian pre-history has grievously suffered.

His uncanny knack of estimating the archaeological possibilities of a site or a region would do credit to a professional digger. Once he acquired a few steatite seals from the neighbourhood of Prabhaspatan in Kathiawar. After studying them he confidently predicted the extension of Harappa culture to Kathiawar-Gujarat. The later findings in forty odd sites and particularly at Lothal are indeed a magnificent confirmation of his forecast. This anticipation is easily on a par with the faith that goaded R. D. Banerji to keep on excavating right under the base of a Buddhist stupa till he laid bare one of the grandest civilisations of the ancient world. To talk of forecast and faith in archaeological matters may seem rather unscientific: but the skilled investigator is one who makes the shrewdest guesses. After all any enquiry starts from a plausible theory, based on available data to be confirmed by subsequent findings. In propounding hypotheses Fr. Heras was way ahead of the ordinary run of researchers.

Ancient Indian history was not the only field on which his interest was focussed. His religion too laid claim to his time; but his Indian cultural training had a clear bearing on the religious topics he discussed. He felt Indian Catholicism had a too obvious foreign stamp. He, therefore, advocated to his clerical brethren the desirability of going back to the days of Nobili and Beschi in the matter

not only of presenting religion but even of dress. He called for churches, statues and paintings in the classical Indian modes. Not many of his calling could reconcile themselves to this unpopular approach. In some quarters he raised a veritable hornets' nest. The most vocal critic was an Irishman, who began "pulverising the professor" with the heavy-headed hammer of sarcasm. But the latter was not easily browbeaten. He hit back, wondering if the outpourings were due to "tropical heat or Irish wit". The argument went on for a while. It was all in good fun, neither yielding ground. But the higher ecclesiastical authorities—so rumour had it—intervened to put a stop to what might have seemed to the layman an unseemly clerical controversy.

In nothing that he dealt with could he support the popular point of view. He could never toe the line; his independence was too sturdy for that. Whether it was Vijayanagar history or Gandhara school of art or Asoka's religion or Indian pre-history or even his own religious sphere, he was the *enfant terrible*. It is really inspiring to hark back to his example at the present day, when historians' efforts are so heavily weighted with the political mill-stone that one feels the need of a timely warning.

His profoundest grief must have been that he could not finish the work he began, one on which he had spent well-nigh two decades. He saw out of the press only the first volume of "Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Studies". But enough material had been collected for at least two more volumes. All lovers of Dravidian antiquities fervently hope that those who now guide the destinies of Fr. Heras' Institute of Indian History and Culture—aptly rechristened after the founder—will make adequate arrangements for the early appearance of the subsequent volumes. That would, indeed, be the most fitting monument to his hallowed memory.

Social Challenges in India Today

H. A. POPLEY

India is today on the march forward in all spheres of life and activity. Since 1947 when India achieved her political freedom and was able to go ahead unhampered by the shackles and prejudices of a foreign overlordship, she has been able to achieve through her five-year plans many objectives which before were only dreams and fancies in the minds and imaginations of some of her leaders. Especially in industry has there been a striking and spectacular advance. She is today manufacturing all the iron sheets which she needs and she has already produced her 100th locomotive. Her factories are turning out machine tools, without which any industrial advance is impossible. She is also making ships in her dockyards comparable to the ships she used to buy from England and Europe. She is also manufacturing many drugs including penicillin and so has been able to stop the import of these drugs from the West and so to save considerable foreign exchange.

These are but a few of the directions in which India has been able to forge ahead under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and to pass from the tenth century straight to the twentieth century and from an agrarian backwater of Imperial rule to a vivid and exhilarating ocean of forward-going discovery. In the space of ten short years she has become one of the leading industrial nations of the East, almost rivalling Japan in her manufacturing capacity.

While one can be proud of this wonderful advance in a few short years, it is not possible to see the same great advances in the social life and conditions of the people. Much of the social background to this striking industrial

advance still belongs to the old agrarian economy and to the ancient social structure of Indian life. India still lives largely in her villages and many of these do not show a very different picture from what they showed ten years ago. Still it must be said that even in the village life there are changes today in conformity with the large changes that are taking place in the urban life around them. The Village Extension Movement is doing a great deal to bring forward the life and conditions of the village and is helping to create in the village people an eagerness for progress as they see the towns going forward. Many of the villages are definitely on the move forward and are being gradually changed to a new pattern. This is especially true of those villages which have been built to house the workers in the great irrigation projects which are now being constructed. There are also 100,000 villages in India which have passed from the old kerosene oil lamp stage to the electric age and can now use electricity not only for light but also for power for village industries. So we can truly say that today village India is on the move as well as urban India.

This change in India's industrial life and social activities is also found to a great extent in her political activities. While there are still many backwaters of mediaeval ideas and habits, it is a fact that India has passed from a form of autocracy to a new form of political democracy, which is not incomparable with the political democracies of the West. Her ambassadors and statesmen take their places with those of the Western nations and do not lose face in so doing. In the United Nations they even occupy an important position and are often able to find out some via media which is acceptable to all.

But it must be admitted that while there is definite change and progress in social life the same striking changes and advances do not appear in this. There is real change and there is some advance and the tendency of casteism is to decrease its influence, but especially in the villages,

which are usually the last strongholds of orthodoxy, it still exercises its old sway over the lives of people. In the matters of marriage it is very difficult for family traditions to register much change. The villages do not show the same tempo of advance which is found in very many urban centres. Vinobhaji is doing a great deal through the Sarvodaya movement to inspire the villages to go forward and there is some real advance to show for his efforts, but it needs many such Vinobhajis to effect a real change in the traditional patterns of village life. He is a great disciple of Gandhiji and does not rest day or night until he sees changes taking place. As a result of his pilgrimage many hundreds of acres have been given in Bhudan to landless villagers and now he is asking for further giving in the form of sampattidan, buddhidan and gramdan, which are beginning to appear in the villages to which he goes. So some large landholders are giving up their surplus lands on a voluntary basis, which is on the whole much better than forced redistribution.

Sarvodaya stands for a classless society but that idea will not be easily achieved. Even in more advanced countries class has not been altogether rooted out but what has gone are the barriers between classes which prevented members of one class moving into a higher class and there is no doubt that these are gradually being rooted out in India. What we can achieve is a society in which all classes are reckoned as of equal importance and have the same privileges. They will be regarded as of equal value to the work of society and each will have its own contribution to make to the welfare of society. Vinobhaji is anxious to get away from any kind of stratification in which one part of society will always be regarded as on a lower level to others, but this is hardly possible even in a western technological society and may not be desirable in India.

There are three major challenges that challenge such an order of equality today in Indian society. These challen-

ges are all social challenges and are found at all levels of society today. One of them is modern in its whole outreach and one of them goes back to the past with its roots in the ancient conditions of our society. The third is both ancient and modern and has in its challenge factors inherited from both.

We shall first of all consider the challenge which is rooted in our past and draws most of its strength from forces which have been at work in Indian society for centuries. The second challenge comes from a great world movement of the present day which is affecting society in all lands. The third comes from one of the very spheres in which India is making striking progress today and combines tendencies which are both ancient and modern. These three are first, the challenge of communalism; second, the challenge of communism; and third, the challenge of modern education.

The challenge of communalism :

Some people will say that communalism is now slowly dying in the new India and does not now constitute any strong challenge to the new society. But this is hardly true either in towns or in the villages of India and communal tensions and influences are found even among Christians, and they make their presence felt in many ways. There is no doubt that the roots of such communal feelings lie deep in our society and had their origin thousands of years ago. So they need very drastic treatment, if they are to be destroyed or rendered harmless. Dr. E. C. Dewick, a keen and sympathetic observer of Indian life, both today and for many years, said in a recent article, "I am quite convinced that the root of communal tension and strife is a deepseated disease of mind and soul, which if not cured, will turn the blessings of freedom into a curse for India and will make the last state under swaraj worse than the first state under British imperialism."

The roots of communalism must be sought in the ancient caste structure of Indian society. This stretches back into the hoary past and its influence is strong and pervasive in all departments of Indian life even today. The process of urbanisation, only affects about one-fifth of the population of India. In the villages of India, where four-fifths of the people still live and work, the communal bonds and influences are still the most important and influential in their social life and customs. The family is today, as ever, still a part of the communal body and marriages are arranged within this body. Very occasionally do marriages take place outside of the regular communal groups, even among Christians. Mr. P. Chenchiah, a careful and accurate observer of life in South India, wrote recently : "A casteless and classless society is negative. We have to make society positive, an embodiment of new social forces."

There is a good aspect of communalism, namely the fellowship which it helps to achieve of those who share the same social and religious ideals. But we have to beware of such a fellowship becoming exclusive according to the communal pattern, thus leading to stagnation instead of to enrichment of life. Every such fellowship must be open to the influences of other fellowships and of the groups in the outside world. The *Kural* brings out very clearly the need to keep all our windows open in the following two stanzas :

எப்பொருள் எத்தன்மைத்தாயினும் அப்பொருள்
மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பதறிவு. (36:5)

Whate'er it be, whate'er its nature be,
In that to see the Truth, is knowledge true.

And again,

எப்பொருள் யார்யார் வாய்க்கேட்பினும் அப்பொருள்
மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பதறிவு. (43:3)

'Tis wisdom true for men to find the Real
In whatso'er they hear, from whomsoever heard.

These two stanzas from the greatest book in the Tamil language show clearly that our Dravidian ancestors had no use for an exclusive society which was rigidly cut off from other societies.

Dr. Aggrey, speaking to his fellow Africans said : "My fellow Africans, we are made in the image of God. We must not be deluded and think we are just a bunch of chickens. We are not chickens, but eagles, and so must stretch our wings and fly away."

In the Indian Legislative Assembly, the first legislators took the following pledge : "I dedicate myself to the service of India and to the welfare of her people", and all Congress members have to take an oath not to observe caste in any form. There is no question of any commitment to a particular community or to a segment of the Indian people. While we cannot help, from time to time, considering sections of the community as needing special care and attention, we are led to such conclusions not because of any previous attachment to such a section but because of the need that we find among them. We have to endeavour to consider impartially the needs of the different parts of the whole community, not in terms of our own likings and attachments but in terms of the situation of any special group.

The Indian citizen originally belonged to a village and the village economy naturally tends to colour his attitude to life and to its problems. Dr. P. D. Devanandam in a recent article on 'Community Development' said : "In the village the individual tends to be dominated by and submerged in the needs, aims and conventional social patterns of the family, the caste and the village." Such patterns of life and of society are likely to follow each individual and each family throughout life, even when the family changes from a rural to an urban environment. Such a strict and rigid compartmentalism has persisted

in Indian society for over 2,000 years, because the concepts of karma and dharma, which form the basis of society, are part of the whole plan of salvation for the Hindu, whether as an individual or as a group.

So the challenge of communalism comes to the Indian with a long history and with a powerful stimulus from long and ancient periods of influence. But unless the India of today can resist and meet this challenge and can face the needs of a united India with a unified spirit and sympathy, there is not much hope that India will be able to meet and overcome the many ills that beset her and now thwart her progress. We must either break the power of communalism and move away from all its tentacles, or else communalism will insidiously work its way in our society and prevent India from making the progress which we are all so anxious to see.

The Challenge of Communism :

This is an entirely different challenge from that of communalism. It is a relatively modern challenge and has no strong roots in an ancient past, though it has some roots in early Christianity. "Men make their own history", says Prof. Guinsberg, but he adds "history also makes men". Communism is said to have been first organised in the early Christian society when the young Christian community first arose in Jerusalem. At that time a communistic order of life developed among the early Christians. They had all things in common. There was no one in want and no one wealthy.

While such an order of society has developed since from time to time in small groups in the last ten centuries, it has not been anywhere organised on a thoroughgoing and large scale until the Russian Revolution of 1919. This was based on the theories of Marx and has to a considerable extent followed his teaching. While it is not possible to accept all the theories and teachings of Com-

munism those of us who are Christians are bound to acknowledge that some of its principles are true and just, as the Archbishop of Canterbury said, "Russian Communism has expressed some of the fundamental principles of the Christian gospel."

Mahatma Gandhi expressed one truth that Communism emphasised when he said: "Realisation of truth is impossible without a complete merging of oneself in, and identification with this limitless ocean of life. Hence for me, there is no escape apart from it. Social service must be taken to include every department of life. In this scheme there is nothing low, nothing high. For all is one, though we seem to be many." (*Religion and Society*, V, p. 40.)

There are three fundamental ideas in the Communist programme. They are first, the unity of theory and practice; second, the equal standing of every individual, both legally and economically; third, the elimination of the profit motive from personal life. The first of these receives lip-service in many religious and social systems. But in Communism there is really a large scale attempt to put it into practice, economically, socially and legally. This, of course, should be the case in every social system, but unfortunately it is often noticed by its absence rather than by its presence. The second principle is found allied with the idea that man is essentially an economic individual and the majority of his aims are fulfilled in economic terms. The spiritual side of man's nature is almost entirely ignored. So it is easier to treat men as equal in all things when they are regarded only as economic units of society.

"Communism is inspired by the desire to create an all-embracing classless society", says one advocate. Another critic wrote, "The attempt to establish economic and social justice for everyone has been a very powerful element in the Russian revolution." (C. N. L., 89.)

The third of the above aims has probably to a large extent been achieved in Russia. The maxim 'To each according to his need and from each according to his capacity' is fulfilled to a great extent among the Russian people today. The whole theory of individual capitalism as exemplified in the United States is repudiated by the Russian leaders. Prof. MacMurray says, "There is only one way to escape from some form of state socialism, maintained by a dictatorship of force, which would destroy freedom and with it individuality, and that is by creating a form of community life which is compatible with the individuality of its members." The *Kural* has some stanzas which imply some form of community egalitarianism :

தாளான்றித்தந்த பொருளெல்லாம் தக்காங்கு
வேளாண்மை செய்தற்பொருட்டு. (22:2)

Wealth won by toil, 'mong worthy folk,
Is meant for doing good.

Also in the following in the chapter on 'Equity' the author brings out the same idea.

நன்றேதரினு நடுவிகந்தாமாக்கத்தை
அன்றே ஒழிய விடல் (12:3)

Forsake even in the moment of acquisition
That gain which tho' it bring advantage is without equity.

The spirit of equity is of much greater value than the motive of profit. In fact there is a great deal in the *Kural* which breathes the spirit of the best in communism. So it should be possible for the Tamil people to meet the challenge of Communism without any difficulty. The sage Tiruvalluvar makes it quite clear again and again that there is no room for atheism in his social teaching. In his very first chapter the poet brings out the essential meaning of Bhakti, as devotion to God, in any social system. I will just quote two such stanzas.

தனக்குவமை யில்லாதான்தாள் சேர்ந்தார்க்கல்லால்
மனக்கவலை மாற்றல் அரிது. (1:7)

'Tis hard to find relief from mental care,
Except by taking refuge at the feet of the Peerless One.

அறவாழி அந்தணன்தாள் சேர்ந்தார்க்கல்லால்
பிறவாழி நீந்தல் அரிது.

(1:8)

Unless men cling to the feet of the gracious Lord, of eightfold
worth,
They cannot swim the sea of this earthly life.

Russia, however, has made it imperative for all to face the challenge of Communism and this is specially true of those who live in the countries of the East, in which new movements of thought and society are now revealing themselves. We can accept wholeheartedly the good ideas of Communism and so help to organise the welfare society in these lands and can refuse to accept those ideas which are largely due to ignorance or prejudice and which will produce some form of dictatorship. Tamil culture has faced all such things before and has rejected them.

The dictatorship of the proletariat which Communism has declared to be the only path of the formation of a truly welfare society is opposed to all ideas of democracy and India has definitely set her face against this pernicious doctrine and has chosen the path of a free democracy. Still the danger of Communism getting a hold on many of the Indian masses is a very real danger as the State of Kerala has clearly shown. It is strange that in this State, which has the largest Christian community of any State in India, that Communism should have won the hearts of so many people and with this result facing them it is very necessary that the Indian people should boldly face up to the challenge of Communism and make sure that Indian society is not stagnating in old morasses of the past, as this is the kind of society which falls a prey to Communism. If the Indian leaders do not press forward to meet the great and pressing needs of the present sections of our society in the near future, there is no doubt that many of such people will be tempted by the rash promises which communistic leaders so easily make, however uncertain they may be.

We need to take what is right and just in the communistic system and to put such ideas and programmes into practice in our social life today. Such is the kind of society which Mr. Nehru is endeavouring to create in India today and which he has called 'a socialistic pattern of society'. As Christians we should welcome such a pattern of society, which is closely in touch with the society that Jesus our Master pictured and which aims at the welfare of all the members of the society, both poor and rich, weak and strong.

The Times of London, one of the best daily newspapers in England, said a few years ago concerning this problem :

'The New Order cannot be based on the preservation of privilege, whether the privilege of a country, of a class, or of an individual.'
(July 14th, 1944)

Pandit Jawaharlal in his *Autobiography* wrote :

'Inevitably we are led to the only possible order, first within national boundaries and eventually in the world as a whole, with a controlled production and distribution of wealth for the public good.'

The challenge of modern education :

India is now coming out of a world of widespread illiteracy into a world in which all its peoples will learn to read and write, and so to understand something of the thoughts of others. In another ten years we may hope that all the children of India will know how to read and write and so will have the key by which they can unlock the knowledge which men all over the world have possessed. One of the objectives of the present Government of India in its Five-Year Plans is to make it possible for every child in every village to attend school and so to have the elementary knowledge which everyone should know. At present only about 50% of the people of India are lite-

rate. In some States like Madras and Kerala the percentage is higher, but there are still States where the percentage is only 25. The challenge of education has come home to most of the people of India and especially to all its leaders and they are all seeking ways and means by which they can meet this challenge and obtain education for their children, even though they themselves may be illiterate. Today they all know that a child without education is like a blind man or a one-legged man, of very little value either to himself or to others. They have come to realise that there is no hope in this new India for children who have not got at least elementary education. In the old days it was very difficult in many villages to get children to come and attend school, but today the difficulty is to get the schools for all the children who want to attend and the teachers to teach them.

In Dravidian India it should not be difficult to create a desire for education among the people. All the ancient Tamil ethical and social works stress the value and importance of learning. The *Kural* brings this out very clearly in the first century of our era. The following stanzas may be given as illustrations :

கண்ணுடையர் என்பர் கற்றோர், முகத்திரண்டு
புண்ணுடையர் கல்லாதவர். (40:3)

The learned are those who have eyes,
The unlearned have two sores on their faces.

கேடில்விழுச்செல்வம் கல்வி ஒருவற்கு
மாடல்ல மற்றையவை. (40:10)

Learning is the imperishable riches for all,
All other wealth is not riches.

உளர் என்னு மாத்திரையரல்லால், பயவாக்
களரணையர் கல்லாதவர். (41:6)

The unlearned are like useless barren land,
It can only be said that they exist.

தோணி இயக்குவான் தொல்லை வருணத்துக்
காணில் கடைப்பட்டான் என்றிகழார்—காணாய்
அவன் துணையாவாறுபோய் அற்றே, நூல்கற்ற
மகன் துணையா நல்லகொளல். (நால. 136)

The rower of the boat may be of the lowest caste ; though you know it you will not despise him, when you get on the river. So also esteem him who is learned.

What is the challenge of modern education ?

It is the challenge first to understand the world of things and forces which influence humanity ; and secondly, it is the challenge to make use of all these for the welfare of humanity. Indian knowledge in the ancient times probed into the secrets of the mind and discovered a great deal which the people of India put to good use in their asramas and various schools and ancient seats of learning. India found out, for example, the secret of the zero sign and learnt how to make use of it in her mathematics. But today we are living in a world in which the atom is being put to use, both destructive and constructive, and the forces within the atom are being revealed and their use in human life has been laid bare. Indian physicians and physiologists found out very much about the human body, but now with the aid of the microscope and the radioactive elements much more is being uncovered, which is going to mean less disease and better health for millions.

This is not a challenge to be fought against but a challenge to be met and made use of in the present day. It offers to us not evils that we must clear away but real goods that we must take hold of and make use of in our present planning. In order that our people make use of this wealth of new knowledge in the right way, it is necessary to organise a universal system of elementary education and ensure the possibility of all boys and girls going forward to higher education in accordance with their ability. They must have the kind of education which will help them to think for themselves and to utilise the tools of knowledge so that in the future they can also do things

for themselves, and make good use both of their brains and their hands. So it is necessary that some form of basic education should be available to every boy and girl in India. Then after they have passed through the elementary school, those who are capable should have the opportunity of passing on to secondary and collegiate education, and even on to university education. It is we today who are challenged to provide education for all these bright young people who are anxious and able to master the sciences of the world and to see that they get full opportunity to do so, however financially handicapped they may be. Tiruvalluvar had some kind of ideal of this sort in view when he said :

தாளாற்றித் தந்த பொருளெல்லாம் தக்கார்க்கு
வேளாண்மை செய்தற் பொருட்டு.

(22:2)

To show kindness to the worthy is the only object of labouring and acquiring wealth.

Wealth for any merely personal object is not of any real value. It is most important that privilege is not allowed to usurp and seize a dominating position in education.

The society in which we live today is the result of educational influences which were in operation many years ago. Today we are seeing the results of those influences in the lives and careers of the leaders of India. The new education of today is helping to shape the society of tomorrow. So if we are looking forward to creating an egalitarian society in this land, in which all the peoples will have the opportunity to share in the blessings and prizes of this new order, we must now make sure that the young people of all classes are getting the right kind of education to result in that society.

There are three main directions in which we are being challenged in the educational field today. There is first, the challenge of illiteracy in a very great number of the population and especially in the young. It is estimated that at least 30% of the people of India today are illite-

rate and this number is being added to every day. Only when there is a school in every village and when the great mass of adult illiterates are being gathered into night schools for education will it be possible to attack this mighty demon of illiteracy.

Then there is the challenge of women's education, among whom the greatest number of illiterates are found. It is most important that the education of women should be raised to an equality with that for men and that, specialised forms of education for women should be organised and carried forward right up to the university stage.

Then there is the challenge of technological education. This is essential for the progress of India in the future. Thousands of technologists have to be trained so that they may man the various industrial and engineering workshops and schools of the Industrial sector, for the training of such pupils. Dr. K. G. Saidiq in his translation of Dr. Ferret's *The Activity School* writes :

"India has been left behind and, with a few notable exceptions, continues the old scholastic traditions of teaching which do not take into account the action and creative nature of the child and the forces which are reshaping the modern world."

While this statement was true ten years ago it is not quite so true today, when many of the schools have been converted into basic schools, and there are stirrings everywhere among educationalists to help the child to understand this new world into which he is growing up. "The school must be a place where children can live a life of rich and varied activity, a place of abundant experiencing in an environment that will stimulate them to desirable and wisely directed growth and behaviour" says one educationalist. The *Kural* describing the kind of education needed in its day says,

உவப்பத்தலைக் கூடி உள்ளப் பிரிதல்
அனைத்தே புலவர் தொழில்.

(40:4)

Scholars should give joy to those they meet,
And make them think in parting, 'When shall we meet again.'

All such education should be available for the ordinary child and not merely for the children of the privileged classes. This age is the age of the common man and not of special classes. Therefore all new techniques must be tested by whether they benefit the common man and help him to enrich his life and express his personality. One leading educationalist has written :

“Modern science, when devoted wholeheartedly to the general welfare, has in it potentialities of which we do not yet dream.”

On the other hand we have to realise that unless these opportunities are inspired by a noble spiritual purpose, which will embrace the essential welfare of every person it will not be possible to overcome the evil forces which will arise to make use of these very opportunities to enslave and debase men and women. It is always possible for men to reject the good and to choose the evil, as the story of Duryodhana makes clear to us, and in that case the new education instead of bringing to us benefits beyond our dreams will bring upon us evils greater than anything we have ever imagined as possible.

Prof. Karl Mannheim writes that “the crucial factor in modern society is the emergence of new social techniques as the means of influencing human behaviour.” Marx showed the dynamic significance of technique in production. It is by means of technique that Russia and other States in Eastern Europe have become totalitarian States. So it is not enough to have the new educational tools and methods, we must make sure that they are inspired with the highest ideals of human welfare so that they do not lead to the debasement of man. The surgeon and the physician are always discovering new techniques for the conquest of disease and for the healing of bodily defects and are making them available to all, but we have known of clever people making use of these techniques for evil purposes. A technique as such is neither moral nor immoral. It is the man that makes use of it who gives to it a moral or immoral character. The story of Jesse

Lazar of the American army who in 1898 allowed himself to be bitten by the mosquitoes which had already sucked at yellow fever patients in Havana and so contracted yellow fever from which he died, shows the dangers which both doctors and patients face when they wish to discover some new way of overcoming disease. Prof. C. Wendt says : "The new society of which both politicians and the common man are beginning to take note, will not come of itself. It must be created by the wisdom, the courage, the self-sacrifice of man." Says one of our old Tamil poets :

உடன் பிறந்தார் சுற்றத்தார் என்றிருக்கவேண்டாம்
உடன் பிறந்தே கொல்லும் வியாதி—உடன் பிறவா
மாமலையிலுள்ள மருந்தே பிணிதீர்க்கும்,
அம்மருந்து போல்வாரும் உண்டு. (மு. 17)

Let us not say that only those born in the family are relations,
Disease is borne in the family and kills.
The balm which cures ills comes from the high hills,
There are men like that balm.

It is those men who live near to God and draw from Him new strength and wisdom who will bring to us the balm that men need to overcome the many ills that have come upon the world in this new atomic age.

In the new India which is coming into existence now before our eyes we shall meet these various challenges and the way that India will develop in the next few years will largely depend upon the way that we meet these challenges. So let us face them with courage and wisdom: Lakshmana Pillai in one of his poems said :

வெள்ளியிலில்லை, தங்கத்திலுமில்லை, நம்மேலெழுச்சி,
உள்ளிய உள்ளத்திலாமே; அதனை ஒழுங்குபெற
ஒள்ளியராக்கி உபகரித்தால் நம்மை ஒள்ளியராய்த்
தெள்ளியர் கொள்ளுவர்; அன்றேல் பதறெனச்செப்புவரே. (உ.பி. 76)

Our progress is not in gold or silver,
It is in the minds of men.
Only in this way can we become worthy ;
Otherwise we shall be as useless chaff.

Popular Religion among the Ceylon Tamils

K. KANAPATHI PILLAI

As in all early civilisations people who inhabited Ceylon in ancient days seem to have worshipped natural phenomena. This is seen even today among the Tamils who form part of Ceylon's population. Rivers, mountains, sun and moon are worshipped by them in some form or other. As in the days of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa trees are also objects of worship. They do not worship trees as they are, but instal an idol of some deity under them and offer worship there. On important days of the year or under some vow to protect them from some pestilence or disease they gather under the trees, decorate them with festoons and garlands of flowers, boil milk-rice and cook other delicacies and offer worship there. Very often there is no particular priest for these kinds of ceremonies ; the elder of the family or an aged and devout man of the village performs the puja. Even today this type of homely worship occur among the Tamils of Ceylon.

A remnant of animal worship also can be observed among them even now. When they want to go through an elephant infested jungle they go to particular spots and offer worship to Gaṇeśa, the idol of whom is invariably installed under a huge tree on the outskirts of the jungle. They break cocoanuts in front of the idol, offer flowers, light camphor and devoutly pray to the deity to save them from any ills that might beset them in the course of their journey through the forest. This phenomenon might be a relic of the times when the ancient Dravidians of India worshipped the elephant. As a matter of fact the Gaṇeśa worship of today may be a relic of such a kind of worship.

The cow is also an object of worship among the Tamils. The day after the Tai-p-ponkal ceremony in the month of Tai (January-February) is a day sacred to the cows. The cow-pen is swept and decorated; the chief of the house erects a new hearth there and boils milk-rice amidst great pomp and ceremony. In the meanwhile all the cows and bulls in the pen are washed and garlanded; their fore-heads are smeared with holy ash, sandal paste and kunkumam. When the ceremonial rice is boiled, it is spread on plantain leaves on the floor along with banana fruits, oil cakes and other eatables specially prepared for the occasion. The chief of the household who officiates in the ceremony then lights camphor in the ceremonial lamp, and all the members of the family stand in awe and respect and worship the cows. After the puja is over the cows are fed with milk-rice and other food-stuffs. Then they are untied and allowed to go wherever they please. That day is a holiday for the cows and bulls.

Worship of cows and bulls is an ancient custom among the Tamils. Cattle was a great asset to the people who inhabited the Marutam land or the agricultural tract; they were treated very kindly by them for the help they rendered to them in their daily vocations of ploughing the fields and threshing the paddy.

Like these animals cobra is also an object of worship. The worship of the cobra or naga is a very ancient one among the Dravidians. The cobra forms an intimate part of the S'iva cult also. It is considered as an ornament of S'iva. Even in the philosophic doctrine of the Yoga, the Kuṇḍalini S'akti is stated to lie coiled like the cobra in the Mūlādhāra; and the chief object of a Yogin is to raise it from its recumbent position and make it rise up to the head by the various practices of the Yogic postures. Naga thus forms a very important part in the S'aiva concept of religion and philosophy.

There are several types of cobras, the best of them all is the King-cobra. This is white in colour and will

never attack anyone unless it is provoked. This type is considered divine and is worshipped by people. The worship of the cobra was prevalent all over India in ancient times. This worship is still predominantly prevalent in Malabar. In Ceylon also there are several temples dedicated to cobras. The cobra temples are called Naga temples and one can find them practically all over Tamil-Ceylon. Even in the parts of Ceylon where Sinhalese live cobra is held in veneration. A Sinhalese man will never injure or kill a cobra. He thinks that one of his ancestors might have been born in this birth as a cobra and as such it should not be harmed. Or perhaps one of the names of Buddha being Naga, the Sinhalese, as he is a Buddhist, thinks as the name is associated with the Blessed One, it should not be harmed in any way. Or it may be that before the spread of Buddhism the Naga cult might have been so widespread all over India and that the veneration the ancients had towards the cobra might be still at the back of the Sinhalese mind even after years of professing Buddhism.

According to the Pali work *Mahāvamsa* and the Tamil work *Maṇimēkalai* there were colonies of the Naga tribe in Ceylon. The colony on the northern part of Ceylon was the predominant one; its name till the early centuries of the Christian era was *Nāgadīpa*—a fact which testifies that the Nagas lived there. The totem of the Naga people was the cobra and perhaps from those early days the cobra might have held a place of veneration among the Naga people in Ceylon too. That is perhaps the reason why there are small temples dedicated to the cobra in every nook and corner in North Ceylon. There are also big temples dedicated to the cobra. Annual festivals are held in those temples with great pomp and ceremony. *Pōṅkal* festivals are held there. People flock to them in large numbers from different parts of the country. The puja is offered to an image of the cobra. Besides the normal place of worship the most interesting part in the

temple is some corner which is frequented by live cobras. It may be an ant-hill or some secluded spot where they can move about freely without much interruption by people. They are so domesticated that they do not do any harm to the worshippers who frequent the temple. The priest of the temple as well as its worshippers place cups of milk to them to feed.

If by any chance some poisonous insect bites somebody who lives in the neighbourhood of the village where the Naga temple is, he makes vows to the deity ; and when the effect of the poison is healed he goes to the temple and makes offerings in fulfilment of the vow. In one village in North Ceylon where a Naga temple exists it is said that no one has died so far of snake poisoning. If by chance a person is bitten by a snake he immediately goes to the temple, takes a lump of earth from the ant-hill there, mixes it with water taken from the sacred tank there and drinks it. He rests in the temple premises for a couple of days praying to the deity. He gets well and goes home.

Another important worship among the Ceylon Tamils is the worship of the Mother Goddess. Mother Goddess is worshipped in the form of Kali, Durga, Cāmunda, Mahamari, etc. The most popular is the Kali form of worship. There are big temples as well as small temples dedicated to this goddess. She is also a house goddess to whom offerings are made in a sacred corner of the house on auspicious days. She is also propitiated on occasions when important events take place in the family. She is looked upon as the guardian of the house who protects the members of the house from every evil that might befall them. Of the big temples dedicated to her, some are officiated by professional Brahman priests according to the Agamic rituals ; others are officiated by pūjaris in the old Tamil way. In these temples annual poṅkal feasts are held to the accompaniment of the martial drum which was used

by the ancient Tamils in their wars. Here when the puja is being performed by the pūjari a devotee becomes possessed of the Goddess. In frenzy he runs in front of the drummers and dances to the beat of the drum. To an onlooker this will remind him of the war dances of the ancient Tamil-nad. While he dances people pour pot-fulls of water on his head to appease his frenzy. In this condition he utters oracles and prophesies. When the puja is over the man falls down on the ground and the ceremony is over.

The annual pūja in these temples is called vēlvi and it takes place usually in the morning of an appointed day of the year. The previous night is a festive occasion. The village folk assemble in the temple premises in large numbers and boil pots of milk-rice ceremoniously. The people who take vows take kāvaḍi. Kāvaḍis come in large numbers throughout the night to the temple to the accompaniment of music and tom-tom. Some people make vows to take karakam. Taking karakam to the temple is an interesting event.

A copper pot is filled with water. A cocoanut is placed on the top of the pot. Then a decorated covering interspersed with bunches of margosa leaves is thatched on the top of the water pot. The man who takes the karakam is charmed by a magician till he becomes possessed of the Goddess. At the same time another magician charms another man and he becomes possessed of the God Bhairava. It is Bhairava who leads the karakam to the temple and protects the devotee from any mishap. When everything is fully prepared the chief magician takes the karakam and places it on the head of the man who is already in a state of frenzy. Then a party of people sounding a small drum called uḍukku sing songs in praise of the Goddess when the karakam wends towards the temple. The man with the karakam on the head dances to the beat of the small drum, while the man possessed with Bhairava dances a little further ahead to the beat of the big drums.

The procession thus moves on to the temple. All through the way pots of water are poured on the head of the man possessed of Bhairava. He shouts in frenzy and makes all kinds of gesticulations. The procession circumambulate the temple. Finally the karakam is emptied into the sea. The devotees then come back to the temple in time to witness the pūja and offer their prayers.

Usually karakams are taken in large numbers in the temples dedicated to Goddess Mahāmāri. Mahāmāri is supposed to be the Goddess who wards off pestilence like small-pox, chicken-pox, measles and other illnesses which are caused by extreme heat. To get the village free from these illnesses people make vows to undergo these ceremonies. If untold distress is caused to the village by the above mentioned diseases they perform a ceremony called kulirthi to the Goddess. The temple is decorated and they pour pots of water, milk, young cocoanut juice and other cooling liquids and bathe the image. Then they have a big festival in which kāvāḍis and karakams take part.

The devi temples are mostly patronised by women and children.

Negatives

V. I. SUBRAMONIAM

0 Tamil verbs have a negative voice. It is indicated by two devices: (1) by certain interrogative types and (2) by morphological devices: suffixes and periphrastic formations. The first one is largely psychological. So we are confining our attention to the second.

0.1 There is little accord among our modern grammarians and comparative grammarians about the form and number of the negative suffixes. Their disagreement can be broadly divided into two; (1) on the identification of the suffixes, and (2) their origin. For the present we are limiting ourselves to the former though, we are fully aware of the fact that the latter follows the former to a great extent.

1 In morphemic identification¹ we follow certain elementary procedures one of which is that in the segmentation of a word, no part is left unaccounted. To illustrate this, the word *unnaatee*: you (sing.) (do) not eat, is segmented as *un(ṇ)-stem, -aa-* negative suffix and *-ee* second person singular imperative marker. This segmentation leaves out *-t-*. This is irregular. Second is, one should be consistent in segmentation unless otherwise indicated. Say, for instance, due to certain reasons one may cut *unnaatee* as *unṇ-aat-ee*. This should be consistently maintained unless it is explained why one has cut differently in a different place. And the third one is a feeling

¹ For clarity I have made use of linguistic terms. For those whose daily task does not warrant their keeping up a running familiarity with the neologism occasioned by the rapidly changing field of linguistics, a popular introduction to linguistics which appeared in *Tamil Culture*, Vol. VII No. 2, April 1958, under the caption 'The need for Linguistics' is referred to for a definition of these technical terms.

that language is a patterned whole and the treatment of any part should be in relation to the whole. Isolated analysis will result in contradiction and confusion.

1.1 To a great extent the obscurity in the analysis of the negatives by Caldwell, Jules Bloch and others can be attributed to the neglect of one or the other of the above stated procedures. It is our desire to identify the negative markers on the basis of forms from PuRanaanuRu,² a representative sample of Old Tamil and a spoken dialect of Tamil, the Nanjilnaad Vellala dialect,³ a representative sample of modern Tamil and compare them with the findings of the above noted pioneers.

2 The following verb classes have negative formation in Tamil. (1) Finite verbs. (2) Verbal participles. (3) Relative participles. (4) Conjugated nouns. (5) Verbal nouns.

2.1 The affirmative and negative finite verb forms are given for each person number or and gender with meaning :

aRinteen - aRiyeen	: I (will) not know (86-3)
varuveem - vaareem	: We (will) not come (145-4)
olvai - ollaay	: You (sing.) (will) not agree (31-6)
tirintiir - tiriyyiir	: You (plural) (will) not change (58-21)
unṭanan - unṇaan	: He (will) not eat (184-11)
aṇintanaḷ - aṇiyaal	: She (will) not wear (242-3)
utavum - utavaatu	: It (will) not be useful (18-26)
olluvar - ollaar	: They (genderless) cannot (153-12)
poorppa - pooraa	: They (non-gender) (will) not cover (141-10)

² PuRanaanuRu 4th Edition. Edited by U. V. Saaminaatha Aiyar, 1950. All forms shown in section 2 are taken from the 'Description of the Language of Sangam Classics' now in progress in the Tamil Research Department of the Kerala University.

³ The Naanjilnaad Vellala dialect is my idiolect. All forms in section 3 are taken from my unpublished Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Indiana University, U.S.A., 1957.

By now it will be clear that the negative form is different from the affirmative (a) by the absence of tense marker and (b) by the lengthening of the personal marker, consistently in the third person. There are some affirmative third person forms with long vowels as in the negative in PuRanaanuRu. Further, in the first and second persons the affirmatives and negatives have long vowel person markers. But it should be remembered here that the person markers, long or short, are not in contrast in the affirmative and negative for, in the affirmative they occur after the tense markers and in the negative after the verb stems.

2.11 Now the negative suffix -a- occurs between verb stem and person marker. It has three allomorphs ~ -e- ~ -a- ~ -i-. Of which ~ -e- occurs between verb stem and first person marker -e-, ~ -a- occurs between verb stem and third person marker -a- and ~ -i- occurs between verb stem and second person marker -i-. In short, the shape of the succeeding personal marker determines the shape of the preceding negative marker.

2.2 The verbal participial negative form is aRintu — aRiyaatu : without knowing (70-8). Here -aat- the negative suffix occurs between verb stem and verbal participle marker -u-.

2.3 The relative participial negative form is ooṭiya — ooṭaa : (he) who will not run (126-4). The later day form ooṭaata is not frequently found in PuRanaanuRu. Here also the negative -a- or -aat- occurs between verb stem and relative participial marker -a-.

2.4 In the conjugated nouns aṭankiyoor — aṭankaa-toor : those who (are) not subdued (35-34) -aat- occurs between verb stem and person marking -oo-. Another segmentation adopted at least in Relative participle marker is unṇ + aa + t + a where -aa- is the negative marker and -t- as the past tense marker. In the

clear cases we have seen that negatives of the -aa- type occur only in the place of the tense markers, never before or after them. So if -t- is treated as a past tense marker, it creates a unique situation in which past tense -t- occurs after the negative marker. The absence of present tense negative form like uppaakiRa confirms that the above analysis is not correct. There is yet another segmentation in which -t- is treated as an eluttuppeeRu, i.e. an accretion to the original shape of the morph -aa-. Indeed we are very near to this.

2.41 The negative forms of verbal nouns are as follows :

pooRRiyamai : pooRRaamai = the act of not protecting (28-17).

The negative marker is -a- between verb stem and verbal noun marker -amai.

2.411 In verbal participle veruvaa = without any fear (238-2), paṭaa = without any break (103-9) etc., the negative marker is -aa occurring between verb and verbal participle marker θ which is an alternant of -u- after negative -aa. -aa also occurs between verb stem and word juncture in the third person : kolḷaa (92-1) = they (will) not emanate.

2.5 Still there is another set of negative markers occurring after verb stem and person marker. They are al and il. Among the two, al is more frequent in occurrence than il. Before all person markers al and a or its allomorphs alternate freely.

keelalam or keeleem	: we (will) not hear (76-3)
uḷḷalen or uḷḷeen	: I (will) not think (150-3)
kuuRalan or kuRaRa	: He (will) not speak (239-7)
teeRalai or teeRaay	: You (sing.) (will) not get consoled (102-2)
kolḷalar or kolḷaar	: they (genderless) (will) not receive (182-6)

But -al- alone occurs before second person plural -min or before the -maar suffix or before word juncture in the first or second person.

koḷḷanmin (216-5) : don't get (plural)

keelanmaar (389-17) : They (genderless) (will) not listen.

peyar-al (3-14) : Let (it) not change.

After verb stem uRu only -aal- occurs before -ka
uR - aal - ka : Let it not pierce (171-13)

Before -iyar and person marker only -il- occurs.
aakiliyar (29-12) : Let you not become

In one instance -il- occurs after tense marker.
poorppittilatu (286-5) : It (non-gender) was not caused to cover

The last one is very frequent in later day literature.

2.6 Yet another way of expressing negation is by the periphrastic formation with alla and illa. Though the stems al and il mean exactly the same as the suffix al and il they are treated separately because of their separate class membership. When stems al or il take another negative suffix they are treated as cases of double negatives meaning a negation; illaa : that which is not having (27-3) for example, is a case of negative stem -il- taking a negative suffix -a- before a Relative participle marker -a.

2.7 Thus in PuRanaanuuRu the negative morpheme -a- has the following allomorphs :

~ -e-, ~ -i-, ~ -a-, ∞ -aat-, ∞ -aa-, ∞ -al-, ∞ -aal-, ∞ -il-.

of these eight allomorphs -il- alone occurs after tense markers. All the other seven occur after verb stems.

2.8 This is the pattern which emerges out of the clear forms.

2.9 We have a set of obsolete verbs in Sangam classics of which only a few of them are available in PuRanaanuuRu.

uṅkum : We will eat (125-4)

keetṭi : You (sing.), will hear (289-8)

Other instances found in other Sangam classics are :

uṅku or uṅṭu : I will eat

cenRi : You (sing.) will go

ceerti : You (sing.) will reach

kaṇṭi : You (sing.) will see.

They all signify future tense. But the familiar future tense signs -p- -v- or -m- are missing. On the other hand, the familiar past tense signs are here. There is indeed, a problem of segmentation. Tolkaappiar segments ku ṭu tu Ru and kum ṭum tum Rum as first person marking suffixes.⁴ But in the second person, he counts -i as the second person marker.⁵ What exactly is the position of ṭ, t, R in these second person future forms is not known from his suutras. Of course, the commentators consider them as tense denoting personal markers. Fortunately, these forms have a negative formation which gives a clue to the segmentation.

cenRi - cellaati : You (sing.) (will) not go.

kaaṇṭi - kaaṇaati : You (sing.) (will) not see.

The negative marker -aat- occurs in the place of future tense markers which are ṭ, t, R and k and u and i are first and second person markers respectively followed by a zero singular marker. Note here the condition of occurrence of -aat-. It is also pertinent here to recall Nannuul suutra 145 where its authors say Ru and tu and Rum and tum signify future and past tenses. It is again this pattern of

⁴ *Tolkaappiam*, Collatikaaram, Nāccinaarkkiniyar commentary, Ed. by M. V. Venugopala Pillai, 1941, S. 204 and 205.

⁵ *Tolkaappiam* do. S. 225.

occurrence of tense markers in the place of negatives which prevents us from cutting *maar* or *min* as *m + aar* and *m + in* where *m* is assigned to future tense because of the forms like *keelanmaar* : they will not listen (389-17) and *kol-lanmin* : You (plur.) (do) not have (216-5). Same is the reason for not cutting optative suffix *ka* into *k + a*, *k* denoting future tense because of the availability of forms like *unnaRka* : You (do) n't eat or please (do) not eat.

3 In spoken Tamil periphrastic formation with stem *illai*, *maat-*, *kuud-* and *veeṇḍ-* are frequent. The first is made use of in expressing negation of past and present indicative verbs.

saappiṭṭaan : *saappiḍavillai* : He (did) not eat
tuungugiRaan : *tuungavillai* : He (has)n't slept.

For negatives of the future indicative verbs *maat-* is used.

tuunguvaan : *tuungamaaṭṭaan* : He (will) not sleep.

But the use of *maat-* is restricted to gender singular or genderless plural only. For non-gender singular or plural the suffix form is made use of.

tuungum : *tuungaadu* : It (will) not sleep.

In *maaṭṭaan* the negative is expressed by the suffix *-a-* before third person *-a*. Note *maaṭṭeen* : I (will) not, where, *~ -e-* occurs before first person marker *-e-* *maaṭṭoom*, where, *~ -o-* occurs before first person marker *-o-*. *maṭṭiir*, where, *~ -i-* occurs before second person marker *-i-* and *maaṭṭaay*, where, *~ -a-* occurs before *-a-*, the second person marker. *∞-aad-* occurs before second person marker *-ee-* in singular imperatives; *ooḍaadee* : (do-)n't run, before Relative participle marker *-a*, *ooḍaada* : that which (does) not run, and before verbal participle marker *-u-* as in *ooḍaadu* : without running *∞ -aadu* occurs after stem *kuud-* : *kuuḍaadu* : not possible and *∞ -aam* occurs after stem *veeṇḍ-* as in *veeṇḍaam* : not needed.

4 The negative morpheme *-a-* has the following allomorphs in the earliest stage of Tamil (PuRanaanuRu) and the latest stage (Naanjinaad dialect) :—

{-a-} ~ -e- ~ -i- ~ -a- ∞ -aa- ∞ -aat- ∞ -al- ∞ -aal- ∞ -il-

{-a-} ~ -e- ~ -i- ~ -o- ~ -a- ∞ -aad- ∞ -aadu- ∞ -aam-

With this picture let us look into the analysis of Caldwell, Jules Bloch, Subrahmania Sastri and Alfred Master.

5.1 In p. 471, Caldwell⁶ says that *-a-* is the sign of negation which is most systematically used by the Dravidian languages in the formation of the negative voice of the verb. It has, it is true, disappeared from the conjugated forms of Tamil and Canarese. The negative *-a-* being succeeded in Tamil and Canarese by the initial vowel of the pronominal suffix, appears gradually to have got incorporated with it, and an evidence of this incorporation survives in the euphonic lengthening of the pronominal vowel in Tamil'. In essence we are very near to him though we have stated it differently.

5.11 But there are certain observations of Caldwell which are questionable. (1) in p. 469 he says that 'the Tamil-Telugu-Canarese negative is altogether destitute of signs of tense'. It is not the whole truth. Caldwell himself cites *unq-il-ei* (p. 475) : You (sing.) did not eat, where the *-q-* denotes past tense. The tenseless negative form will be *unṇalai* or *unṇaay*. Among the negative allomorphs it is *-il-* which occurs after tense markers. *vaalntileen*, *vaalkinRileen*, *vaalkileen* : I live not with past present future tenses. (2) He treats *-mai* as a verbal participle marker (p. 471). But *-mai* is capable of taking case signs of which, verbal participle markers are incapa-

⁶ *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* by Caldwell. Third Edition, Reprint, Madras University, 1956. The purpose of this and the continuing series of articles is to review this reprint.

ble of. We cut it as -amai and it is a noun forming suffix for us. (3) In p. 472 he derives the Relative participle *ceyyaada* from *ceyy+aa+du* by adding to the verbal participle *sign du*, the Relative participle marker -a- and the -u- as usual in elision. The *du* in the negative verbal participle forms, according to him, is the formative of neuter nouns of quality. Therefore one can infer that according to Caldwell, the neuter nouns have given rise to verbal participles which in turn have become Relative participles by the addition of appropriate suffixes at least in their negative voice. This we consider as the result of wrong segmentation. The Relative participle form *unṇaakkudirai* freely alternates with *unṇaada kudirai*: the horse which has not eaten. This furnishes proof that -aad and -aa are the same. There are conjugated nouns like *unṇaadoon*: He who (has) not eaten. If they are segmented as *unṇ+aa+d+oo+n* i.e. stem+neg.+neuter+third person+sing. number and masculine as Caldwell has done, where ever -aad- occurs, it will rudely change the pattern of verbs and conjugated nouns. The number gender markers always follow the person markers in verbs. Here they precede and follow the person markers. Another question is, has ever a neuter singular suffix been followed by a masculine singular suffix in Tamil? So, we have segmented -aad- as the negative marker. Again it is the same wrong segmentation which makes Caldwell to say that 'Dravidian imperatives are in general nothing but verbal nouns pronounced emphatically' (p. 473) because of the forms like *ceyyaadee*: (do)n't do it. This wrong splitting has also misled Caldwell from appreciating one of the most precious of his findings that not only stems, but also, verbal nouns serve as the verbal base and take tense or negative suffixes. *Sey(g)al-aadaar*: they (will) not do (p. 475) is segmented by him as *cey (g)-stem+al (negative)+aadaar (pronominal termination)*. Instead we treat -al- as the verbal noun suffix followed by -aad-, the negative marker, -a- the third person marker and -ar- as the plural marker.

5.2 Jules Bloch⁷ is brief in his comments on negatives. He says in p. 66 that 'Dravidian has a purely morphological means of expressing the negation; it is the intercalation of a vowel, generally -a- (sometimes reduced to zero) between radical and termination. But in the personal verb, -a- in contact with the terminational vowel has disappeared; the result is that the negative verb is characterised only in relation to the positive by the absence of the temporal suffix'. He also cites *kaṇṇeen* - *kaaṇeen*. The distribution of personal marker -ee- in affirmative verbs is not the same as in the negative as pointed out earlier. In the former it occurs after tense markers and in the latter after the verb stems. If one posits a zero, as Bloch suggests in all verbs having personal terminations, it will be unnecessary and uneconomical. A zero negative will occur before first, second and third person markers. In effect, this zero will not be a zero of something but something will be of this zero. According to him, Tamil and Kannada express the negative like the affirmative and as a result, it is confusing. He cites 'kaaṇeen': 'I have eyes' and 'I do not see' which is an error. It has two different stem alternants; the first is *kaṇṇeen* and the second is *kaaṇeen*.

5.3 Of the four, Subrahmanya Sastri⁸ has intimate contact with Tamil. He breaks the negative formation into six types and presents them in p. 192.

- (1) al between the root and personal termination.
- (2) al or il between tense sign and personal termination.

The example cited by him, *kaṇ-ṭ-il-an*: I have not seen (Puram 202-2) is not to be found in *PuRam* (Ed. third).⁹ Except for the single form *poorppittilat* already

⁷ *The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages* by Jules Bloch, Deccan College Hand-book series 3. Poona, 1954.

⁸ *Comparative Grammar of the Tamil Language* by P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Tiruvadi. 1947.

⁹ Prof. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri in a private communication says that he made use of the Second Edition of *PuRanaanuRu*. I could not get this edition.

shown, it does not occur any where in PuRam, though, this form is very common in later day literature. The second example, CiRantanRu (PuRam 75-5) should be interpreted as an affirmative because, al has not occurred after tense markers and all similar forms in PuRanaanuuRu have been interpreted as affirmatives by the commentator.¹⁰

(3) Periphrastic usage of al and il stems.

(4) -a- between the root and the tense -tu-. He cites aakaatu and mutalaatu from Tolkaappiyam Eḷuttatikaram, 71 and 65. The meaning is given by him as 'it will not become' and 'it will not commence' respectively. For us -a- will be the negative marker, -a- third person marker and -tu- neuter singular marker. Note also negative -a- has not taken anywhere in the clear cases, a tense marker after or before it.

(5) By adding personal terminations directly to the root. Here he has not indicated whether the negative function is marked by a zero. In any case, the shortcoming of this has been pointed out in section 5.2.

(6) By lengthening the -a- of roots like var and adding the personal termination. Even affirmative forms have the stem vowel lengthening as in vaariir: You (plural) please come. It is not for expressing negation.

5.4 Alfred Master¹¹ who has examined the negatives afresh in a painstaking article identifies four types of formations in p. 140.

(1) The neutralizer type is by adding stems -al- and -il-.

(2) The -aa- suffix and the -aa- infix found only in Tamil and Malayalam. In this he deals about the ques-

¹⁰ He says that it should be treated as an exception in his private communication. But I see no need for that.

¹¹ *The Zero Negative in Dravidian* by Alfred Master published in the Transactions of the Philological Society 1946. My attention has been drawn to this article by Dr. A. N. Narasimha, the veteran Dravidian Scholar of Mysore.

tions, giving rise to a notional negation. He cites *veenṭum* : *veenṭaam* : (will) not desire and says -aa- is the negative marker. What then is the function of *m* ? a future tense marker ? or a plural marker ? or -aam- as a negative marker freely alternating with -aa- ? We have preferred the last.

(3) The zero suffix as Jules Bloch has posited. But a consistent lengthening of the pronominal suffix has been very effectively brought out in this section by his paradigm. Like Bloch, he points out the confusion between the affirmative and negative verb forms. He cites *viṭaay* : leave thou, which is morphophonemically *viṭ+ 0 +aay* and the *0* is an alternant of the future tense marker -v- or -b- *Viṭaay* can freely alternate with *viṭuvaay* : leave thou (future). Now it is not the same as the negative form which is *viṭ-a-a-y* : leave not thou. In *Puṇṇeen* : I (will) not wear and I have the ornaments, the stems belong to two different distributional classes ; one is a verb and another a noun though historically they might be one and the same form. It is convenient to treat them as two different stems ; one taking the tense markers and the other taking the case signs.

(4) The negative particle which is formed in the non-literary languages Kurux, Gondi and Brahuii. In the first two, the author says, it arose under the influence of Indo-Aryan languages and in the third it is the borrowed Iranian -na. He leaves out this because it is not Dravidian in origin.

6. To conclude, the negative morpheme in Tamil is -a- and it serves as a morphological means of expressing the negation consistently.

The Existence of Adverbs in Tamil

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

1. It often happens that for a long time we keep and repeat opinions expressed authoritatively by great and brilliant scholars without careful and critical scrutiny. One of such cases is the problem of the existence of adjectives and adverbs in Dravidian languages.

It has been generally accepted that Dravidian does not possess "true" adjectives and adverbs. This opinion has been supported especially by the great authority of Jules Bloch: "Mais il n'y a pas d'adjectifs proprements dits en dravidien." A. Master (JRAS, 1949, p. 106) and T. Burrow (BSOAS, XII. 1, p. 253) have rightly objected to this statement. This fact was admitted in a note in the English translation of Bloch's fundamental work (Poona 1954); however, the note said further: But J. Bloch says: "Adjectives are nouns inflected in case and gender in congruence with other nouns."¹

This, then, had J. Bloch in mind when he wrote about "adjectifs proprement dits". According to my view, Bloch's definition is a typical instance of mechanic application of definitions and terminology from Indo-European to Dravidian. Such "Indo-Europeanisation" of Dravidian structure is inadmissible. The conception of adjectives as "inflected nouns in congruence" is a typical conception of

¹ Bloch himself quotes a few instances from Gond and Kannada showing the adjectives in agreement with a noun; in Early Old Tamil, too, some instances may be found. I am well aware of the fact that this phenomenon may be explained as Indo-Aryan influence; it may be, however, explained also syntactically: the adjective in agreement was originally in the relation of asyndetic apposition with the noun, so that a case like Bloch's Kannada *intyal kadale* "sweet beloved" may be explained as apposition "the sweet one, the beloved".

classical Indo-European. According to my view, the definition of an adjective in Dravidian should be as follows: An adjective is a word further unanalysable into lexemes, expressing some fundamental quality, syntactically in attributive construction with a noun which it precedes.²

Are there, in Tamil, words which may be defined in this way? The question may be answered in the affirmative. Such words are called by the ancient Tamil grammarians பெயருரிச்சொல், which may be translated "noun-qualifiers". They are treated under the general head உரிச்சொல் "qualifiers" (cf. *Tholk. Col.* 782, *Nhannu:l* 442).³

Adverbs, i.e. "verb-qualifiers", are termed வினை யுரிச்சொல். In this short contribution we shall try to elucidate the problem of their existence in Tamil.

2. Much depends on the way how the question has been put. If we ask: Are there any adverbs in Tamil? we have to answer this question in the affirmative. As

² Cf. in this connection the definition of adjectives in Kolami by M. B. Emeneau, *Kolami*, p. 31: "An adjective is a word that syntactically is in attributive construction with a noun which it precedes, but that does not agree with the noun in gender or number."

³ Tamil grammarians describe the language almost always according to the contents and conceptions, ignoring mostly the form. Cf. *நன்னூல்* 442. It would be certainly wrong to accept today all their notions and ideas without a critical correction. Nevertheless, the fact that they treat adjectives and adverbs as a special class of words and denote them with the characteristic term உரிச்சொல் is itself very significant. In this connection it is necessary to observe some important facts: the ancient Tamil grammarians do not use the term பெயர், *nomen*, noun, when speaking about adjectives and adverbs, but the more neutral சொல், word; thus it is clear that they do not consider உரிச்சொல், qualifiers, as nouns, but as a separate class of words. H. Beythian quotes in his *Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache*, 1943, p. 130, note 1, Ruckert, who translates in the Ms. of his *Grammar* the term உரிச்சொல் as "vox proprietatis, i.e., adjectivum." Cf. உரி-மை, ownership, disposition, quality.

If we accept the characterisation of Tamil as an "attributive, determinative" language, there arises another important problem: which class of words seems to be "more original" in Tamil, substantives or adjectives? It is usually accepted that the adjective had been derived from the substantive. However, maybe that Ruckert (quoted by Beythian *op. cit.* 130, note 3) was right when thinking that the process of derivation was from the adjective to the substantive.

far as the function is concerned, syntactically and functionally, there are in Tamil and in all Dravidian languages many adverbs, i.e., a syntactic class (Gleason : adverbials) determining the action or state expressed by verb.⁴

The question has been put, however, in a wrong way. We should formulate it thus : Are there in Tamil any etyma unanalysable in further lexemes, which have fundamentally the meaning of an adverb ? That is : are there in Tamil any adverbs as a separate class of words ?

The existence of adverbs in Tamil and Dravidian is generally denied. Let us analyse some Tamil adverbs from the point of view expressed in our question.

First, a great number of adverbials are obviously substantives by origin, used as adverbs such as

முன் s. that which is first or chief, eminence > adv. in front ;

பின் s. back, rear part > adv. behind, after ;

புறம்பு s. exterior, outside > + -ஏ adv. outside, out ;

அருகு s. nearness > + -ஏ adv. near ;

படி s. step, degree, disposition + deictic இ- > இப்படி in this manner ;

உள் s. interior, inner part etc. + -ஏ > உள்ளே adv. inside. All this is well known.

Secondly, some Tamil adverbs are foreign loan-words, such as :

தினம் adv. daily < Skt. *dina* s. day ;

⁴ What else than an adverb is, let us say, *மிகவும்* in the sentence *மிகவும் ஸத்தோஷப்பட்டுள்* or *இப்போ* in *இப்போ வரங்கள்*. Syntactically, functionally, they are doubtless adverbs, even if we recognise in them substantives or infinitives of verbs. Therefore there is no point in avoiding the term adverbs or in putting it into inverted commas when describing the language in its syntactic system or in textbooks.

சரி adv. rightly < Pkt. *sari* < Skt. *sadṛṣa* similarity (TL) ;

சுமார் adv. approximately < s. an average < Pers. *shumār*, number.

Thirdly, a great number of adverbs is of verbal origin, mostly infinitives or adverbial participles of verbs, e.g.

மெல்ல adv. softly, slowly < inf. மெல்லு—to chew, masticate < மெல்—adj. soft, tender ;

கிட்டே adv. near < inf. கிட்டு—to draw near ;

ரொம்ப adv. much < நிரம்ப inf. < நிரம்பு—to be full ;

மீண்டும் adv. again < adv. part. மீள்—turn + -உம்

Lastly, the refl. pronoun தான் is used adverbially in the sense of “truly, really”.

However, there are some adverbs, which are further unanalysable into lexemes.

1. இங்கு here, அங்கு there, எங்கு where ; it is obvious that the basis of these adverbs is the deictic vowel : இ-, அ-, and the interrogative எ-. What is -ங்கு? According to my view it is necessary to analyse இ-ங்-கு : -கு is nothing else than the dative suffix -கு with terminative connotation. ஈங்கு, ஆங்கு, ஊங்கு (cf. Kannada *hige*, in this manner) ; in this case, either the original இ-, அ- was lengthened, or, which would be perhaps more plausible, the original deictic vowels of Proto-Tamil were long (cf. Tel. *ī*, *ā*, Kurukh *ī*, *ā*, Brahui *ī*, (*d*)*ā* etc.)

These adverbs are further analysable into morphemes, but *not* into lexemes ; in the historical development of Tamil, they had *always* the meaning and function of adverbs, they were always *verb-qualifiers* (வினைபுரிச் சொல்). They are adverbs by origin, formed from deictic and interrogative elements இ-, அ-, எ- plus terminative dative -கு. Thus they are “true” adverbs.

2. The theory about the dative -கு being used to form original adverbs in Tamil is well confirmed by the adverb ஒருங்கு, altogether, simultaneously. It is formed similarly as அங்கு.

ஒரு "one" plus dative -கு > " (joined in) to one ",
 " (coming) to one ",
 " (changing in) to one ".

The substantive ஒருங்கு entirety, totality, was formed from the adverb, and the verb ஒருங்கு- to be one, concentrated, to join together, is a denominative from ஒருங்கு n. singleness, entirety. According to my view, all adverbs, ending in -கு, may be analysed as some smallest unit of meaning plus dative கு. Thus, e.g., பிறகு adv. "afterwards, after" > பிறகு s. back, rear, is to be analysed as பிற n. other things + dat. -கு. Not as clear as that is the case of உடங்கு adv. together, closely. It certainly is connected with உடன்-ஏ adv. together with, altogether, immediately. This word is not used usually as a noun, however, it may form a pair with உடம்-, உடல் s. body (cf. மரன் : மரம்), (cf. also Kannada oḍan : oḍambi, oḍal). The basic root of all these words may be உட to be close, near, united, put together.⁵

3. There are a few adverbs formed from the deictic இ- in yet another way than by the "dativisation". இனி adv. now, immediately, presently; hereafter, henceforward may probably be explained as an intensification of the idea expressed by

இ- "proximity in loco et tempore" : இ- + ன் + இ ;

இன்னே adv. now, here, thus < perhaps இ + ன் + ஏ-
 emphatic ;

⁵ The description of dative as a case expressing motion, change, transition, as a case with dynamic force, was given in Dative in Early Old Tamil by K. Zvelebil, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. II, 1958, 1, 54-65. Bearing in mind this fundamental "transitive", "terminative" character of dative we may easily see why it is used to form adverbs in Tamil.

இன்னும் adv. still, yet, again, more than this, also perhaps இ+ன்ன+உம்;

இன்னம் adv. perhaps < [*innem*] < இன்னும்.

These adverbs, too, must be regarded as original, "true" adverbs; they are unanalysable into further lexemes, they must have been formed as adverbs. With the help of deictic vowels, a number of adverbs have been formed, however, they seem to be adverbs derived from substantives, e.g. அங்கண், இங்கண், உங்கண் < அ+ங்+கண் orig. "that place, this place", இம்மை < இ+மை orig. "this-ness" (cf. மறு-மை, இவண், அம்பர் etc.)

4. நனி adv. well, abundantly, much, used as adverb in Early Old Tamil, cf. நனி வருந்தினை Akam. 19. 1-2 "thou wast much afflicted", prob. from adjective base நல் - good + deictic இ-, cf. modern colloquial Tamil மழை நல்லா பெய்தது "it was raining abundantly". Thus, நனி would be also an original adverb.*

3. Concluding we may say: almost all Tamil adverbs (or better: adverbials) are by origin substantives or verbal forms, used as adverbs. However, there are in Tamil a few etyma, not analysable in smaller units of meaning, not analysable in any other classes of words (parts of speech), used in the language since its traceable beginnings as verb-qualifiers. These "true" adverbs denote fundamental conceptions of time and place. As a separate class of words, adverbs are very scarce in Tamil. However, bearing in mind extra-Tamil affinities of these words and the primitive, fundamental conceptions they express,⁶ we may conclude that these adverbs of a single

* May be rather நன் + இ > நனி or நன் + தி > நன்றி > நன்னி > நனி?

⁶ Cf. Parji *ana*, there, *ina*, here, with their alternations *ini*, *ani*, further *it*, *at*, *ut*, in this direction, in that direction, Mal. *ini* henceforth, yet, still more, *innu* here, Kol. *ini* and, Kota *in*, other, Toda *in* other, hereafter, *inn* yet, Kannada *innu* still, yet, more, Tulu *nana* yet, still, Tel. *ika*, *inka* hereafter, still, yet, Kurukh *nanna* other, Mal. to *nan*, *nane* id., Gond *ani* and, prob. Brahui *anna*, still, yet.

type, formed from the deictic element (and interrogative -எ) plus dative -கு or nasal with reduplication of the basic element or plus -உம், belong to the fundamental lexicon of Proto-Tamil. They are the following adverbs: இங்கு, அங்கு, எங்கு, ஈங்கு, ஆங்கு, ஊங்கு, reduced to a single type: ஈங்கு; இனி, இன்னினி, type: இனி; இன்னே; இன்னும், இன்னம், இன்னமும், இன்னுமின்னும், type: இன்னும். Perhaps also நனி, ஒருங்கு, உடங்கு, பிறகு.

News and Notes

TAMIL ACADEMY FORMED IN TIRUCHI

An academy of 49 Tamil scholars, drawn from different parts of Tamil Nad and called "Tamizhaha Pulavar Kuzhu" entirely free from politics, was formed on the lines of the famous ancient Kadai Sangam at Madurai, for the growth of Tamil language, literature and culture, on the occasion of the 60th birthday celebration of Muthamizh Kavalar K. A. P. Viswanathan on November 11, 1958 at Tiruchi, at a meeting of Tamil scholars hailing from several districts of Tamil Nad.

Spreading Tamil literature in foreign countries by sending Tamil scholars and artistes, advising the State Government on all matters relating to Tamil language, prescribing text-books in Tamil and forming text-books committees, aiding the Universities in the selection of really eminent persons for conducting researches in Tamil and serving as an authoritative body for translating Tamil classics and literary works in foreign languages, are among the aims of the new organisation.

Five scholars with doctorate degrees in Tamil, five pandits from the Madurai Tamil Sangam, seven representatives from among each of post-graduates and masters of literature in Tamil, vidwans and pulavars, and one from each of eleven institutions, totalling in all 49 persons would form the new Pulavar Kuzhu. The eleven institutions are : Madras and Annamalai Universities, Karanthai Tamil Sanga Pulavar College and similar institutions in Madurai, Tiruchi, Mailam, Tiruvaiyaru, Dharmapuram, Tiruppanandal and Melasivapuri, and Santhalingaswami College in Perur (Coimbatore district).

It was decided to collect Rs. one lakh for the new organisation, at the rate of Rs. 5,000 from each, and Mr. K. A. P. Viswanathan announced his contribution of Rs. 5,000.

The meeting also deputed a committee of the following five leaders to wait in deputation on the Chief Minister and Finance-cum-Education Minister of Madras State with a view to getting Government patronage and help in the matter : Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, M.L.C., former Chief Minister ; Mr. V. V. Ramaswami, M.L.C., of Virudunagar ; Dr. E. P. Mathuram, M.L.A., Municipal Chairman and President, Tiruchi Tamil Sangam ; Mr. T. Dorairaja Pillai, M.L.C., Secretary of Tiruchi Sangam ; and Mr. K. A. P. Viswanathan (Convener).

Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar presided over the public function held at the Municipal Thevar Hall. Mr. K. A. P. Viswanathan and his wife Srimathi V. Subbulakshmi Ammani were taken in procession from his residence to the Thevar Hall, where there was a large gathering present. After a clarionet performance for about an hour, the president gave a brief history of Mr. K. A. P. Viswanathan and his work for the promotion of Tamil, and described him as a savant of Tamil with devotion to God and straightforwardness of character, as enunciated in the *Kural*. Mr. Viswanathan had demonstrated how an ordinary person engaged in trade, as he had been in Tobacco business all these years, could rise to eminence by his own dint of hard work and integrity of character, the President added.

— *The Hindu*

NEED TO ABSORB FOREIGN WORDS

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Education and Finance Minister, said at Madras on November 23, 1958 that the development and growth of any language depended on its flexibility.

The Minister, who was inaugurating the open session on "Dravidian languages" on the third day of the Kerala

Sahithya Parishad Sammelanam at "Vallathol Nagar", Teynampet, emphasised the need for adopting international terminology for expressing scientific and technological terms by the Dravidian and other group of languages in India.

Dr. A. Chidambaranathan, M.L.C., presided.

Mr. Subramaniam, in the course of his speech, stated that Madras City had set its pattern of life for the whole of India, because it had shown how people belonging to different language groups could live in harmony. Though people of the Dravidian group had their own way of life and differed from one another in some respect, still it could not be denied that they had all come from the same stock. Further it would also be clear that the language and culture of the neighbouring States had also influenced them very much.

The Minister narrated at length how various languages in the Dravidian group had developed and absorbed some Sanskrit words and said simply because they had adopted some Sanskrit words, they could not say that these languages ceased to be Dravidian languages. It also did not mean that they had lost their identity, provided these languages were able to digest them properly and make them their own while expressing thoughts. All the languages, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Canarese, had absorbed some Sanskrit words, but Malayalam had adopted many Sanskrit words. If our languages had the inherent strength and if they were capable of developing, they should not at all be afraid of absorbing foreign terminology. At the same time in the process of absorption they should discriminate what was good and bad and take in only suitable words. Today English occupied a pre-eminent position among the languages of the world, because of its flexibility in character.

Referring to the views entertained by certain people who were against borrowing foreign words, Mr. Subra-

maniam said that such an attitude of "isolation" by some puritans could not help them in any way to develop our languages. If they adhered to their suggestions, could they call themselves as those belonging to the group of Dravidian languages?

Adverting to scientific terms, Mr. Subramaniam said that he was always stressing the need for expressing scientific thoughts and latest development in that field through the regional languages. People could make rapid strides in the field of science also, if they were able to understand modern thoughts through the regional languages. While admitting the fact that regional languages had a vast field to cover compared to English in this sector, he would also suggest that the Dravidian languages and other languages of the country should adopt international terminology for expressing scientific and technological terms. Any attempt at disapproving such methods would only lead to disintegration of the country and of the people belonging to different groups.

Dr. A. Chidambaranathan, in his presidential address, said the various languages of the country could be compared to a nice jewel set with several gems shining with lustre. He warned against the people showing hatred and malice towards other languages in their anxiety to develop their own languages. Integration of culture and language should be taken smoothly, for such a happy blending of various languages, art and culture would ennoble their ideas and thoughts. He suggested to the research scholars to make a comprehensive survey of dialects in the country and requested the Union Government to associate authors and writers from the Dravidian language groups in the panel of judges constituted in connection with various all-India scholarship and other competitions. He was of the view that writers should be given freedom to express their thoughts, provided their writings did not in any way endanger society and pleaded for creating Chairs for the

various Dravidian languages in all the States in the southern region.

Mr. K. V. Jagannathan, Editor, *Kalaimagal*, said the art and literature of Malayalam should be made known to the people of Tamil Nad by the scholars of Kerala. In the same way, they could also do some research to know how far the ancient Tamil language and art had influenced Malayam art and language.

Mr. P. Jeevanandham said though Tamil language and literature had developed to some extent, it had not developed so much during the last 10 or 15 years as compared to Malayalam literature. Writers and authors of Malayalam should know the niceties and sublime thoughts expressed by Tamil writers and in the same way, writers belonging to the latter group must understand the greatness of the former.

Messrs. Venkatramayya, M. M. Bhatt and S. Guptan Nair, representing Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam, spoke explaining the close affinity among the languages belonging to the Dravidian group. Mr. Thapi Dharma Rao said the Aryan languages had been greatly influenced by the languages of South or the Dravidian group of languages and expressed the hope that the conference would foster closer cultural contact among different linguistic groups.

Earlier, Mr. K. N. Ezhuthachan welcomed the Minister and others.

—The Hindu

ROLE OF MUSIC SABHAS

Inaugurating the thirty-second annual conference of the Madras Music Academy, at Madras on December 20, 1958 Mr. Bishnuram Medhi, Governor, exhorted its Expert Committee to take appropriate steps for bringing down dance, drama and music to the masses and said that culture, music and fine arts should not be confined to a limited

few but should become broad-based, permeating the main body of the people, so that the people in general might be benefited by their elevating influence.

Mr. Medhi paid a tribute to the efforts of the Music Academy in resuscitating and revitalising music and fine arts and said that it was the duty of such institutions not only to preserve and enrich our culture, music and fine arts but also strive for their development in all aspects. He felt that the Expert Committee should concentrate their research work not only on musical compositions and ragas but also on the evolution of different styles of music. He was sure that the origin of the several ragas of the different styles and schools of music in our country could be traced to a common source and this was really a binding force, he added.

After prayer by Srimatis Visalakshi and Hemavathi, Mr. K. Soundararajan, Secretary, said messages had been received from the Governors of Bombay, Orissa, Assam, Punjab, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh, Maharajas of Travancore-Cochin and Bhavanagar and Ministers of Union Government and from foreign musicians and musicologists, who included Dr. Henry Cowell, Dr. Mantle Hood and Dr. Jaap Kunst. Mr. J. C. Mathur, Director-General of the All India Radio, in his message, has stated that the Music Academy had restored dignity and prestige to the profession of music artistes, and the research work done under its auspices had contributed substantially to a proper appreciation of our musical heritage.

— *The Hindu*

TAMIL WRITER FELICITATED

Ministers and writers offered felicitations to Mr. M. P. Somasundaram (Somu), the new President of the Tamil Writers' Association, at a function held in Mylapore, Madras on December 19, 1958.

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance and Education, said the Tamil Development Council constituted by the Government would give all help to Tamil writers in their work. He said the Council would begin functioning in a few weeks.

Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Home Minister, said he was sure that Mr. Somasundaram would do great service to Tamil writers and Tamil language during his term of office.

Mr. T. S. Chockalingam, who got up the function at his residence, welcomed the guests and read a message of good wishes from Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

Mr. V. Swaminatha Sarma, out-going President of the Association, paid a tribute to the literary attainments of Mr. Somasundaram.

Replying to the felicitations, Mr. Somasundaram appealed for the co-operation and help of the members in making his term of office as fruitful as possible.

Mr. Kannikannan proposed a vote of thanks.

—*The Hindu*

BOOKS FOR NEO-LITERATES

The closing function of the third literary workshop for neo-literates in Tamil Nad held at Coimbatore from November 12, 1958 for six weeks came off on December 23, 1958 at Chandra Textiles, Peelamedu, when Mr. K. Srinivasan, Director, SITRA, delivered the valedictory address.

Mr. G. R. Govindarajulu, correspondent of P. S. G. Colleges and Managing Agent, Pioneer group of mills, welcomed the gathering.

Mr. B. R. Krishnamurti, Director of the Workshop, presenting a report, said that Peelamedu had the honour of being the venue of two literary workshops, first in 1955

and again now. The reading materials produced by the trainees in the first workshop had been published and they had earned the appreciation of all. The entire period of the workshop was divided into three stages. In the first stage, the trainees, 40 in number, were taught the principles and techniques of adult education and the methods of writing books for neo-literates. In the second stage, the trainees produced various types of literature. In the third stage, the literature produced was tested on the neo-literates. The trainees produced three grades of literature, folders ('Madal'), booklets ('Chuvadi') and books ('Nool'). A folder contained six pages containing 150 to 200 words, a booklet consisted of 12 to 16 pages of the demy octavo size and a book in crown octavo consisted of 32 to 48 pages. The reading materials produced in the workshop should be such as would cultivate and promote independent reading among the neo-literates. The trainees were able to prepare 35 folders, 42 booklets and 38 books during the period of training.

The period of six weeks stipulated for training was not adequate as only from the fourth week onwards would the trainees be able to have an impetus to prepare materials, Mr. Krishnamurti said Tamil language should have a list of 2,000 to 3,000 words of familiar vocabulary like the basic Hindi vocabulary prepared by the Hindi division of the Ministry of Education and the literature prepared for neo-literates should be within the framework of this vocabulary. A research centre should be opened in Tamil Nad as was done by Jamia Milia, Delhi, which had produced about 800 books covering a wide range of topics suited to the tastes and interests of adults. He wanted the trainees not to rest content with the literature they had produced in this workshop which was only the beginning but to continue to be enthusiastic in this creative task.

THE MADRAS STATE TAMIL DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH COUNCIL

The following is the text of the Madras State Government Order constituting the Tamil Development and Research Council :—

G.O. Ms. No. 297 Education dated the 16th February 1959

ORDER :

Under the Madras Official Language Act, 1956, it has already been declared that the Official Language of the State of Madras shall be Tamil. The Government have also constituted a Committee to advise them as to the steps that should be taken to implement the provisions of the enactment referred to above. The above Committee has taken up the translation work of the departmental codes, manuals and forms. This Committee cannot, however, extend its activities to the manifold branches of Tamil Literature. Further a beginning has to be made with concrete measures to implement the intention of Government to introduce Tamil as the medium of instruction in colleges. If this is to be achieved it is necessary to make a preliminary survey of the problems involved and take decisions on the nature of courses and institutions in which the change is to be brought about. Decisions have to be taken regarding the successive steps to be taken on the preparatory measures and also on the time schedule in respect of this proposal. Further, cheap and popular books in Tamil have to be published and brought within the reach of everyone. The efforts of different agencies engaged in the printing and publication of Tamil manuscripts and of conducting research have to be co-ordinated. It has, therefore, become necessary to constitute separate agency for the development of Tamil language in all its aspects, including the co-ordination of the measures taken by the Official Language Act Implementation Committee within its own field with all other measures for the development of the Tamil language.

2. The above proposal to constitute a separate agency for the development of Tamil was placed before the Madras State Education Advisory Committee and it was suggested that the body may be called the Tamil Development and Research Council. The State Education Advisory Committee approved the proposal and

recommended the names of certain institutions and organisations to be represented on and certain individuals to be nominated to the Council to be formed. They suggested the inauguration of the Council on the 26th January, 1959 and the Council was accordingly inaugurated on that day by the Governor of Madras.

3. The Government accept the recommendation of the State Education Advisory Committee and hereby constitute a Council, which will be called the "Madras State Tamil Development and Research Council", consisting of the following members :

Chairman :

1. Sri C. Subramaniam, Minister for Education.

Members :

2. Sri C. N. Annadurai, M.L.A. Representative of the Madras State Education Advisory Committee.
3. Sri A. Vedaratnam, M.L.A. Representative of the Madras State Education Advisory Committee.
4. Sri P. Savarimuthu, Lecturer in Physics, St. Joseph's College, Tiruchirappalli. Representative of the University of Madras.
5. Sri T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai, Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University. Representative of the Annamalai University.
6. Sri M. Ananthanarayanan, I.C.S., Director of Legal Studies. Representative of the Official Language Implementation Committee.
7. Sri K. Somasundara Desigar, Deputy Commissioner, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments. Representative of the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments.
8. Sri M. P. Somasundaram, President, Tamil Writers' Association. Representative of the Tamil Writers' Association, Madras.

9. Sri M. K. Shanmugam,
M.A., L.T., Principal,
Sir Theagaraya College,
Madras. Representative of the
University Teachers'
Association.
10. Sri S. Jagannathachariar,
Head of the Department of
Tamil, Vivekananda Col-
lege, Madras-4. Representative of the South
India Teachers' Union,
Madras-28.
11. Sri K. Palaniappan,
48, West Masi Street,
Madurai. Representative of the
Madurai Tamil Sangam.
12. Sri C. Vedachalam, B.A., B.L.,
Honorary Secretary,
Karanthai Tamil Sangam,
Karuthattankudi. Representative of the
Karanthai Tamil Sangam,
Karuthattankudi.
13. Sri E. Govindaswamy Pillai,
Tamil Pandit of the Tanjore
Maharaja Sarfoji Saras-
wathi Mahal Library,
Tanjore. Representative of the
Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji
Saraswathi Mahal Library,
Tanjore.
14. Dr. E. M. Subramania Pillai,
Secretary, No. 5, Goschen
Block, Government House
Estate, Madras. Representative of the
Presidency Tamil Sangam,
Sankarancoil.
15. Dr. S. G. Manavalaramanu-
jam, 'Baghya Govind',
188, Poonamallee High
Road, Madras-7. Representative of the Aca-
demy of Tamil Culture,
15, Mukathal Street,
Madras-7.
16. Prof. R. Viswanatha Aiyar,
M.A., B.O.L., Honorary
Curator. Representing the
Mahamahopadhyaya
Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar
Library, Madras-20.
17. Sri T. S. Avanashilingam
Chettiar. Representing the Tamil
Valarchi Kazhagam,
University Buildings,
Madras-5.

18. Sri N. D. Sundaravadevelu, M.A., L.T., Director of Public Instruction, Madras-6.
19. Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D., S.T.D., Lecturer in Education, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya (Ceylon), Chief Editor, *Tamil Culture*.
20. Sri D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S., Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
21. Sri K. R. Srinivasan, M.A., Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Temple Survey Project (Southern Region), Madras-9.
22. Sri T. Chandrasekharan, M.A., L.T., Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, University Buildings, Madras-5.
23. Sri P. R. Srinivasan, Curator, Archaeological Section, Government Museum, Madras-8.
24. Sri R. P. Sethu Pillai, B.A., B.L., D.Litt., Prof. of Tamil, University of Madras, 10, Second Main Road, Gandhinagar, Madras-20.
25. Sri A. Chidambaranathan, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.C., Sorakalpet, Cuddalore, N.T.
26. Sri K. V. Jagannathan, Editor, *Kalaimagal*, P.B. No. 604, Madras-4.
27. Sri M. Varadarajan, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D., Prof. of Tamil, Chellammal Street, Aminjikarai, Madras-30.
28. Sri M. P. Periaswamythooran, Secretary, Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam, University Buildings, Madras-5.
29. Sri M. S. A. Majid, B.A., 34, First Main Road, Gandhinagar, Madras-20.
30. Sri P. Jeevanandam, C/o. Communist Party of India, 15, Perianna Maistry Street, Madras-1.
31. Dr. S. S. Bharati, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., 'Malaiyaham', Pasmalai P.O.
32. Sri V. Ramalingam Pillai, Namakkal, Salem District.
33. Kumari Masillamani, M.A., L.T., Vice-Principal and Head of the Department of Tamil, Women's Christian College, Madras-31.

34. Kumari R. Rajamani, B.A. (Hons.), L.T., Lecturer in Tamil, Queen Mary's College, Madras.
35. Sri S. S. Vasan, Editor, *Anandavikatan*, 151, Mount Road, Madras-2.
36. Sri T. P. Meenakshisundaram, M.A., B.L., M.O.L., Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar, Chidambaram.
37. Sri K. A. P. Viswanatham, Tiruchirappalli.
38. Sri M. P. Sivagnanam, 1/29, Irusappa Gramani Street, Madras-5.
39. Sri E. R. Nedunchezhiyan, M.A., 'Arivakam', 24, Suriyanarayana Chetty Street, Royapuram, Madras-13.

4. The functions of the Council will be as follows :—

- (a) To keep under review the progress of the work done by the Official Language Act Implementation Committee ; and to co-ordinate that work with other related activities in the field of development of Tamil.
- (b) To arrange for the systematic copying of all the inscriptions in the various temples in this State and arrange for publishing the same according to a planned Time-schedule ; and to co-ordinate this work with the activities of the Ephigraphical department of the Government of India.
- (c) To arrange for the systematic study of the antiquities of pre-historic and historic periods of Tamilnad and to co-ordinate this work with the activities of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India.
- (d) To co-ordinate and develop the activities of institutions and libraries, where unpublished manuscripts are available, co-ordinate the work relating to editing and printing on the basis of a planned time-schedule.
- (e) To co-ordinate and develop the activities of all agencies at present engaged on the production and the publication of popular reading materials with a view to develop the reading habit among the people ; and to co-ordinate this work with the programme of Public Library Development, especially in villages.

- (f) To arrange for production of children's books in Tamil, to arrange for their distribution and to co-ordinate this work with a programme of library development especially in villages.
- (g) To promote the study of folklore.
- (h) To arrange for the preparation of a complete descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the custody of all institutions in the State and indexing subject-war, author-war, etc ; to arrange for the compilation and publication of bibliographies, dictionaries, encyclopaedias, basic vocabularies, etc. ; and to take all other steps necessary for promoting systematic study and research into ancient manuscripts.
- (i) To take such other measures as are necessary to develop the Tamil language and to spread its use as a vehicle for all transactions both in the educational and other fields.

5. The Council should ordinarily meet at approximately quarterly intervals. The Chairman may, however, call for a meeting of the Council whenever necessary or at the request of any member of the Council. Members may suggest any subject for inclusion in the agenda for meeting by giving three week's notice of the same. The agenda for the meeting should normally be circulated to members at least a fortnight before the date of the meeting.

6. The Health, Education and Local Administration Department will provide the secretarial facilities likely to be required by the Council.

7. The Council will be treated as a State level Council and the Members will be eligible for the travelling allowance and daily allowance as prescribed for the first class Committee. The bills of Members other than M.L.A's. and M.L.C's. will be countersigned by the Secretary, Madras State Tamil Development and Research Council. (The Secretary is Sri Kannayan.)

8. The Council shall be deemed to have been constituted with effect from 26th January 1959.

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF TAMIL

A project has been set up to prepare a historical grammar of the Tamil language in the near future in Prague and Moscow. A group of Soviet scholars from Moscow and Leningrad will work in close collaboration with Dr. Kamil Zvelebil of Prague who is the founder of the project and the leader of the team. Preliminary work should be finished according to the plan within the next six years. The first phase of the work has been started already by excerpting Early Old Tamil texts, the *Tirukkural*: and some early inscriptions.

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Extracts from Letters

A BRITISH SUBSCRIBER WRITES

".....Let me mention in this connexion a rather amusing experience I had at a recent conference of orientologists at Manchester University. In the course of a paper on certain excavations in China, the lecturer spoke of an "unknown language" found among certain Chinese inscriptions, and passed round among the audience a photograph of what he referred to. A glance at the plate showed me that the "unknown language" was known to me and I blurted out "Tamil". But before I could examine the writing at close range, the gentleman who had taken possession of the plate said he would refer it for decipherment to the specialist in Tamil at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Dr. John Marr, and passed the plate back to the lecturer. But the matter has not ended here, for on page 176 of the current issue of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society I find a reference to an "unidentified language" found in a Chinese inscription that makes me wonder whether this inscription is the same as the one now with Dr. Marr for decipherment."

* * * *

"The day after I wrote to you came a copy of the Bulletin which I am sending to you under another cover because of the absence in it of any mention of Dravidian Studies. No wonder, therefore, that Tamil was an "unknown language" to many at Manchester at our last conference....."

Books Received

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—க. அரங்கசாமி முதலியார். சாது அச்சகம், இராயப் பேட்டை, சென்னை-14. பக்கங்கள் 44. விலை 50 ந. பை.

4000 ஆண்டுக்கு முன்னர் வள்ளுவர்

—புலவர் செந்துரைமுத்து. வள்ளுவர் பண்ணை, பிராட்வே, சென்னை-1. பக்கங்கள் 81. விலை ரூ. 1.50.

அறநூல் (உறையுடன்)

—சுகவனம் - சிவப்பிரகாசனார். பதிப்பாளர்: ஜகதா அண்டு சன், திரு. வி. க. நகர், சென்னை-11. விற்பனை உரிமை: பாரி நிலையம், 59, பிராட்வே, சென்னை-1. பக்கங்கள் 204. விலை ரூ. 3.50. பரிசுபதிப்பு ரூ. 4.00.

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Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(„ calm)
இ	—	i	(„ sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(„ machine)
உ	—	u	(„ full)
ஊ	—	u:	(„ rule)
எ	—	e	(„ fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(„ able)
ஐ	—	ai	(„ aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(„ opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(„ opium)
ஔ	—	au	(„ now)

CONSONANTS

Hints re: articulation

<i>Hard¹</i> (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(„ church, angel, calcium)
	த	—	t:	(„ card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with blade of tongue.
	த	—	th	(„ threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(„ pipe, amber)
<i>Soft</i> (Nasal)	ற	—	t	(„ atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex- articulate with tip of tongue.
	ங	—	ng	(„ sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(„ angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(„ urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(„ anthem)....dental n
<i>Medium</i> (non-nasal continuant)	ம	—	m	(„ mate)
	ன	—	n	(„ enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with tip of tongue.
	ய	—	y	(„ yard)
	ர	—	r	(„ red)
	ல	—	l	(„ leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with tip of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(„ very)
	ழ	—	l-	(„ ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ள	—	l:	(„ hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with blade of tongue.
<i>Auxiliary²</i> (ஃ)	ஃ	—	x	(„ ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard*, have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

(a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant*.

e.g., பக்கம் - is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

(b) an *unaspirated but voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant*:—

e.g., பங்கம் - is pronounced pangam, not pankam
பஞ்சம் - „ panjam, not pancam,

(c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant*.

e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative—sometimes a *voiced*—value after a vowel also, except in the case of *t*: which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

Later its value became fixed as *h*, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil=Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve:ngkat:am).

- (ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

THE TAMIL SCRIPT

This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

Vowel symbols attached to preceding consonant.		Hard consonants					Soft consonants					Medium consonants							
Vowels		k	c	t	th	p	t	ng	nj	n:	nh	m	n	y	r	l	v	j	i:
a: a	nil	c	c	L	f	U	p	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	r		u		u
e: e	e to the right of the consonant	ch					q		ch	ch				u	r				p
i: i	" to be joined at the top —right of consonant	g					q							u					
u: u	" to be joined at the top —right of consonant.	g					q							u					
au u:	a semi-circle (\cup) a vertical stroke / or a loop ∞ to be joined to the bottom	g	c	Q	Q	U	q	u	q	q	u	Q	u	u	u		u		u
au u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	u	Q	Q	Q	U	q	u	q	q	u	Q	u	u	u		u		u
e: e	O to the left of the consonant	Qe												u	u				u
e: e	O to the left of the consonant	Qe												u	u				u
ai ai	ae to the left of the consonant	ae												u	u				u
o o	O to the left & e to the right of the consonant	Qar					Q							u	u				u
o: o:	O to the left & e to the right	Qar					Q							u	u				u
au au	O to the left & e to the right	Qar					Q							u	u				u
Quaw pure consonants	A dot - on the top of the consonant	.												u	u				u

Note —(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel *a* has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top.

(3) All the eighteen vowel consonants under α (k) are shown as a guide: in other cases only the irregular forms are shown, the rest being exactly similar to those shown under α (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored.

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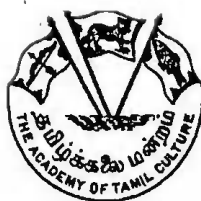
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The Poet of Revolt

S. J. GUNASEGARAM

'Bharathi Thasan' whose real name is Kanagasabai Suppurathinam, was born in 'Puthuvai', on 29-4-1891. He will be 68 years old on the day this article is handed over to the Editor of *The Tamil Culture*. His father, Kanagasabai Mudaliyar, was a progressive merchant in the then French colony, 'Puducherry'.

After his early education in a French school in his native town, he proceeded to a Tamil School from where, at the close of a brilliant scholastic career, he 'graduated' to become a teacher in a Tamil School, at the age of 18.

An event that was destined to influence greatly his future was the occasion of a friend's marriage feast. He had been invited to sing a few of the songs of the great Bharathi. Bharathi himself, we are told, was present at the function, and was impressed by the rendering of his poems by Suppurathinam. That was his first 'introduction' to the reigning poet of the day, though they did not actually meet on that occasion.

Sometime later, when in the company of his friends, we are told, he was actually introduced to Bharathi. When his friends told the great poet of the talents of Suppurathinam, Bharathi is said to have requested the youth to compose a poem. He sang the now famous poem of 16 lines entitled, 'Sakthi'. The great Bharathi at once recognised in the young man a 'poet'.¹ For nearly ten years later he was an ardent disciple of the older poet. His love and admiration for Bharathi he has expressed in mellifluous

¹ For a fuller description of Bharathi Thasan's early life reference may be made to the volume of his poems published by Pari Nilayam. 59, Broadway, Madras.

language, in a number of poems found in his volume of poems entitled *Bharathi Thasan's Kavithaigal* (Pari Nilayam). In fact today he is more popularly known as 'Bharathi Thasan' (the disciple of Bharathi), in honour of his association with the great Master.

Bharathi Thasan is known to the Tamil world as the 'Poet of Revolt'. Born and bred in a French colony (before India won Swaraj) in the South of India, educated in a French school in his early days, he had imbibed some of that love of freedom, a faith in the equality and brotherhood of man, and a breadth of outlook on the larger problems of religion, politics and social life characteristic of the true Frenchman. Three types of influence must have had a profound effect in shaping his views, and in giving him the impetus and inspiration for his refreshing novelty of style, his courageous approach to the problems confronting the social life of contemporary Tamils, the choice of his subjects and his outspoken condemnation of many things held 'sacred' by his fellow Tamils in their everyday life.

The first and the most significant of these influences, no doubt, was the French environment in which he grew up, and the French education he had received during the formative years of his life. Secondly, a sensitive mind like his must have been greatly moved by the struggle of his great mother country, under the leadership of the Mahatma, against the British Imperialistic hold on India. The third but not the least of the influences was his contact with the great Bharathi and the impact of the soul-animating strains of his fearless literary Guru. Bharathi, by far the greatest of our poets since Kamban, has stirred the hearts of millions of Tamils in a way few poets in the past had done. His range of subjects was wide; his knowledge of Tamil literature was profound; his love for the language and his country, and his sympathy for the people, particularly the poor and the down-trodden, were so deep, that his

magnificent gift of poetic expression clothed in words that touched every human emotion and raised it to a pitch never before felt or experienced, must have churned young Suppurathinam's heart too to its very depths. Here are a few lines of tribute to his master :—

“ சீருயர்ந்த கவிஞரிடம் எதிர்பார்க்கின்ற
செம்மை நலம் எல்லாமும் அவர்பாற்கண்டோம் ”

and again

“ பழையநடை, பழங்கவிதை, பழந்தமிழ்தூல்
பார்த்தெழுதிப் பாரதியார் உயர்ந்தாரில்லை ”²

There has been a long succession of poets since Kampan of Ramayana fame and Saint Thayumanavar. But the dizzy heights the incomparable ‘Emperor of Poesy’ and the weaver of quaint magic garlands to the Divine had reached seem to have left the lesser lights that followed so dazzled by their refulgence, that they could give us only pale reflections of their glory, without contributing anything new or striking. It was left to Bharathi and to his brilliant disciple Bharathi Thasan to tune the harp anew and stir us with new melodies and fresh harmonies.

It has been said that to read contemporary literature is not only a pleasure but a duty. It is not enough that we become familiar with the best that has been thought and known in the world in the past. It is equally our duty and pleasure to make ourselves familiar with the best that is thought and known in our own time as well. The culture that confines itself to the literature of the past is an imperfect culture, for all good literature, whether old or new, is good and fresh only in so far as it is living. The ultimate test of any new work in a language is whether it can be absorbed in the store of the accepted literature of the people who speak it. “A breach with the past, the abjuration of tradition, is of course, the characteristic symp-

² *Bharathi Thasan Kavithaigal* Vol. 2, p. 88 (Pari Nilayam).

tom of revolt. Where literature has frozen into bleak etiquette some vigorous breaking up is necessary. But there is revolt that means revival and revolt that means degeneration into the dissidence of dissent. . . . An artist of the first rank accepts tradition and enriches it, an artist of the lower rank accepts tradition and repeats it, an artist of the lowest rank rejects tradition and strives for originality".³

The true artist, the artist of the first rank, selects that which is genuinely valuable in tradition and throws overboard that which is spurious, that which is only a superficial accretion in the history of a people.

The traditionalists among the Tamils, and their name is legion, have looked askance at some of the vigorous and frank criticism of Bharathi Thasan, of the accumulated superstitions encrusting the superstructure of the ideals of the Tamil people. These fail to realise that living in the modern age we are yet circumscribed by old customs and beliefs which keep us bound to a dead or dying past. A literature that could revolt against these devitalising encrustations was long overdue. The great task originated by Bharathi has been taken up by his younger contemporary, Bharathi Thasan. He extends his revolt not merely to false beliefs and congealed outmoded customs, but to the modes of poetic expression as well. It is not suggested that one should give importance to what is modern merely because it is modern or to what is old merely because it is old. "What really matters is absolute value. Eminence and especially moral eminence must be preserved at all cost. The Artist who repudiates moral eminence repudiates life itself".⁴ The enduring indefectible 'virtues of art' are the aristocratic virtues so nobly exalted in the literature of the Tamils by the Kural, Silappatikaram, and in Kamban's Ramayanam.

³ *The Concise Cambridge History of Literature* EPILOGUE, George Sampson.

⁴ *Ibid.*

"Whatever our form of belief or disbelief one cannot evade the duty of man, his duty towards God and his duty towards his neighbours—that is the need for aspiration above the self and the need for expression beyond the self. Literature as an art need not make the inculcation of this duty its prime business, but literature that brings this duty to contempt has gone over to the enemy of life and art. It has joined the mob to whom art is folly, it has joined the cheap jacks and charlatans to whom Art is deception."⁵

Judged by these tests Bharathi Thasan's poetry does not go counter to those eternal verities cherished and upheld by the best of the Tamil poets, as will be revealed by a close study of his published works.

"We artists" wrote John Drinkwater, "have the world to fight. Prejudice, indifference, positive hostility, misrepresentation, a total failure to understand the purposes and power of Art, beset us on every side. Nevertheless if the world is to be renewed it will be renewed by us".

Yes, if the Tamil world is to be renewed, re-invigorated and re-inspired it is only the study of poets like Bharathi and Bharathi Thasan could do so. Bharathi Thasan, in a sense, has been more daring and outspoken than even his master in touching and probing the sore spots of Tamil beliefs, customs and superstitions

Each generation demands its own poet to express in the language of the day the passing phases of life as viewed from the standpoint of the thinking section of that generation, and also newly to interpret many things of the spiritual, social and the world of nature. Unlike many of the revered poets of the past, Bharathi Thasan speaks to us truly in the language of the day, in the language of the common man, in a language simple, intelligible and redolent of the fresh breeze of the dawn.

⁵ *Ibid.*

He sings to us of the dangers of false beliefs raised to the dignity of religion, of the sufferings of the worker who is the real builder of the world, of woman, her charm and power, her wisdom and the need to free her from the shackles of dead custom ; of nature, of birds and beasts, of rivers, hills and flowers, of the charm of home, the worth of elders and the delight of children.

Some have accused Bharathi Thasan of being irreligious. There is no reason to infer from his works that he is anti-religious. On the contrary if Religion is an aspiration after the ideal, the spirit of devotion to the perfection of human life, the love of fellow beings and the pursuit of what is true and beautiful and good, the poems of Bharathi Thasan breathe the true spirit of Religion.

In his poem சேசு பொழிந்த தெள்ளமுது (a poem on Jesus), he asks :

கோல நற் சேசு
குறித்தது தானென்ன ? தோழி—

and answers :

“கோயி லென்றால்
அன்பு தோய் மனம்” என்றனர் தோழர்.

‘The mind steeped in Love’ is what Jesus means by ‘temple’; the poet uses the word Ko-il (temple) which in Tamil means, ‘where god dwells’. He is not against true religion—but is against formal religion which exalts form while ignoring the essence of the spirit of Religion.

His sympathy for the toiling labourer, here in particular the Tamil labourer, scattered far and wide away from his home in distant climes, is expressed in the following lines :

“கற்பிழந்து, மலைபிளந்து, கணிகள்வெட்டி
கருவியெலாம் செய்துதந்த கைதான் யார்கை?
பொற்றுக்களைக் கடல்முத்தை, மணிக் குலத்தைப்
போய் எடுக்க அடக்கிய மூச்செவரின் மூச்சு?”

and again :

“பொழுது தோறும்,
புனலுக்கும் அனலுக்கும், சேற்றினுக்கும்,
கக்கும் விஷப் பாம்பினுக்கும், பிலத்தினுக்கும்,
கடும் பசிக்கும், இடையறு நோய்களுக்கும்
பவியாகிக் கால் கைகள், உடல்கள், சித்தம்,
பச்சை ரத்தம் பரிமாறி, இந்த நாட்டை
சலியாத வருவாயும் உடையதாகத்
தந்ததெவர்?”

These lines remind us of the poem of Martin Armstrong, a contemporary English poet, who in his ‘Epitaph’, mourns—

“These are the unthrifty souls
Who watered dusky streets with wine ;
Gathered pearls from Indian shoals⁸
And cast them royally to swine ;
.....
Poured for the heartless, healing tears ;
Fed the tyrant with their grief ;
.....
Paid the price they never owed ;
Prayed to gods who claim no prayer ”

In the poem ‘புரட்சிக்கவி’ (the Poem of Revolt), the composition after which the poet has since been known, Utharanan, the young tutor of the Princess Amuthavalli, who is in love with her, exclaims :

⁸ “Ancient fisheries in the Gulf of Mannar, Ceylon, and at Tinnevely on the Madras side of the strait”.

“காதல் நெருப்பால் கடலின்மேல் தாவிடுவேன்,
சாதி எனும் சங்கிலி என் தாளைப் பிடித்ததடி!
பாளைச் சிரிப்பில் நான் இன்று பதறி விட்டால்,
நாளைக்கு வேந்தனெனும் நச்சரவுக் கென்செய்வேன்”

He wonders how they could overcome the bar of caste that stands between him and his beloved. She replies :

“சாதி உயர்வென்றும், தனத்தால் உயர்வென்றும்,
போதாக்குறைக்குப் பொதுத்தொழி லாளர்சமுதகம்,
மெத்த இழிவென்றும், மிகுபெரும்பாலோ ரைஎல்லாம்
கத்திமுனை காட்டி காலமெலாம் ஏய்த்துவரும்,
பாவிக்கோத் திருத்தப் பாவலனே நம்மிருவர்
ஆவிகளை யேனும் அர்ப்பணம் செய்வோம்”

Let us, she tells her lover, sacrifice our lives so that we might change the hearts of those who in the name of caste and wealth, would thwart true love and treat with contempt the lowly. The king who is informed of the romance orders the execution of Utharan. Amuthavally appeals to her father, the King—

“ஒருவனும் ஒருத்தியுமாய்—மனம்
உவந்திடில் பிழையென உரைப்பதுண்டோ?
அரசென ஒருசாதி—அதற்
கயலென வேறொரு சாதியுண்டோ?”

‘Does a king belong to one caste and his subjects to another caste? Is it wrong for a youth and maid to become heart-united in love?’

The king remains unmoved and Utharan turns to the people—for the people are more important than the king; the voice of the people is the voice of God. He tells them that he had been invited by the king to instruct his daughter in Tamil poesy. They had learned to love each other even as they loved the beauty of Tamil poetry. “Is the love of Sweet Tamil to be the cause of my death?”, he asks,

“தமிழறிந்த தால்வேந்தன் எனை அழைத்தான் ;
தமிழ்க்கவியென் றெனை அவளும் காதலித்தாள் !
அமுதென்று சொல்லுமிந்தத் தமிழ் என்னாவி—
அழிவதற்குக் காரணமா யிருந்ததென்று
சமுதாயம் நினைத்திடுமோ ? ”

He appeals to the people to save at least, Amuthavalli, the young poetess who longed to make the hills, the rivers and the bowers of their land immortal with her song.

“அவனைக் காப்பீர் !

அழகிய என் திருநாடே ! அன்பு நாடே !
வையகத்தில் உன் பெருமை தன்னை, நல்ல
மணிநதியை, உயர்குன்றைத், தேனை அள்ளிப்
பெய்யுநறுஞ் சோலையினைத், தமிழாற்பாடும்
பேராவல் தீர்ந்ததில்லை ! ”

The people rush to the rescue of the lovers. They declare :

“புவிபாட்சி தனிஉனக்குத் தாரோம்என்று
போயுரைப்பாய்’ என்றார்கள் ! போகாமுன்பே,
செவியினிலே ஏற்றிற்றுப், போனான் வேந்தன் !
செல்வமெலாம் உரிமையெலாம் நாட்டாருக்கே
நவையின்றி யெய்துதற்குச் சட்டம் செய்தார் !
நலிவில்லை ! நலமெல்லாம் வாய்ந்ததங்கே ! ”

‘We shall not allow you to rule us any more. All wealth, all ownership belong to the people’, they proclaim, and proceed to draw up a democratic constitution.

* * * *

‘சஞ்சீவி பர்வதத்தின் சாரல்’ is one of the finest narrative poems of Bharathi Thasan. It deals with an incident described by Kamban in the Ramayanam. The poet makes use of the incident to show how gullible people could be, and accept uncritically the most fantastic tales and myths found in old tales. The opening lines of the poem constitute a remarkable example of the poet's

mastery of the language, and his ability to make music out of the simple words used in everyday life. Describing the approach to the mountain and its environs, the poem reads,

“குயில்கூவிக் கொண்டிருக்கும் ; கோலம் மிகுந்த
மயிலாடிக் கொண்டிருக்கும் ; வாசம் உடையநற்
காற்றுகுவிரீந்தடிக்கும் ; கண்ணாடி போன்றநீர்
ஊற்றுக்கள் உண்டு ; கனிமரங்கள் மிக்கஉண்டு ;
பூக்கள் மணம் கமழும் ; பூக்கள்தோறும் சென்றுதே
வீக்கள் இருந்தபடி இன்னிசை பாடிக்களிக்கும் ;
வேட்டுவப்பெண்கள் விளையாடப் போவதுண்டு.
வெஞ்சில் நிறுத்துங்கள் ; இந்த இடத்தைத்தான்
சீவி பருவதத்தின் சாரல் என்று சொல்விடுவார்.

* * * *

“சீவி பர்வதத்தின் சாரலிலே, ஓர் நாளில்,
கொஞ்சம் குறையமணி நான்காகும் மாலையிலே,
குப்பன் எனும் வேடக்குமரன் தனியிருந்து,
செப்புச் சிலைபோலே தென்திசையைப் பார்த்தபடி
ஆடாதசையாமல் வாடி நின்றான். சற்றுப்பின்,
வாடாத பூமுடித்த வஞ்சி வரக்கண்டான்
வரக்கண்டதும் குப்பன் வாரி அணைக்கச்
சுரக்கின்ற காதலோடு சென்றான்.—“தொடாதே”!
என்று சொன்னாள் வஞ்சி. இளையான் திடுக்கிட்டான்”

No high school education is necessary to understand the language. The meaning is as clear as crystal, clothed in words which a child could understand. The description of the natural scenery is graphic, and the music of the words rings in our ears.

(To be continued)

Bharathi in Sinhalese

P. B. J. HEWAWASAM

KÔKILA GITAYA

Prēmē, prēmē, prēmē
Prēmaya nivitāna, prēmaya nivitāna
Karumē, karumē, karumē.

Ēḷiyē-sudu mudu ēḷiyē :
Ēḷiya aḍu vī, aturudahan vuna
Andurē, andurē, andurē.

Prīti, prīti, prīti :
Prītiya ehi ima agaṭa ma giya tāna
S'ōkī bava ma ya, s'ōkī.

Nādē—oho, ninnādē :
Nādaya nāvatuna bunhaṇḍa vihiduna
Bēdē vey haṇḍa, bēdē.

Tālē-mana nanda tālē :
Tālaya vāraduna, suntālaya vuna
Jālē—maha'vul jālē.

Rāgē—had'adana rāgē :
Rāgaya vāraduna, avarāgaya vuna
Nā'ge bora ma ya, nā'ge.

Yasasē, yasasē, yasasē :
E yasasa keḷesuna, suḷu dosa pamanina
Ayasē, ayasē, ayasē.

Tira bava, rju bava mānavī :
Tira bava vanasā, capala bavehi huna
Gora bava, gora bava niyamī.

Hamuvē—priyatama hamuvē :
E hamuva nima vī, priyayā veru vuna
Mālavē—gata sita mālavē.

Kuḷalē, kuḷalē, kuḷalē, :
Kuḷalaya paḷuḍuva, samaga ma goḷu vuna
Tāvulē, tāvulē, tāvulē.

குயிலின் பாட்டு

காதல், காதல், காதல் :
காதல் போயிற், காதல் போயிற்
சாதல், சாதல், சாதல்.

அருளே யாநல் லொளியே :
ஒளிபோ மாயின், ஒளிபோ மாயின்
இருளே, இருளே, இருளே.

இன்பம், இன்பம், இன்பம் :
இன்பத் திற்கோ ரெல்லை காணில்
துன்பம், துன்பம், துன்பம்.

நாதம், நாதம், நாதம் :
நாதத் தேயோர் நலிவுண் டாயின்
சேதம், சேதம், சேதம்.

தாளம், தாளம், தாளம்
தாளத் திற்கோர் தடையுண் டாயின்
கூளம், கூளம், கூளம்.

பண்ணே, பண்ணே, பண்ணே :
பண்ணிற் கேயோர் பழுதுண் டாயின்
மண்ணே, மண்ணே, மண்ணே.

புகழே, புகழே, புகழே
புகழுக் கேயோர் புரையுண் டாயின்
இகழே, இகழே, இகழே.

உறுதி, உறுதி, உறுதி :
உறுதிக் கேயோர் உடைவுண் டாயின்
இறுதி, இறுதி, இறுதி.

கூடல், கூடல், கூடல் :
கூடிப் பின்னே குமரர் போயின்
வாடல், வாடல், வாடல்.

குழலே, குழலே, குழலே :
குழலிற் கீறல் கூடுங் காலை
விழலே, விழலே, விழலே.

කෝකිල ගීතය.

ප්‍රේමේ, ප්‍රේමේ, ප්‍රේමේ:
ප්‍රේමය නිව් කැන, ප්‍රේමය නිව් කැන
කරුමේ, කරුමේ, කරුමේ,

එළියේ - සුදු, බුදු එළියේ:
භෞමිය අඩුවී, අතුරුදහන් වූන
අඳුරේ, අඳුරේ, අඳුරේ,

ප්‍රීතී, ප්‍රීතී, ප්‍රීතී:
ප්‍රීතිය එහි ඉම අගවම ගිය කැන
ශෝකී බව මි ය ශෝකී.

කාදේ - ඔහෝ, නිත්තාදේ:
කාදය තැවතුන, බුන්හස විහිදුන
බේදේ වෙසි හබ, බේදේ.

කාලේ - මන කද කාලේ:
කාලය වැරදුන, සුන්කාලය වූන
ජාලේ - මහ'වුල් ජාලේ.

රාගේ - හද'දන රාගේ:
රාගය වැරදුන, අවරාගය වූන
කා'ගේ බොරුමය, තා'ගේ.

යසයේ, යසයේ, යසයේ:
එ'යසය කෙලෙසුන, සුළඳෙස පමණින
අසයේ, අසයේ, අසයේ.

තිර බව, සාප්‍ර බව මැනවි:
තිර බව ව්‍යාසා, වපල බවෙහි හුන
ශොර බව, ගොර බව නියමි.

හමුවේ - ප්‍රියතම හමුවේ:
එ හමුව නිමවී, ප්‍රියයා වෙත් වූන
මැලවේ - ගත සිත මැලවේ.

කුලලේ, කුලලේ, කුලලේ:
කුලලය පළව, සමගමු ගොර වූන
කැවුලේ, කැවුලේ, කැවුලේ.

குறிப்புவினை

(டாக்டர் மு. வரதராசன்)

அறிவு படிப்படியே வளர்ந்துவருவது. முன் பெற்றுச் சேர்த்தவை கொண்டு, அவற்றிற்கு மேலும் சிலவற்றைத் தேடிக்கொள்ளுதல் அறிவுத் துறையில் இயற்கை. ஆதலின், நம் காலத்தைவிட, எதிர்காலத்தில் சில பொருள்களைப் பற்றித் தெளிவான அறிவு பிறத்தல் கூடும். அவ்வாறே முன்னோர்காலத்தைவிட, நம் காலத்தில் சில பொருள்கள் தெளிவு பெற்று விளங்குதலும் இயல்பே. முன்னோர் பெற்றிருந்த நலங்களுள் சிலவற்றை நாம் இழந்திருத்தல் கூடும். ஆயின், சில துறைகளில் முன்னோரைவிடத் தெளிவாக அறியும் வாய்ப்பு, நமக்கு உண்டு.

இலக்கணத் துறையில் இது உண்மையாதல் காணலாம். முன்னோர் தமிழ்மொழிக்கு இலக்கணம் எழுதிய காலத்தில் இக்காலத்து உள்ளது போல் பல்வேறு மொழியாரின் கூட்டுறவு இருந்ததில்லை. வடமொழி ஒன்றினோடு மட்டும் ஒப்பிட்டு நோக்கும் வாய்ப்பு அக்காலத்தில் இருந்தது. இக்காலத்தில் உலகத்தில் உள்ள பல மொழிகளின் இலக்கணத்தோடும் ஒப்பிட்டு உண்மை காணும் வாய்ப்பு நமக்கு உள்ளது. கால்டுவெல் எழுதிய ஒப்பிலக்கணம் புதிய உண்மைகளை உணர்த்த முடிந்தது இதனாலேயே ஆகும். அவர்தம் ஒப்பிலக்கணம் போல் சென்ற நூற்றாண்டில் அறிஞர் பலர் முயன்று எழுதிய ஒப்பிலக்கணங்கள் பல; அவற்றைக் கொண்டு எழுந்த மொழியாராய்ச்சி நூல்கள் சில; அவற்றுல் விளக்கம் பெற்று அமைந்த மொழிவரலாற்று நூல்கள் சில. அவை எல்லாவற்றின் துணையும் கொண்டு தமிழ்மொழியின் அமைப்பைப் பற்றி ஆராயும் வாய்ப்பு நமக்கு உள்ளது. ஆதலின், முன்னோர்காலத்தில் பெறுதற்கியலாத தெளிவு நம் காலத்தில் பெற முடிகிறது. அது நம் சிறப்பு அன்று; நம் காலத்தின் சிறப்பும், இக்காலத்துக் கிடைத்துள்ள அறிவுவளர்ச்சிக்குரிய வாய்ப்பின் சிறப்பும் ஆகும்.

தொல்காப்பியனார் வினைச்சொல்லைப் பற்றி விளக்குமிடத்து, அது வேற்றுமை ஏற்காது என்றும், காலம் உணர்த்தும் என்றும் இரு தன்மைகளைக் கூறுகிறார்¹. பிறகு காலம் குறிப்பாகவும் உணர்த்தப்படும் என்கிறார்². அவர்தம் கருத்துப்படி, வினைச்சொற்கள் எல்லாம்

¹ வினையெனப் படுவது வேற்றுமை கொள்ளாது
வினையும் காலைக் காலமொடு தோன்றும்.

—தொல் சொல். வினையியல் 1.

² அம்மூக் காலமும் குறிப்பொடுங் கொள்ளும்
மெய்க்நிலை உடைய தோன்ற லாறே.

இருவகைப்படுவன³; அவை வினை என்றும் குறிப்பென்றும் வழங்குவன. பிற்காலத்தில், உரையாசிரியர்கள் அவ்விருவகையைத் தெரிநிலைவினை குறிப்புவினை என வழங்குவர். குறிப்புவினை என்பது, வினைக்குறிப்பு எனவும் குறிப்பு எனவும் கூறப்படும்.

காலத்தை வெளிப்படையாக உணர்த்தாமல் குறிப்பாக உணர்த்துவது குறிப்புவினைச்சொல் எனத் தொல்காப்பியத்தால் பெறப்படுமாயினும், “தொழின்மை தெற்றென விளங்காது குறித்துக்கொள்ளப் படுதலின் குறிப்பு என்றார்” எனச் சேனாவரையர் விளக்கம் தந்துள்ளார்.⁴ தொழின்மை என்றது, காலத்தோடியுயந்து தொழிற்படும் தன்மை எனக் கொள்ளத்தக்கது. அத் தன்மையைத் தெற்றென விளங்கவைக்கும் உறுப்பு ஒவ்வொரு தெரிநிலைவினையிலும் உள்ளது⁵. அதுவே கால இடைநிலை என்றும், கால வெழுத்து⁶ என்றும் குறிக்கப்படுவது. தெரிநிலைவினை கால இடைநிலை பெற்று வருவது; குறிப்புவினை அது பெறுதது; ஆதலின் வழங்குமிடத்தை ஒட்டிக் காலத்தைக் குறிப்பாக உணர்த்துவது. தொல்காப்பியனார் குறிப்புவினையைப் பற்றிப் பல இடங்களில் இக்கருத்தைப் புலப்படுத்தியுள்ளார்⁷. திராவிட மொழிகளின் ஒப்பிலக்கண ஆசிரியராகிய கால்டுவெல், குறிப்புவினை நிகழ்காலத்திற்கு உரியது என்றும், காலத்தை உணர்த்தும் தன்மை அதற்கு இல்லை என்றும் எழுதியுள்ளார்⁸.

இனி இப் பாகுபாடு பொருந்துமா எனக் காண்போம்.

தெரிநிலைவினைச் சொற்கள் எல்லாம், ஏவலொருமை வடிவாக உள்ள வினையடியாகப் பிறப்பன⁹. குறிப்புவினைச் சொற்கள் வினையடியாகப் பிறவாமல், பெயரடியாகப் பிறப்பன; பொருள் இடம் காலம் சினை குணம் தொழில் என்னும் அறுவகைப் பெயர்களின் அடியாகப் பிறப்பன.

³ குறிப்பினும் வினையும் நெறிப்படத் தோன்றிக் காலமொடு வருஉம் வினைச்சொல் எல்லாம்.

—ஷே 3.

⁴ ஷே சேனாவரையர் உரை.

⁵ வினைசெயல் மருங்கிற் காலமொடு வருவன.

—ஷே தொல்.சொல். இடையியல், 2.

⁶ தொல். சொல். வினையியல்³. பேனாவரையர் உரை.

⁷ அன்ன மரபிற் குறிப்பொடு வருஉங், காலக் கிளவி.

அப்பாற் காலம் குறிப்பொடு தோன்றும்.

அன்ன பிறவும் குறிப்பொடு கொள்ளும்

என்ன கிளவியும் குறிப்பே காலம்.—தொல். சொல். வினையியல், 16-19.

⁸ Caldwell: *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 478.

⁹ செய்யென் ஏவல் வினைப்பகாப் பதமே. —நன்னூல், பதவியல், 10.

“இத்தொடக்கத்து வாய்பாடுகள் எல்லாம் செய்யென்னும் ஏவல்வினையும் செய்யென்னும் வினையினது பகாப்பதமாகிய பகுதியுமாகும்.”

—ஷே சங்கரநமச்சிவராயர் உரை.

அதுச்சொல் வேற்றுமை உடைமை யானும்
கண்ணென் வேற்றுமை நிலத்தி னானும்
ஒப்பி னானும் பண்பி னானுமென்று
அப்பாற் காலம் குறிப்பொடு தோன்றும்.

அன்மையின் இன்மையின் உன்மையின் வன்மையின்
அன்ன பிறவும் குறிப்பொடு கொள்ளும்
என்ன கிளவியும் குறிப்பே காலம்.

இன்றில் உடைய என்னும் கிளவியும்
அன்றுடைத் தல்ல என்னும் கிளவியும்
பண்புகொள் கிளவியும் உளஎன் கிளவியும்
பண்பின் ஆகிய சினைமுதற் கிளவியும்
ஒப்பொடு வருஉம் கிளவியொடு தொகைஇ
அப்பாற் பத்தும் குறிப்பொடு கொள்ளும்¹⁰.

இந் நூற்பாக்களால் தொல்காப்பியனாரின் கருத்து அதுவாதல் பெறப்படும்.

ஆகவே இவற்றிடையே இரண்டு வேறுபாடுகளைக் காண்கின்றோம்.

1. தெரிநிலைவினை குறிப்புவினை என்பன அடிச்சொற்களிலேயே வேறுபடுகின்றன.

2. முன்னது கால இடைநிலை பெற்றுவர, பின்னது பெறுது வருகின்றது.

இத்துணை வேறுபாடு இருக்கும்போது, இவை இரண்டும் வினைச் சொல்லின் வகைகளாகக் கருதப்படுதற்குக் காரணங்கள் யாவை?

இனி இவ் விருவகைக்கும் பொதுவான தன்மைகள் உள்ளனவா எனக் காண்போம்.

1. தெரிநிலைவினை திணைபால் காட்டும் விகுதிகளை ஏற்று வருதல் போலவே, குறிப்புவினையும் திணைபால் விகுதிகளை ஏற்று வருதல்.

அவன் சென்றான், வந்தனன்—தெரிநிலைவினை ஆன் அன் விகுதிகளை ஏற்றுவருதல்.

அவன் நாட்டான், பொன்னன்—குறிப்பு வினை அவ் விகுதிகளை ஏற்றுவருதல்.

2. தெரிநிலைவினை வேற்றுமையுருபுகளை ஏலாமை போல், குறிப்பு வினையும் அவற்றை ஏற்பதில்லை.

3. தெரிநிலைவினை வாக்கியத்தில் பயனிலை யாதல் போல், குறிப்பு வினையும் பயனிலையாக வரும்.

¹⁰ தொல். சொல். வினையியல், 16, 17, 23.

4. சிவஞான சுவாமிகளின் கருத்துப்படி, தெரிநிலைவீணையில் பகுதியில் பொருள் சிறந்து நின்றல் போல் குறிப்புவினையிலும் பகுதியில் பொருள் சிறந்து நிற்கும்¹¹.

தெரிநிலைவினை குறிப்புவினை என வினைச் சொல்லின் இருவகைகளாக இவை பாகுபாடு செய்து கூறப்படினும், மேற்குறித்த வேறுபாடுகளை ஆராயினும், அல்லது பொதுத்தன்மைகளை ஆராயினும், குறிப்புவினை எனப்படுவது வினைச்சொல் என்று என்பது தெளிவாகும். இலக்கண நூலார் அதனை வினை என வழங்கினும், அது பெயரே என்பது பின்வரும் காரணங்களால் புலப்படும்.

1. தமிழ்மொழியில் பெயர்க்கும் வினைக்கும் பொதுவான வினையடிகள் உண்டு (மலர்ந்தன, மலர்களை). வினையாக அமைந்துவிட்ட ஒரு சொல்லிலிருந்து பெயர்ச்சொல் அமைதலும் உண்டு (காட்சிகள், போனவன்). ஆயின், பெயர்ச்சொல்லாக வடிவு பெற்ற சொல்லிலிருந்து வினைச்சொல் அமைதல் இல்லை. தமிழ்மொழியின் இயல்பை ஆராய்வார்க்கு இவ்வுண்மை எளிதில் புலப்படும்.

ஜி.யு. போப், லாசரஸ்¹² முதலான ஐரோப்பியர் தமிழ்பற்றி எழுதிய நூல்களில், சிலபெயர்ச்சொற்களிலிருந்து வினைச்சொற்கள் அமைந்தன எனக் காட்டுவர். அவர்கள் காட்டியுள்ள எடுத்துக்காட்டுக்கள் அனைத்தும் வடசொற்களாக இருத்தலின், அவ்வியல்பு தமிழ்க்கு இல்லை என்பது விளங்கும். அவர்கள் காட்டியுள்ள சொற்கள் சில:

பெயர்	வினை
பிரகாசம்	பிரகாசி
தியானம்	தியானி
பிரசங்கம்	பிரசங்கி

நடம்—நடித்த, நடிக்கும்

இவை தமிழ்ச் சொற்கள் அல்ல; போப் அவர்களே, இவ்வாறு வழங்குதல் அருகிய வழக்கு என்று குறிப்பிடுகிறார். இவை வடசொற்கள்; சிறுபான்மையாகப் பெயர்ச் சொல்லிலிருந்து வினைச் சொல் பிறத்தல் வடமொழியில் உண்டு; ஆங்கிலம் முதலிய மொழிகளிலும் உண்டு.¹³

11. "வினைக் குறிப்புச் சொல்லெல்லாம் தெரிநிலைவினைபோல முதன்மையிற் பொருள் சிறந்து நிற்கும். பெயர்ச்சொல் ஆவலாறு அன்றி விருதியில் பொருள் சிறந்து நிற்கும்." —தொல்காப்பிய முதற் குத்திர விருத்தி. v. 54-56.

12 G. U. Pope, *First Lessons in Tamil*, p. 111

John Lazarus, *A Tamil Grammar*, p. 175.

13 S. K. Chatterji, *The Growth and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 880.

Otto Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, p. 165.

அருகி வழங்கும் இவ் வடசொல்வழக்கினைப் பார்த்துத் தமிழிலும் சில வினைச்சொற்கள் பெயர்ச்சொற்களிலிருந்து அமைதல் உண்டு. ஒப்புமையாக்கமாக (analogical formation) இவ்வாறு அமையும் சொற்கள் தமிழின் இயல்புக்கு மாறாக இருத்தலின், இவை மொழி வழக்கில் இடம் பெறுவதில்லை.

பெயர்
முயற்சி
கவர்ச்சி

வினை
முயற்சிக்கிறான்
கவர்ச்சித்தது

இவை தவறு என்றே கடியப்படுதல் காணலாம்.

பெயர்ச்சொற்களிலிருந்து வினைச்சொற்களை அமைக்கும் தேவை ஏற்பட்டால், தமிழ் மொழி அதற்கு ஏற்ற வழியை வகுத்துக்கொள் கிறது. அதாவது : வேறொரு வினைச்சொல் சேர்த்தோ, துணைவினை (auxiliary verb) சேர்த்தோ, பெயர்ச்சொற்களை அவ்வாறு பயன்படுத்து கிறது.

வேறொரு வினை சேர்த்து அமைக்கும் முறை :-

முயற்சி- முயற்சி செய்தான்
கவர்ச்சி—கவர்ச்சி தந்தது

துணைவினை சேர்த்து அமைக்கும் முறை :-

கண்—கண்ணுற்றான்
கேள்வி—கேள்விப்பட்டான்

படு, ஆகு முதலியவை சேர்ந்து பெயர்ச்சொல் வினைச்சொல்லாக அமையும் எனக் கூறி, வாசரஸ் பின்வரும் சொற்களைக் காட்டுகிறார். ¹⁴

வறுமை—வறுமைப்படு
வெண்ணை—வெண்டையாகு

ரேனியஸ் என்பவர், குணம் என்ற வட சொல்லிலிருந்து குணப்படு கிறது, குணப்படுத்துகிறது எனச் சொற்கள் அமைதலை எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறார். ¹⁵

ஆகவே, பொன், கருமை, நன்மை முதலான பெயர்ச் சொற் களோடு அன் முதலிய விருதிகள் சேர்ந்து, பொன்னன், கரியர், நல்லது முதலான வினைச்சொற்கள் அமைந்தன என்பதும், அவை குறிப்பு வினை என்பதும், தமிழின் இயல்புக்குப் பொருந்தா. அவ்வாறு அமைந்த பொன்னன் முதலியவற்றைப் பெயர்ச் சொற்கள் எனக் கொள்ளுதலே ஏற்படையதாகும்.

¹⁴ John Lazarus, *A Tamil Grammar*, p. 175.

¹⁵ C. T. E. Rhenius, *A Grammar of the Tamil Language*, p. 114

2. பெயர் என்பது பொருளை உணர்த்துவது ; ஆகவே காலத்தை உணர்த்த வேண்டிய கடப்பாடு இல்லாதது ; இடத்தை ஒட்டிய வேறுபாடுகளை (திணை பால் எண் இடம் வேற்றுமைகளை) உணர்த்துவதற்கு உரியது. வினை என்பது தொழிலை உணர்த்துவது ; அது காலத்தை ஒட்டி நிகழும் நிகழ்ச்சியாதலின், காலத்தை உணர்த்த வேண்டிய கடப்பாடு உடையது. எனவே, பெயர்ச்சொற்கள் கால இடை நிலை பெறாமல் வருதலும், வினைச்சொற்கள் திணைபால் விகுதிகள் பெறாமல் வருதலும் இயல்பாகும். உலகில் பெரும்பாலான மொழிகள் இவ்வாறு உள்ளன. தமிழிலும், வினையாலணையும் பெயரும் காலம் காட்டும் தொழிற் பெயரும் தவிர மற்றப் பெயர்ச்சொற்களில் கால இடைநிலை இல்லை ; படர்க்கை ஒன்றன்பால் பலவின்பால் எதிர் கால வினைமுற்றுக்களில் (அது செய்யும், அவை உண்ணும்) திணை பால் விகுதிகள் இல்லை.

ஆகவே, பொன்னன், கரியர், நல்லது முதலாய சொற்களில் திணை பால் விகுதிகள் இருத்தல் கொண்டு, அவை குறிப்பு வினைகள் என்றும், உண்டனன், சென்றனர், இருந்தது முதலான தெரிநிலைவினைகளோடு ஒத்தன என்றும் கொள்ளல் பொருந்தாது. அண்ணன், புவர், விழுது முதலாய பெயர்ச்சொற்களில் திணை பால் விகுதி இருந்தும் அவற்றைக் குறிப்பு வினையாகக் கொள்ளலாகாமையும் காண்க.

3. தெரிநிலை வினைச்சொற்களாகிய உண்டனன் முதலியன வேற்றுமையுருபுகளை ஏலாமைபோல், குறிப்பு வினைச்சொற்களும் ஏற்பதில்லை. ஆயின் தொழில் செய்தாரை உணர்த்தும் போதும், தொழிலையே உணர்த்தும் போதும் அவை வேற்றுமை யுருபுகளை ஏற்கும்-

உண்டவனைக் கண்டேன்
உண்ணுதலைச் செய்தார்
உண்பதைக் கண்டார்

அந் நிலையில் அவை வினைமுற்றுக்கள் ஆவதில்லை ; பயனிலையாக நிற்பதில்லை. ஆகவே பயனிலையாக நிற்கும் தெரிநிலை வினைமுற்றுக்கள் வேற்றுமையுருபுகள் ஏற்பதில்லை எனலாம். வினையாலணையும் பெய ராகவும் தொழிற் பெயராகவும் அமையும் சொற்கள் மட்டுமே வேற்றுமைகள் ஏற்பது காணலாம்.

அதனால் பயனிலையாக நிற்கும் சொற்கள் வேற்றுமை யுருபு ஏற்ப தில்லை எனக் கொள்ளல் வேண்டும். இது பெயர்ச்சொற்களுக்கும் பொருந்துவது. பொன்னன், கரியர், நல்லது முதலான சொற்களும் பயனிலைகளாக நிற்குமிடத்து உருபு ஏற்பதில்லை ; மற்ற இடங்களில் ஏற்கின்றன.

அவர் கரியர், அது நல்லது.
கரியர்க்குத் தந்தேன். நல்லதைக் கொண்டான்.

ஆதலின், பயனிலையாக நிற்கும்படித்து வேற்றுமை யுருபு ஏலாமை பற்றி, அவற்றைக் குறிப்பிவினை எனக்கொண்டு வினைச்சொற்பாற் படுத்தல் பொருந்தாது.

4. எந்தச் சொல்லும் பயனிலையாக நின்றல் உண்டு. இது உலக மொழிகள் பலவற்றிலும் காணப்படுவது.¹⁶ தமிழில் பெரும்பாலும் தெரிநிலைவினைமுற்றுக்கள் பயனிலையாக நிற்கின்றன. ஆயின், தமிழிலக்கணப்படி, வினைச்சொற்களே அல்லாமல் பெயர்ச்சொற்களும் பயனிலையாக வரலாம்.

பொருண்மை சுட்டல் வியங்கொள வருதல்
வினைநிலை உரைத்தல் வினாவிற்கு ஏற்றல்
பண் கொள வருதல் பெயர்கொள வருதலென்று
அன்றி அனைத்தும் பெயர்ப்பயனிலையே¹⁷.

எழுவா யுருபு திரிபில் பெயரே
வினைபெயர் வினாக்கொளல் அதன்பயனிலையே¹⁸

என்னும் விதிகள், பெயர் பயனிலையாக வருதற்கு இடந்தருகின்றன.

அகத்தியம் என மயிலைநாதர் காட்டும் நூற்பாவும் அவ்வாறே கூறுகிறது :

வினைநிலை உரைத்தலும் வினாவிற்கு ஏற்றலும்
பெயர்கொள வருதலும் பெயர்ப்பயனிலையே.¹⁹

வினை போலவே பெயரும் பயனிலையாக வருதல் கிரேக்கம் முதலிய மொழியார்க்கும் உடன்பாடே ஆகும்.²⁰ ஆகவே,

அவன் பொன்னன்
அவர் கரியர்
அது நல்லது

முதலான வாக்கியங்களில் பயனிலையாக உள்ளவற்றைப் பெயர்ச் சொற்கள் என்றே கொள்ளலாம்; குறிப்பிவினைகள் எனக் கொள்ளத் தேவை இல்லை.

5. சிவஞான சுவாமிகள் கூறுவதன்படி பததியில் பொருள் சிறந்து நின்றல் பற்றி அவற்றைக் குறிப்பிவினை எனக் கொள்ளல் வேண்டுவதில்லை.

¹⁶ W. B. Pillsbury and C. L. Meader, *The Psychology of Language*, p. 278.

¹⁷ தொல். சொல். வேற்றுமையியல், 5.

¹⁸ நன்னூல், பெயரியல், 38.

¹⁹ —அடி 37, மயிலைநாதருரை.

²⁰ "A predicate is a verb or a noun united with the subject by the copula."—Anatol F. Seménov, *The Evolution of the Greek Language*, p. 162.

அவன் அண்ணன்
அவர் புலவர்
அது விழுது

அவற்றின் பயனிலைகளிலும், பகுதியில் பொருள் சிறந்து நிற்கிறது. அது பற்றி அவை குறிப்புவினையாமாறு இல்லை.

ஆகவே, குறிப்புவினை என இலக்கண நூலார் கூறுவனவற்றை வினைச்சொற்கள் எனக் கொள்ளாமல், பெயர்ச்சொற்கள் என்றே கொள்ளுதல் பொருந்தும்.

அவர் கரியர்
அவர் புலவர்

முன்னதில் கரியர் என்பது குறிப்புவினை என்றும், பின்னதில் புலவர் என்பது பெயர்ச்சொல் என்றும் கொள்வதில் பொருள் இல்லை. கரியர், புலவர் என்னும் சொற்கள் இரண்டும் அர் விசுதிபெற்றுப் பெயரடியாக அமைந்த சொற்களே.

அது நல்லது
அது கல்

என்பவற்றிலும், நல்லது என்பதைக் குறிப்புவினை என்றும், கல் என்பதைப் பெயர்ச்சொல் என்றும் கொள்ளல் பொருந்தாது. முன்னது திணைபால் காட்டும் விசுதியோடு அமைந்தது; பின்னது விசுதியின்றி அமைந்தது. இரண்டும் பெயர்ச்சொற்களே.

இக்காலத்து மொழிபாராய்ச்சியால் பெற்ற ஒரு தெளிவு, இத் தடுமாற்றத்தை அறவே போக்குகிறது. அதாவது : ஒரு சொல்லுக்குத் தனியே வடிவம் ஒன்று உண்டு; அது வாக்கியத்தில் நின்று தரும் பயன்வகை வேறு ஒன்று உண்டு. ஒருவர் தனியே பெயரும் வடிவமும் உடையவராக இருக்கிறார். அவரே வாழ்க்கையில், சிலர்க்கு மகனாகவும், சிலர்க்குத் தந்தையாகவும், சிலர்க்கு அண்ணனாகவும், சிலர்க்குத் தம்பியாகவும், சிலர்க்கு நண்பராகவும், சிலர்க்குப் பகைவராகவும் இருக்கிறார். அதுபோல், ஒரு சொல்லே, வடிவத்தால் பெயராகவும் இருக்கிறார். அதுபோல், ஒரு சொல்லே, வடிவத்தால் பெயராகவோ வினையாகவோ இருக்கலாம்; பயன்வகையால் அச் சொல்லே எழுவாயாகவோ, பயனிலையாகவோ, பெயரடையாகவோ, செயப்படு பொருள் முதலியனவாகவோ இருக்கலாம்.

கல்	—	பெயர்ச்சொல்
கல் விழுந்தது	—	எழுவாய்
அது கல்	—	பயனிலை
கல் மனம்	—	பெயரடை
கல் எறிந்தான்	—	செயப்படுபொருள்
கல்லால் எறிந்தான்	—	கருவிப்பொருள்

இவ்வாறே ஏனைய பயன்வகைகளும் ஆப்து கொள்ளலாம்.

ஆகவே, ஒரு சொல், வடிவம் (form) பற்றியும், பயன்வகை (function) பற்றியும் வெவ்வேறுக இருத்தல் இயல்பு எனக் கொள்ளல் வேண்டும். தெரிநிலைவினை குறிப்புவினை என்னும் பழைய குறியீடுகளால் மயங்குதல் கூடாது.

அவன் வந்தனன்
அவன் பொன்னன்

என்னும் வாக்கியங்களில், வந்தனன் என்பது வடிவத்தால் வினைச் சொல்; பயன்வகையால் பயனிலை. பொன்னன் என்பது வடிவத்தால் பெயர்ச்சொல்; பயன்வகையால் பயனிலை. இரண்டு வாக்கியங்களும் ஒரே வகையானவை; ஆயின் இரண்டிலும் உள்ள பயனிலைகள் வடிவத்தால் ஒரே வகையான சொற்கள் அல்ல. வந்தனன் என்பது வினைச் சொல்லாதலால், பொன்னன் என்பதும் வினைச் சொல்லாக இருத்தல் வேண்டும் எனக் கருதலும், அது காலம் காட்டாமை பற்றிக் குறிப்புவினை எனக் கொள்ளலும் பொருந்தா. வினைச்சொல் பயன்படுதல் போலவே பெயர்ச்சொல்லும் பயன்படுதல் பற்றி, பெயர்ச்சொல் வினைச்சொல்லாகிவிடாது.

வந்த நண்பன்
அந்த நண்பன்

இவற்றுள் வந்த என்பது வினைச்சொல்லாதலால், அந்த என்பதும் வினைச்சொல் ஆதல் இல்லை. இவை வடிவத்தால் வேறுபட்டு, பயன்வகையால் ஒத்துநிற்கும் சொற்கள். முன்னது வினைச்சொல்; பின்னது கூட்டு. இரண்டும் பெயர்க்கு அடையாகப் பயன்படுதல் காணலாம்.

கொல் யானை
நல் யானை

இவற்றுள் கொல் என்பது வினை. நல் என்பது பண்பு. இவையும் வடிவத்தால் வேறுபட்டு, பயன்வகையால் ஒரு தன்மையாக உள்ள சொற்கள். இவை போன்றவற்றை ஆய்ந்து தெளிந்தால், குறிப்புவினை என்பது ஒன்று இல்லை என்பதும், சில பெயர்ச் சொற்களே பயன்வகை நோக்கி அவ்வாறு கொள்ளப்பட்டன என்பதும் புலப்படும்.

தேங்கி நிற்காமல் முன்னேறிச் செல்லும் அறிவியல்துறை எதுவும், புதுக் குறியீடுகளையாவது அவ்வப்போது கையாள வேண்டும்; அல்லது, பழைய குறியீடுகளைத் திருத்திக்கொள்ள வேண்டும். மரபாக வழங்கிவரும் குறியீட்டுச் சொற்கள், புதிய ஆராய்ச்சியாளரின் மனங்களைக் குறுகச் செய்வதுடன், செழிப்புற்று வளராதபடி தடையாகவும் நிற்கின்றன என்று அறிஞர் பெஸ்பர்ஸன் கூறுவது இங்குக் கருத்தக்கது²¹.

²¹ Any branch of science that is not stationary, but progressive, must from time to time renew or revise its terminology... Traditional terms often cramp the minds of investigators and may form a hindrance to fertile developments.—Otto Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar*, Chapter XXV.

Dative in Early Old Tamil

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

The purpose of this short study is to describe the use of the dative and its functions in the Early Old Tamil¹ text *Narrinai*.² Again and again I remember the words of Roland G. Kent (in "Linguistic Science and Orientalist," *JAOS*, 55, 119) : "The first step toward the scientific knowledge of a language is to draw a careful descriptive study of it." As far as the Dravidian languages are concerned, I regard this "first step" as a condition *sine qua non*, as a task of basic and utmost importance. When investigating a language in which, fortunately enough, ancient texts have been preserved, it is natural that such descriptive study starts with the analysis of these texts, which form both materially and historically a certain complete and closed unit. Besides, it is a fact that "our speech depends entirely upon the speech of the past" (Bloomfield). Only after we have a series of seemingly very simple synchronic descriptions of different stages of evolution of the language in question, it will be possible to advance to honest historic

¹ Tentatively, as a sort of working hypothesis, we presume that there are three periods of the evolution of Tamil : *Old Tamil*, *Middle Tamil*, *New Tamil*. As Old Tamil we determine the language of the early texts beginning with the poems of *Ettuttokai* (Early Old Tamil, ca. the first three or four cent. A.D.) ; then comes Middle Old Tamil (*Cilappatikaram* and the early didactic poems, e.g. *Tirukkural*) and Late Old Tamil (the language of later didactic texts, e.g. *Innanarpatu*). It is fairly obvious that the language of the Shaivite and Vaishnavite hymns (beginning with the 7th-8th cent.) shows well-marked changes, which enable us to regard this type of language as a new period in the development, as Middle Tamil. However, it is necessary to be cautious. This periodization, based only on literary monuments, is fully tentative, and the chronology only relative. Only after we have accomplished fully the analysis of all literary and epigraphic monuments will it be possible to base our conclusions on a more solid soil.

² *Narrinai* is one of the collections of the great anthology *Ettuttokai*. Naturally enough, there are earlier and later strata in all these collections. The majority of *Narrinai* poems may perhaps belong to the 1st-3rd cent. A.D. It contains 400 stanzas ; the total number of lines is 4181 (according to the edition of A. Narayanasami Aiyar, The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Tinnevely, 1952).

and comparative work, which will result in perfect knowledge of the language in its diachrony.

Having this in mind, I began to analyse the Early Old Tamil text *Narriṇai*. This short study about the dative is a very small part of a series of syntactic studies which would form the basis of a descriptive syntax of Old Tamil.

§ 1. It is not within the scope of this study to try to solve the problem of cases in Tamil and Dravidian in general. So far, the Dravidianists have not reached any other conclusion than that which had been somewhat vaguely indicated by Caldwell and more distinctly formulated by Bloch : there is some important difference between the cases with terminations of concrete meaning, of concrete value, e.g. locative, sociative, instrumental, and cases with terminations of grammatical value (accusative, genitive, dative).³

In Early Old Tamil we find the opposition of a basic form with zero-morpheme and an oblique form. On the other hand, we have the subject case (nominative), a well-marked case of indirect object (dative), a case of adnominal relation (genitive), an unbalanced and embryonic case of direct object (accusative). Other cases are simple basic or oblique forms (incidentally extended by inflexional increments, *cāriyai*) plus different terminations with concrete value, e.g. -oṭu, -ōṭu, -uṭan for sociative relation, *koṇṭu* for instrumental relation, -in, -il, -uḷ for locative relation.

The classification of cases from the etymological standpoint into those which may be analysed as bases plus postpositions with concrete value (*il* "place, house", *uḷ* "interior", *vaṇin* "place", *koṇṭu* "having taken, with" etc.) and into those where it is so far impossible to etymologize,

³ Says Caldwell : "The Dravidian dative has, therefore, assumed the character of a real grammatical case" (2nd ed., p. 93). Cf. J. Bloch, *Structure*, p. 15 : "Le premier cas est celui des desinences a valeur grammaticale, accusatif, datif, genitif ; le second, celui des desinences a valeur concrete comme celle de locatif et souvent d'ablatif."

coincides with the classification of cases into those with concrete value and those with grammatical value. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar's articles in *Indian Historical Quarterly* 1928 and 1929 indicate other possibilities, distinguishing between "earlier" and "later" cases. However, in the Early Old Tamil texts both types of cases seem to be already in full development.^{3a}

§ 2. One of the typical Dravidian relational cases with termination of grammatical value is the *dative*. Its termination in Tamil is *-(k)ku*. It may be characterized partly as the case of indirect object, partly as the case in immediate constituency with a verbal or nominal base. In Tamil grammatical terminology it is called *koṭaivērrumai*, which is the same as our term *dative*.

We may distinguish between the *direct dative* (the only object of a verbal or nominal base) and the *indirect dative* (found as indirect object together with a direct object); the *dative commodi et incommodi* has often adverbial character.

A. DIRECT DATIVE

1. LOCAL RELATION.

a dative terminative :

1. *celvar kol...tam...ūrkke?* will they go...to their village? (4, 7...12).
2. *makaṭ keytac cenru*, having approached the girl (6, 4-5).

^{3a} The following scheme of cases seems to appear in Early Old Tamil.

1. *Nominative* is the case of the Subject or Actor (this in constructions with verbal and participial nouns, conjugated nouns and rel. participles);
2. *Accusative* is the case of nearer goal;
3. *Dative*;
4. *Instrumental*, one of the cases of further goal, used to express instrument; used richly in *adverbiale modi*;
5. *Sociative*, one of the cases of further goal, used to express the concept of association and sociality, also in *adverbiale modi*;
6. *Locative* and *Ablative*; used in *adverbiale loci* and *temporis* to express local and temporal determination of the action and state: static *Locative* and dynamic *Ablative*;
7. *Relative*, used in *adverbiale relationis* to express the idea of relation and regard, as well as some objects of some verbs;
8. *Genitive*. As case used with some verbs to express their object.

3. *nelliṟku...malai polintāṅkē*, as if rain poured...on paddy (22, 10...11).
4. *elli vanta...virunṭirku...vēṇṭuvōrē*, he who has desire, having come in the night to the feast (41, 6...10).
5. *cirunallūrkkē... (ceṇṇu)*, having gone to the small good village (49, 10).
6. *emakkē varukatil viruntē!* to us let the guests come! (120, 10).
7. *ūrkkup pōvōyāki*, when thou goest to the village (200, 7).
8. *cirukurum paravaikkōṭi*, having flown to the small short bird (277, 9).
9. *celvaṇ celluṅkol tāṇē...ūrkkē?* will the lord himself perhaps go...to the village? (344, 8...12).
- * 10. *kātali...emakkumār varumē*, the sweetheart will come to us (356, 8...9).

b. motion from (to escape) :

1. *malaiyaṇatu | oru vēṛku ōṭi*, having escaped from the unique sceptre of *Malaiyaṇ* (170, 7-8).⁴

c. other local relations :

1. *cāṇṇōr...kurumakaṭku | ayalōr*, the wise men...are neighbours to the young woman (220, 5...10).
2. *vayappuli | irainacaiṇ parikku malaimutal cirunerī*, a small path at the mountain-base, where a mighty tiger, longing for prey, (is) in hide (332, 6-7).⁵

⁴ Cf. New Ta. *cavukkuttappipponen* "Ich entging dem Tode" (Beythan, *Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache*, p. 183).

⁵ For dative with local meaning. Cf. Ka. *tumkurige seridaru*, they arrived at Tumkur (Spencer); Br. *i khane rasengat*, I came up to the khan; *shahre khurk kare narra*, when he got near to the town he ran off (Bray); Kol. *a-n...homhoin saatun*, I will go to Bombay; *amd u-run vatten*, he came to the village (Emeneau). Cf. also New Ta. *arrukku ippuram*, at this side of the river; *koyilukkup pin*, behind the temple; *avanukku mun*, in front of him.

2. THE RELATION OF SIMILARITY, AGREEMENT (dissimilarity, disagreement), SUITABILITY AND COMPETENCY.

a. to be like :

1. *tātukku anna...titti*, yellow spots...similar to pollen (157, 9-10).

b. to agree :

2. *vāymaikku ērpa | namar*, those of our party agree with the word (393, 9-10).

c. to be right, fit, suitable :

3. *nallatār | kuriyai...eṇ neñcē*, thou art right, my heart, with regard to the good (16, 3...4).⁶
4. *piṛar | viṭuttarkākātu piṇittaven neñcē*, my captured heart is not fit to be released by others (95, 9-10).
5. *vallaiyākutal ollumō niṇackē ?* does the becoming of trouble perhaps suit thee ? (162, 12).⁷

3. DATIVE OF CAUSE AND PURPOSE.

1. *āḷvinaikku akanrōr*, he that has left for the sake of manly deeds (69, 10). Similarly in 103, 10 ; 214, 8 ; 246, 6 ; 333, 7.
2. *yāñ cey tolvinaikku evan pēturrānai ?* why art thou bewildered with regard to (because of) the old deeds done by us ? (88, 1).
3. *kurumakaṭku | uyaviṇēṇ*, I am in distress because of the young girl (106, 4-5).
4. *notumalāṭṭikkku nōm eṇ neñcē*, because of the woman from the neighbourhood my heart aches (118, 11).
5. *cērpṇarṇku | yāñinaintu iṇāṅkēṇ*, I do not cry because of the chief, thinking (on him) (275, 6-7).

⁶ Cf. the Czech *byti prav necemu*, to be right with regard to something, with dative.

⁷ Cf. Ka. *adakku idakku baḥu hecchukadame ide*, there is a great difference between that and this (Spencer).

6. *kokkinukku oḷinta tīpaḷam*, the sweet fruit which fell down on account of the heron (280, 1).
7. *oṭṭiya | nin tōḷ aṇipera varaṅkum | aṇṇō, tōḷi, avar cenra tiramē*, his gone excellence is not, O friend, to come and adorn thy lean arms (286, 7-9).
8. *avaṇūr viṇavic cenmō... tōḷi... varaṅkē*, go and inquire after his village,... O friend,... for the sake of coming (365, 9).
9. *vaṭapula vātaikkup pirivōr | maṭavar*, those who leave on account of the north-wind from northern regions (366, 11-12)⁸.

4. TEMPORAL RELATION.

1. *nilavil... kaṇṭarku māyirun tāli kavippa*, so that (I) may be buried in the big black urn before I had to go in search (of her) in the moonlight (271, 10-11).⁹
2. *talaināṭketiriya tanpeyal elili*, the cloud of cold rain which appeared on the previous day (362, 3).¹⁰

5. RELATION OF REGARD, EVENT, KINSHIP.

1. *acaiyutaṇ iruntōrkku arumpuṇarvu inṁ*, there is no real friendship with those who have been idle (214, 2).

⁸ Cf. *Parji pal nendug parnato*, the fruit has ripened on account of the warmth of the sun; *duvin toḷug andkiter*, they killed the tiger for its skin; *nurṇilug an tunena*, I did not sleep for mosquitos (Burrow); *Ka ninimannu noduvudakke bandena*, I have come in order to see you (Spencer); *Br. shahrana pulingki hinane*, he's gone to sack the village (Bray); the Tamil interrogative *etarku* ("what for") "why" is dative of purpose, like *Kol. ta-n* and *tanḍin*, why?

⁹ Cf. *Ka. ninu huttuvudakkiṉta munche nanu i urinalḷi vasamadustid-denu*, I was living in this town before you were born, and *avaru haruvudakke modalu kelasavellavu mugidittu*, the work was all completed before they came (Spencer).

¹⁰ Cf. *Ka. sayangkalakke ba*, come in the evening; *divasavakke muru sari*, three times a day (Spencer); *Parji ticer cenverug*, on the third Saturday (Burrow); *Kol. in natuni takten*, he remained for two days only; *sittena thun oppadan*, in the evening he will be found; *a-len* at night (Emeneau).

2. *kātal kaimmikakkaṭṭiyarṭku | yāṅkākuvan kol, tōḷi ?*
how shall we, O friend, come into contact with the
one who has been filled with pain when love had
exceeded the limits ? (313, 5-6).
 3. *vāṇara makaḷirṭku mēvalākum vaḷarāppārppirṭku,*
to the ungrown fledgelings who come into contact
with the celestial maidens (356, 4-5).
 4. *uruvinaikkacavā ... kammiyan,* the smith ... not
slack toward the work done (by him) (363, 4).
 5. *tērōṭṭu oṭṭanem · allēm,* we shall not come into
contact with the charioteer (380, 6).
 6. *yāṇē nī emāḱku ?* who art thou to us ? (395, 1).¹¹
6. POSSESSIVE DATIVE.
1. *nekiṇtana vaḷaiṭṭē ... poruntōḷāṭkē,* loosened are the
bracelets ... of her who has broad shoulders (26,
1...9).
 2. *nāṭar paṭarntōṭṭukkuk kaṇ ṇum paṭumō ?* do perhaps
the eyes of those who have been thinking upon the
chief, close ? (61, 9-10).
 3. *uraiyāy ... niṇakkup peruntuyaram ākiya nōyē,* tell
about the pain, which has become great grief to thee
(123, 1...12).
 4. *kaṇṇē ... vaṭiṇṭantaṇavē ... aṇpālmāyōṭkē,* the eyes
of the dark woman with five-fold tresses have lost
(their) beauty (133, 1...5).
 5. *aṇṇum ākum aṭṭu aṇiātōṭṭkē,* thus that becomes to
those who do not know (174, 8).
 6. *eṇakkē ... paiyul tīrum,* it stops...my distress
(209, 6...7).

¹¹ Difficult to say whether the dative in this line means kinship relation ; the context is not against this interpretation, and in New Ta. kinship relation is generally expressed by the dative : either *avan en maṇan* or *avan enakku maṇan*, he is my son ; cf. also Ka. *avanu ninage taṇṇaṇo ?* is he your brother ? (Spencer) ; *ninaḱku yaṇ kilainan allan*, I am not a relative to thee (Akam 342).

7. *poruḷvayin | pirital āṭavarkku iyalp(u)*, it is the nature of men to go away for the sake of riches (243, 9-10).
8. *aṟivuṇ karitō...ninakkē*, and thou verily hast black mind (277, 4).
9. *ivaṭkē...pūvenappacalai ūrum manṇō*, lo, to her...flower-like paleness is spreading (349, 8).
10. *neṭuvēṭku ētam uṭaittō?* is it perhaps the guilt of Neṭuvēl?
11. *nannutarṅku | yāṅkākinṟu kol pacappē?* how did the paleness of the fair forehead appear? (388, 1-2).¹²

7. DATIVE WITH DIFFERENT VERBAL AND NOMINAL BASES.

a. to know, understand, trust in, investigate into :

1. *ninakkō aṟiyunaḷ, neñcē...nakaḷē?* either 1. dost thou understand the daughter, O heart? or 2. does she understand thee, O heart,...the girl? (44, 5).¹³
2. *nin | piḷaiyā nanmoḷi tēriya ivaṭkē*, thy good speech without fault has been trusted by her (10, 9).
3. *neñcañ ceyviṇaikkku cāvāy...varuntuṅkollō?* will perhaps the heart suffer, investigating into the deeds done? (56, 5...6).

b. to pass beyond :

4. *ceyalpaṭu maṇattar ceyporuṭ | kakalvar*, those who have thought about deeds, pass beyond the very essence of doing (24, 8-9).

¹² Cf. Ka. *avanige bahala kopa untu*, he is very angry (Spencer); Br. *kane ira kharas are*, I've a couple of bullocks (Bray); Kol. *patlakun okkot pill(a) andin*, the headmen had one daughter (Emeneau).

¹³ Cf. commentary *ninnalo aval ariyattakkal?* The comm. denotes the dative *ninaku* as *urupumayakkam*, "confusion of case". Cf. however Br. *sarkare sardateat rajak much kariṇai o*, the tribesmen are to be collected by Government through the chiefs (Bray 53) with the dative of agent (*sarkarē*). Also Kol. *gaḷin ma-k dola*, the tree will be felled by the wind; *podne uban sirval a-rav*, the fuel dries in the heat of the sun (rather: by the heat); these cases, however, may be analysed as datives of cause, but *inun ta-net kandakt eddin*, what was seen by you? (Emeneau). However, if we dismiss the commentary, we might translate "does the daughter understand thee?", *ari-* with dative; however, cf. Kol. *inun kelu to-te*, you (pl.) don't understand, which supports rather the first interpretation.

c. to help.

5. *niṇ...pacalaikkutavāmārē*, since (he) does not help thy...paleness (47, 10...11).
 6. *nēriḷai kaṭumputaik kaṭuñcūl naikuṭikku utavi*, (she of) well-formed jewels, the possession or (our) family, having helped our clan (after) intensive pregnancy (370, 1-2).

d. to hide from :

7. *niṇakkiyāṇ maraittal yāvatu* ? what did I hide from thee ? (72, 4).

e. to honour, worship :

8. *karuviraṇ mantikku varuviruntu ayaṛum | vāntōy verpa*. O chief of the hills, soaked by rain, (the hills ?) which honour black-fingered monkeys as coming guests (353, 6-7).
 9. *tāmaraikku iraiñcum...ūraṇ*, the villager...worshipping lotus (300, 4).
 10. *niṇakkiyāṇ...māṇṇinen*, I honour (?) thee (128, 3...4).

f. to be afraid of :

11. *aṭaintatarku | inaiyaḷ*, be not afraid of going (372, 9-10).¹⁴

g. to obey :

12. *cērparku...kēṭṭanrō ilamē*, we have certainly not obeyed...the chief (239, 8-9).

h. to be pleased with :

13. *kuṛumakaḷ...nakaikku maṇiñtōyē*, thou hast been pleased with the smile...of the young woman (190, 8...9).

¹⁴ Regular also in New Ta., cf. *katavulukkup payantavar*, one who feared God (*Rajarajan*, a modern novel) ; also Ka. *adakke heḍarikondenu*, I was terrified by (at) it (Spencer) ; Parji *duvug naraṇṇēd*, he is afraid of the tiger (Burrow).

i. to be difficult, to be easy :

14. *maṛattar̥karitāl*, *pāka*,...*nilaiyē*, since the state is difficult to forget, O charioteer (42. 1...12).
15. *maṛutarar̥ku* | *ariya*, they are difficult to reject (32, 6-7).
16. *koyar̥karuntalaiyē*, leaves difficult to pluck (359, 9).
17. *aruñcuram eḷiya maṇ niṇakkē*, the difficult paths (are) only easy for thee (141, 7). Cf. also 352, 9...10.

j. to love :

18. *avaṭṭk¹avaḷ²* | *kātalaḷ³*, she² loves³ her¹ (176, 3-4).
19. *nātar̥kuk* | *kāṭal ceytal*, to make love to the chieftain (268, 5-6).

B. INDIRECT DATIVE

1. DATIVE PROPER.¹⁵

1. *cīruveṇ kākkai* ... *peṭaiṅku* ... *curakkuñ* | *cīruvi ṇālal*, the *ṇālal* of small blossoms being given by the little white cormorant to the hen (31, 2-5).
2. *arumpiṇi uṇunarkku vēṭṭatu koṭātu*, not giving that which is longed for to those who suffer from serious illness (136, 2).
3. *koṭuvāyppēṭaiṅku* | *muṭamutir nārai kaṭāṇmīn oyyum*, the old heron gives sea-fish to the crooked-beaked female (263, 6-7).
4. *ūrar̥ku* ... *makaṭkoṭai yetirnta*... *peṇṭē*, O woman... who hast opposed to the gift of the daughter...to the chieftain (310, 4...5).
5. *vaḷarāppārppirku*...*iṇai oyyum*, giving plumage... to the ungrown fledgeling (356, 5).

¹⁵ For the term *dative*, cf. *Nannul*, s. 297; when enumerating the functions of dative, *Nannul* mentions at the first place the concept of *dare*, *koṭai*, giving; further it mentions *pakai*, disagreement, enmity, *nercci*, agreement, friendship, *taṭuti*, fitness, *atal*, material, *poruttu*, cause, *murai*, kinship. Cf. also Bechhi, *Grammatica latino-tamulica* (ed. 1917), §20: "4^u = *Casus ku*...correspondet nostro dativo"; Pope III, § 60: "*itan porul koṭai, pakai, taṭuti, niṁittam mutalivavaiyam*".

NOTE : In *Narriṇai* 10, 6...8 the dative-proper-relation is expressed by taxeme of order and zero-allomorph : *cōlār... paḷaiyaṇ vēl vāyttu*, the Chola, having given the lance to the Palaiyan.¹⁶

2. DATIVE COMMUNICATIVE (WITH VERBA DICENDI ET DECLARANDI).

1. *annai... namakkeṇa kūriṇ*, if mother tells us that... (4, 5...6).
2. *kāṇakanāṭark(u)...kūriṇ*, if (I) say unto the chief of the forest (47, 6...7).
3. *uraimati...tuṛaikilavōrkē*, say thou...unto the chief (54, 8...11).
4. *maḱilnarkken...paruvāral ceppātōyē*, thou hast not said (about) my...affliction to the lover (70, 8...9).
5. *innatai... niṇ ikuḷaikku uṇarttu*, 'declare such things to thy companion' (71, 1...2).
6. *niṇ | maṇaiyōṭṭku uraiṇṇal*, I shall tell to thy wife (100, 6-7).
7. *ammalai kilavōrkku uraimati*, tell to the chief of that hill (102, 7).
8. *enakku ṇi uraiyāyāyinaṇai*, thou hast not told me (128, 3).
9. *nam varav(u)...pullarivurūyina kollō ... tēmoḷiyāṭkē* ? the sign of our coming, did the crows tell (it) to the woman of sweet speech ? (161, 8...12).
10. *kunṇa nāṭaṇ ... arumai taṇakku uraiṇṇa*, when the mountain-chief is talking to himself about (thy) excellence (165, 5...6).
11. *yārkkku nonturailkō yāṇē* ? to whom shall I, being afflicted, tell ? (211, 1).

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. Tel. *naku a pustakamu iccina adadi*, the woman who gave me that book (Master) ; Parji *papkulug in na cirat*, what will you give to the children (Burrow) ; Kol. *avrun inam si-ātun*, I will give them a reward (Emeneau).

12. *iṇṇiyevan moḷikō yāṇē...aruṇcuram munṇiyōrkkē?*
what shall I say now to that one who left previously
for the terrible desert? (224, 8...11).
13. *nāṭarku uraittal onṛō... aṇṇaikkuraittal onṛō* say-
ing one thing to the lord...and saying one (other)
thing to the mother (244, 5...7).
14. *aṇṇaikkū.. vēlaṇ uraikkum enpa*, they say the god
Vēlan speaks...to the mother (273, 4...5).
15. *iṛantōrkkū | eṇ nilai uraiyāy*, thou didst not say
about my state to him who went away (277, 11-12).

Similarly the communicative dative is found in *Narrinai* 236, 5; 263, 1...4; 291, 5; 426, 5; 376, 9; 389, 3 and 296, 8-9.¹⁷

¹⁷ It is necessary in this connection to draw attention to the fact that there are several instances of *en-*, to say, tell, utter, express (*verbum dicendi*), having the indirect object in the accusative. Out of four cases in *Narrinai*, in three the verb *en-* is used in the meaning "to say (something) about somebody, to tell with regard to somebody, to say somebody to be so and so", cf. *perumalai natanai varuum enrole*, she said (about) the chief of the lofty hill that he was coming (65, 9); *perunkatar cerppanai | etilalanum enpa*, they say (about) the chief of the big ocean that he is also a stranger (74, 5-6); *mamalai natanai canroy allai enranam*, we said (about) the chief of the lofty hill; thou art not an excellent one (365, 8-9). The last case, however, may be interpreted also: we said to the chief...etc. The construction *en-* plus accusative might be regarded as a sort of ellipse of a postposition meaning *with regard to, concerning to, about* (in New Ta. *parri, kuritu* etc., governing the accusative). On the other hand, the fourth instance, 389, 3...7, definitely points to a different interpretation: *annaikum amarntu nokkinalē, ennaiyum...enal kaval iniyenrole*, mother looked as if pleased and said to me:... (Let thee) guard now the millet-field. Which interpretation is right?

It is interesting to note that *en-* as a *verbum dicendi* with dative is not at all found in our text. This, however, is only an argument *ex silentio*. However, in Kolami (cf. Emeneau, *Kolami, A Dravidian Language*, 1955, p. 119) the verb *idd-*, tell, show, has a dative, "its direct object being either a direct quotation or some other noun not in the immediate construction". The verb *en-*, say (so-and-so), has its object in the accusative. Emeneau gives one instance: *tam ha-nun ennen*, he said to his father, and refers to 5 more examples in his texts; contra is only one instance where *en-* is used with the dative: *ma-salun ennen*, he said to his wife; according to Emeneau, "this dative may be a mistake for the accusative". The Kol. *tam ha-nun ennen* is in analogy with Early Old Ta. *annaikum...ennaiyum...enrole* "and mother...said...to me" (389, 7).

According to a well-educated Tamil speaker, in New Ta. the verb *en-* is used only in the meaning "to say so and so", its object being direct quotation: if the speaker wants to use an indirect object in the dative or with the suffix *-itam*, he must use the verb *col-*, to tell, say: it is possible to say *avan ataiyenran* "he said that", but not *avan avalukku ataiyenran* "he said that to her": it must be *avan avalukku* (or *avalitam*) *atai* (or *ataiyenru*) *ṇonnan*.

C. DATIVE COMMODI AND INCOMMODI

This dative is expressive, broadly speaking, of an action or state which takes place or exists for the sake of somebody or something (both in the positive and negative sense).

1. *kumilīṇ ... kaṇi ... maṭamārku valciyākum*, the kumil-fruit becomes food for the female of the deer (6, 7...8). Similarly in 42, 4...5.
2. *emakku nalaṇ evaṇō ?* what good is (it) perhaps for us ? (45, 7).
3. *yāṅkuc ceyvāṅkol, tōḷi, ... malaikkīlavōrkē ?* what shall we do, O friend, to the mountain-chief ? (51, 1...11).
4. *payaniraiṅku eṭutta maṇinīr*, the crystal-clear water taken for the milk-giving herd of cows (92, 6).
5. *viruntevaṇ ceykō... immaḷaikkē ?* what shall I do in return...to this rain ? (112, 1...9).
6. *kiḷavi... neṅcīrku ēmamāñ ciṇṇē*, the speech...becomes a little consolation for the heart (133, 11).
7. *ōmai... aruṅcuraṇ celvōrkku... niḷalākum*, the ōmai-tree...becomes shade...to those who left for the terrible desert (137, 7...8).
8. *ulakīrku āṇiyāka*, to become the support for the world (139, 1).
9. *maruntu piṇṇitu illai yāṇ urra nōykkē*, there is no other remedy for the pain I have suffered (140, 11).
10. *piṇṇarṅkena muṇḍalum pēraruḷ neṅcamoṭu*, with a heart full of grace trying for (the benefit of) others (186, 8).
11. *emakku | ēmam ākum*, we are safe (lit. to us safety becomes) (192, 11-12).
12. *eṇ tōḷikkku...kauvaiyākinṇratu, aiya, niṇ aruḷē*, to my friend, O sir, thy grace became slander (227, 4...1).

13. *cēval...pēṭaikku | iruñcērru ayirai tēriya*, the cock, going to find small fish (in) black mud for the female (272, 1...5).
14. *inṇai ākutaḷ takumō.. niṇ col nayantōrkkē?* is it right (that) thou art like this...to those who have desire after thy word? (283, 5...9).
15. *kuṇṇa nāṭaṇ kēṇmai namakkē | naṇṇāl*, since the love of the chief of the hills is good for us (285, 8-9).

To quote further examples would mean to amass them *ad nauseam*. The Dative *commodi* is found also in *Narriṇai* 43, 80, 88, 94, 144, 174, 193, 194, 247, 252, 309, 322, 332, 373, all in all in 30 cases.¹⁸

§ 3. As far as the *etymology* of dative suffix is concerned, we are unfortunately able only to repeat Caldwell's view, expressed a hundred years ago: "The locative suffixes *il* and *in* can be explained *ab intra*; but I doubt whether *ku* is capable of an *ab intra* explanation." According to Caldwell there is a connection between the dative termination *-ku*, the formative of verbal nouns, and the sign of futurity, the common "root-idea" being that of "transition". So far, all attempts to explain this suffix of dative have proved futile.¹⁹ A. Chandra Sekhar, *Evolution of*

¹⁸ J. Bloch sees in this function of the Drav. dative one of its typical and most important functions, Cf. his *Structure...* p. 17: "Le datif a gutturale doit donc avoir une valeur plus indirecte; c'est ce que note Bray pour le brahmi; § 39 il le traduit par "for, for the sake of" et le designe § 58 sous le nom de datif d'interet: *i tena havaki da daghare daset*, I sowed this land for my father".

¹⁹ Thus, e.g., the attempt of L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar to connect the dative *-ku* with an "elementary Dravidian base" *kai*, "hand", "make". Very vague and uncertain is also the connection between the Dr. guttural dative and the Indo-Aryan *-ke*, *-ko*. If there is some relation between the two, it is certainly more probable to presume that there had been some influence exercised by Dravidian over Indo-Aryan, than *vice versa*. The origin of the IA. datives *-ke*, *-ko* is, so far, very uncertain (it has been connected with *kṛte*, *kṛtam*, or, on the other hand, with *kam*). It is fairly obvious that the Drav. dative in *-ku* (whatever its original form may have been) is of very ancient origin, which is proved, on the one hand, by its occurrence in all Dravidian speeches including Brahmi, on the other hand, by its existence in the oldest literary monuments of Tamil 2000 years ago. It seems that this case-form belongs to that stratum of grammatical phenomena which had been part of the common stock of Proto-Dravidian.

Malayalam (Poona, 1953), p. 75, footnote, writes : "From a comparison of the dative endings in the principal Dravidian speeches, it is possible to suggest a proto-Dr. form*-ke." This is a problem of historic and comparative investigation, which has not been the task of this study.

Now,*our functional investigation results in the following conclusions :

a. In contradistinction to the Indo-Aryan languages, especially to Hindi which prefers the genitive, Tamil uses the dative case *very frequently*. This *rich* use of dative in *many different functions* is obviously typical for Tamil, since it is met with in the earliest texts extant, and in New Tamil this use is even more variegated and rich.

b. Most notable and numerous is the use of the dative as a case of *commodity* and *incommodity* (in the text of *Narṇai* in 30 cases). Often it is used also in *communicative* function (22 cases) and in different local relations.

c. When asking after a certain *basic idea*, a "root-idea" of the Tamil dative, we reach the conclusion that it is, in an absolute majority of instances, the expression of an action which aims at something, being directed from somebody or something towards somebody or something else, the result of this action being often a change in the goal or in the actor. Thus, when compared e.g. with the locative or genitive in Tamil, it is a case with *dynamic force*, indicating *motion, change, transition*.

[NOTE : For technical reasons the diacritical marks have been omitted for words in other languages in the footnotes. The correct pronunciation of these words may be referred to the text where the diacritical marks are introduced.]

The Contents of Thesawalamai

H. W. TAMBIAH.

The origin and applicability of Thesawalamai were considered in the previous article. An attempt is made in this article to give in outline some of the topics dealt with by Thesawalamai. As observed earlier, the Thesawalamai does not apply to all persons who come under the group described as 'Jaffna Tamils', but only to those who regard the Province of Jaffna as their permanent home or, to give them a legal designation, 'The Malabar Inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna'. It is to be noted, however, that, unlike in the past, the scope of Thesawalamai is much limited at the present time, for, even in the case of the 'Malabar Inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna', the Thesawalamai operates only in certain matters. The rest of the fabric of the law, which governs them, is the general law of the land, which is to be found in enactments, precedents and those principles of Roman-Dutch Law and English Law, which the Ceylon Courts have adopted.

The original law of Thesawalamai has been mutilated and truncated by legislation and altered by precedent. In order to understand the fundamental concepts of Thesawalamai in its pristine purity, the earlier the source one delves into, the better will be the results. An attempt is made to present to the reader an epitome of some of the fundamental concepts of Thesawalamai. A fuller treatment of the contents of Thesawalamai is outside the scope of this article and the student is referred to a fuller treatise on this subject (see *The Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna* by H. W. Tambiah (1950); *The Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon* by H. W. Tambiah (1954) and *Thesawalamai* by Muthukrishna). The Thesawala-

mai principally deals with topics such as slavery, caste, marriage, adoption, succession, servitude and contracts usually entered into are peculiar to an agricultural community. These subjects will be dealt with in this order.

THE LAW OF SLAVERY

Slavery, an institution that was recognised in earlier mediaeval law, was well known to Thesawalamai. The laws of slavery known to Thesawalamai have many similarities to the laws of slavery as found in the *jus gentium* of Roman times, the Indian customary laws and the customary laws of the Kandyan. (For similarities between the Kandyan Law, Bengal Law and Indian Law see *Origins of the Laws of the Kandyans* by Dr. J. D. M. Derrett—University of Ceylon Review, p. 138).

The Thesawalamai distinguished between slaves or *adimakkal* (அடிமக்கள்) and servants of the family or *kudimakkal* (குடிமக்கள்). The barber, the dhoby and a host of other family servants whose presence was necessary in important social events among the Tamils, such as marriages and funerals, belong to the latter category. These were not slaves but were attached to particular Vellala families who levied their dues in exchange for the services they rendered during customary observances (i.e., at a wedding, the dhoby can throw a piece of cloth at any present which is sent by the neighbours and it becomes his property—a practice prevalent among the Tamils of Jaffna as well as the Kandyan Sinhalese. The barber also has his customary dues).

Even the Pariah who had seen better days (The Parayer, who had a pre-Dravidian origin, is even now referred to as the *Adi-Dravida* (ஆதி திராவிடன்), had important functions in ancient society and is still given an important place in Tamil society. The Pariah is given importance in certain matters, as a matter of right, perhaps in view of

his importance in pre-Dravidian times. Although the Paraya is regarded as belonging to one of the lowest rungs in the social ladder by reason of his caste, he is not considered a slave among the Tamils.

SLAVES AMONG THE TAMILS

The Thesawalamai mentions only four kinds of slaves viz., the *Kovias*, the *Chandars*, the *Nallavas* and the *Pallas*.

Kovias :

The origin of *Kovias* is obscure as there is no caste of this description in South India. Sri S. Natesan is of the view that they are from the Telugu country where a caste of a similar name still exists. It is presumed that this caste originated in Jaffna. One view is (see *Yalpana Vaipava Malai* (2nd Edition) p. 57) that the word *Kovia* is derived from *Koyilar* (see *Tamils and Ceylon* by Sabaratnam (1958), which literally means 'servants of the temple'. Another view is (see *Early Settlements in Jaffna* by Sivananthan (1933) in Tamil) that the word is derived from *Ko-Idayar* (கோ-இடையர்) which connotes that they were cowherds. A fourth view is that they were the enslaved Sinhala Vellalas (among the Sinhalese the *Govias* were also referred to as *Goyas*). In view of the extreme affection with which the *Kovia* is treated by the Vellala, and in the absence of any function connected with the temple or the tending of cattle, and in view of the close verbal resemblance between the words *Kovia* and *Goviya*, the better view appears to be that they were Sinhalese Govias. To this group was also added a number of children sold into slavery by Vellala families who were in impecunious circumstances. The *Thesawalamai Code*, after stating that it will be a matter of difficulty to trace the origin of this caste, goes on to say, "it is supposed that some of them were sold in ancient times by their parents or friends to others in need" (see *Thesawalamai Code*—VII. p. 1).

The Chandars :

The *Chandars* were few in number and some, according to the Thesawalamai Code, were registered as *Konias*. During the British period, they became free and performed Government services by assisting in carrying palanquins and providing fodder to elephants belonging to the Government. The regulations affecting slavery, enacted during the early British regime, do not refer to the *Chandars* as slaves for the reason that, during the British regime, they had ceased to be slaves.

The Nallavas :

It is surmised that the *Nallavas* were the remnants of the archers brought by the Tamil Kings according to one view. According to another view, they were the *Nambies* who displaced the *Shaners* who took up the occupation of climbing palm trees in Ceylon. They were called *Nallavars* since *Nalluva* (நல்லு) in Tamil means to climb (see *Yalpana Vaipava Malai*, p. 56). The Thesawalamai Code says that "from their origin, the *Nallavas* were slaves unless the masters through compassion emancipated them."

The Pallas :

The *Pallas* were the family labourers who accompanied their Vellala masters. In India too, this caste is found (see *Races and Tribes in India* by Thurston).

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MASTERS

Thesawalamai records some of the rights of the masters over their slaves. The master could exact service from his slave free of remuneration. He could delegate his slave to perform services due from him to the Government. He had proprietary right over his slave, and this right even extended at one time to the taking of the life of his slave or inflicting any type of corporal punishment or imprisonment. He had the right to control the marriage of his slave

and the power to appropriate his children if both the parents were his slaves, but if a female slave married another's male slave, the master of the male slave had the right to appropriate one male child (see *The Thesawalamai Code VIII (4)-1901—Legislative Enactments*, Vol. 1, p. 24).

The master's undoubted right to the slave's property is recognised by the fact that although the slave was allowed to possess property, the moment he was sold to another, the master had the right to appropriate his property. Further, it is stated in the *Thesawalamai Code*, that when a slave girl was sold, she lost her right to her parents' property, as she belonged to the parent's master, (see Section VIII (69) of the *Thesawalamai Code*).

The master also had the right to inherit the slave's property, if the brothers and sisters of the deceased slave were sold to others, but if they belonged to the same master they were permitted to possess such properties (see *Thesawalamai Code 1(5)-1901 Legislative Enactments*, Vol. 1, p. 24).

The *Thesawalamai Code* states as follows:—"If a *Nallava* or *Palla* slave lived apart from the master, the latter had the right to exact an yearly toll of 4 *Fanams*" (A Dutch coin equivalent to 6 cents).

THE DUTIES OF MASTERS

The master had a number of duties towards his slave. He had to maintain his slave and his family in times of need and defray the expenses incurred by the female slave at her confinement. The *Nallava* and *Palla* slaves were allowed to pawn their children, but the children of *Kovias* and *Chandars* could not be pawned.

METHODS OF ENSLAVEMENT

A person became a slave by being born as the child of a slave, by purchase, gift or inheritance and sometimes

by recall into slavery due to insolent conduct after emancipation.

A slave could become free by emancipation. The Dutch and the British passed various regulations which enabled slaves to get their freedom, but few took advantage of this position.

EMANCIPATION

If a man, who had no children, wanted to emancipate his slave, he had to announce this fact publicly and those who had a claim on the slave were allowed to object. If he wished to emancipate his wife's slave he had to get the consent of his wife's relations. But a couple who had children could emancipate their slaves at pleasure.

SUCCESSION

A man could, at pleasure, emancipate the child by his female slave. When an emancipated child died without issue, his property devolved only on his emancipated brothers and sisters who were related to him on the mother's side. If there were no such brothers and sisters to succeed him, the legitimate children of his father only inherited his property. But property gifted to any one of the emancipated slaves went to the source from which it came. The preference of the emancipated uterine brother and sister and the recognition of the legitimate children of his father as heirs in certain contingencies illustrate the existence side by side of the customs of matrilineal and patrilineal society.

STATUTORY CHANGES

The Dutch, by a series of regulations found in the Old Statutes of Batavia, legislated on slavery. During the early British regime, legislation was passed to mitigate the rigours of slavery. Finally, chiefly through the efforts of Sir Alexander Johnstone, slavery was abolished in Ceylon in 1844.

CASTE

Closely linked with slavery is the institution of caste. There were many customs recorded in the Thesawalamai to regulate the relations between the various castes (For description of the Tamil caste system see *Caste System in Jaffna—Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna* by H. W. Tambiah). But it is not necessary to deal with these matters in view of the fact that the caste system has no legal consequences today.

MARRIAGE

The Tamil Customary Laws regulate the customary form of marriages. For a valid marriage under the Thesawalamai, there should be :

- (a) the consent of the parents, or, if the parents are dead, of their guardians.
- (b) the attainment of the age of maturity.
- (c) the requirement that the bride and bridegroom should be of the same caste.
- (d) the necessary ceremonies.

The General Marriage Ordinance which regulates (a) and (b) contains no prohibition against inter-caste marriages.

So far as the ceremonies are concerned the statute is silent, and customary marriages among the Hindu Tamils are still recognised. (See *Thiagarajah vs. Kurukal*, 1923 (25 N.L.R., 89). Strict monogamy is now enforced by this statute.

Marriage is as much a sacred institution among the Tamils as in the Aryan society. In the time of Manu, marriage was an institution of great fluidity. "The celebrated eight 'forms of marriage'," says Dr. J. D. M. Derrett (*The origins of the Laws of the Kandyans* by J. D. M. Der-

rett, Vol. XIV. *University of Ceylon Review*) "was an attempt to regulate different methods of contracting marriage, all of which were undoubtedly in use in ancient times, mostly among the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India."

The formal type of marriage among the Tamils was simple and devoid of religious rites (see *History of South India* by Nilakanta Sastri). The same is true of Kandyan marriages (Hayley on *Kandyan Law*, p. 174). The ceremonies among the ancient Tamils varied, but in the main consisted of the tying of a necklace, called *tali* by the bridegroom, the present of a cloth to the bride (*kurai*). These ceremonies are performed in the presence of the relations, the barber, and the washerman and is followed by the giving of a feast. (See *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon* by H. W. Tambiah for the marriage ceremonies among the *Vannias*, *Mukkawas* and *Purmas* and the *Vellala* Tamils). The Thesawalamai too recognized these ceremonies as sufficient. In modern times these rights are the only ones observed among the poorer class of *Vellalas* and the lower castes. In some marriages, Ganesha, the God of Nuptials, is invoked by a simple ceremony performed by the elders. The ceremony consists of the planting of a piece of *kusa* grass in a ball of cowdung and invoking the blessings of this deity. (See *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna* by H. W. Tambiah, p. 107).

Among the *Vellalas*, these ceremonies were the only ones observed at one time (See Report of the Commissions regarding the Marriage Ceremonies. Muttukrishna on *Thesawalamai*, p. 180 & 190). In modern times elaborate ceremonies prescribed by *Dharmasastras* are performed. These simple ceremonies are very similar to those of the Malabars of the South-West Coast of India. *Sambandam* is the term used even today to designate the matrimonial alliance in Jaffna. *Sambandam* is the formal marriage known to the Malabars of the South Western Coast of India. The more elaborate form, *Vivaha* practised

today is a more recent innovation by Brahminical priest-craft.

Superimposed on these simple marriage customs described earlier are the Aryan rites performed when Vellalas of the richer and middle class marry. (For an account of the ceremony according to Brahminical rites, see *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna* by H. W. Tambiah, p. 107 et. seq.). As the late Mr. V. Coomaraswamy observes (*Hindu Organ* of 3-8-1933, p. 4) many of these Brahminical ceremonies can be traced to Aryan influence and were brought by the later stream of Tamils.

The *Homam* ceremony, the rites connected with the gift of the virgin (*kannika thanam*), the six kinds of gifts, and the elaborate rites accompanied by the recital of Sanskrit slokas are Aryan rites superimposed on the simple nuptial ceremonies known to the Tamils, namely, the tying of the *tali*, the gift of 'cloth' *kurai* and the feasting of relations.

In the *kumpiddatte* gifts by the mother of the bridegroom and his relations when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's house after the *urvalam* ceremony, one sees the ancient concept of the purchase of a bride. A ceremony known as *vasatpaddy sudandaram* was found among the Chettiars of Colombo. The *vasatpaddy sudandaram* (a price which the bridegroom pays to the bride's cross cousin at the doorway) emphasizes the preferential right of the cross cousins to marry his uncle's daughter in Tamil society, and the purchase of this right by the bridegroom.

Infant marriages were recognised among the Tamils of Jaffna and are reminiscent of the *tali kattu kalyanam* of the Malabars. These and many other social customs remind the Jaffna Tamil of his connection with Malabar in the dim past.

Polygamy was recognised in Thesawalamai till it was abolished by statute. Polyandry, prevalent among the

Kandyans, is not recorded in the Thesawalamai, although among the Mukkuwas of Ceylon it was a well-established institution. Hence in ancient Tamil society both polyandry and polygamy were practised. The consent of the parents was essential to the marriage of a child. Although no particular age at which a valid marriage could be contracted was required, a girl, who had attained puberty (the usual age is 13 when a girl attains puberty) was considered competent to marry. Child marriages before this age were recognised under the old Thesawalamai. In such cases the husband acted as guardian to the bride in the marriage ceremonies.

MARITAL RIGHTS

The Tamil customary law recognised the economic independence of women. Her dowry property, gifts received by her and property inherited by her were her separate property. In this respect the customary laws of the Tamils are superior to some of the texts of the *Dharma-sastras* which were reluctant to recognise the separate property of the wife.

Under the old Thesawalamai, on marriage, the wife passed into the guardianship of her husband. The husband managed his wife's property and the jointly acquired property. She could not alienate her properties without the consent of her husband during coverture. The Matrimonial Rights Inheritance Ordinance (Jaffna) created separate property, such as her paraphernalia, jewels and moneys due to her on insurance policies, and gave her the right of disposition of her movables without the interference of her husband. The written consent of her husband is even now necessary for her to alienate her immovable property. The Matrimonial Rights Inheritance (Jaffna) Amending Act of 1947 gave her further rights by recognizing the property she acquired in her name as her property which she could dispose of by last will without the written consent of her husband. It also gave her further rights of succession by

recognizing her as an heir to half the acquired property of the husband. But at the same time it took away her previous right to half the acquired estate bought by her husband. Like a minor she has to be assisted in Court by her husband. This state of dependency is not warranted by the present state of social advancement and Law reform is needed to improve her position.

DIVORCE

Derrett says that "since the Dharmasastra of medieval times has followed the texts of Manu which apparently deny the validity of divorce (see Manu IX, p. 46, 101) it is generally believed that the Hindu Law, as such, knew no such thing as divorce until it was introduced by statute. This is a distorted view. A careful perusal of Manu and of Narada and the legal portions of Kautilia reveal that the widest liberty prevailed in classical times, and the Dharmasastra was shouldering a heavy task in attempting to reform society. While successfully bringing the public to believe that ceremonies were necessary to constitute a valid marriage, it has not succeeded in persuading Hindus that divorce was immoral". In examining the customary laws of the Tamils of Ceylon and their Kandyan brethren one sees the force of Derrett's views.

Among the Mukkuwas and Wannias of Ceylon, the widest liberty to divorce one's wife existed. Mere separation was sufficient without any further ceremony to effect a divorce. The Wannias often lived with others' wives. The only penalty for this libidinous liberty was a small fine. The Thesawalamai itself provides no ceremonies for a divorce and speaks of a separation of the property when the wife or husband lives apart and contemplates remarrying. (*Thes. Code*, Part IV. Section 1 and Part 1, Section 10.) The recognition of polygamy placed no restraint on husbands getting remarried. Christian dogmas have permeated the Dutch compilation of the

Thesawalamai Code and hence the absence of any provision that a woman divorced by her husband without formality could contract a legal marriage. But when one examines the Customary Laws of the Tamils of Ceylon, one is forced to the conclusion that in Tamil society a divorced woman was not prevented from marrying a second time. The *Thesawalamai* permits the remarriage of widows.

But when she remarried, she had to give up her right to the hereditary property and half the acquired property of her husband in favour of her children. (*Thes. Code*, Part 1, Sections 9 and 10). The restraint placed on the remarriage of a widow in Hindu Law in some of the texts of the *Dharmasastras* is traceable to Aryan influences.

ADOPTION

Adoption was recognized both by archaic and mature systems of law. By adoption a child becomes a member of the adopting parent's family acquiring certain rights of succession. Sir Henry Maine's theory (see *Ancient Law* by Sir Henry Maine) that adoption was recognized only in societies where testamentary disposition was not known is not universally true. Adoption was recognized by the Customary Laws of the Tamils and the Kandyan Law. On first impressions the Law of Adoption in *Thesawalamai* and in the *Dharmasastras* are so unlike that any historical connection between them might be denied outright. In this connection it may be apposite to cite the words of Dr. Derrett. In dealing with the Kandyan Law of Adoption he says (*Origins of the Laws of the Kandyans* Vol. XIV, *University of Ceylon Review*, p. 119) : "Once again appearance is misleading. Just as in the realm of marriage the *Dharmasastras* attempted, with the same success, to purify and refashion the customary law, so in the realm of adoption the classical texts took the raw material of the customary law—a Protean mass—and created out of it an institution which would be satisfying to the religious, as well as the sentimental and acquisitive

instincts of the docile public." In Thesawalamai and other customary laws of the Tamils of Ceylon, adoption is secular and uninfluenced by the recondite mysteries of the Dharmasastras.

In Thesawalamai not only a childless man but also a man with children can adopt. (*Thes. Code*). Not only a man but even a woman can adopt (*Thes. Code*). Daughters as well as sons can be adopted. The adoption may take place even after a child attains puberty. (*Thes. Code*). The adoptive child acquires no rights of succession to the relations of the adopter. In all these respects, the Thesawalamai has much in common with the *Kandyan Law*, (See Hayley on *Kandyan Law*, Modder on *Kandyan Law*) but differs from the Dharmasastras. Under the Dharmasastras the adoptive parent must be childless (Kane, III, 663). A wife or widow can only adopt as representative of the husband (Kane, III, 668 et. seq.). Only one person could be adopted (Kane, III, 674-875). Adoption should take place before the child attains maturity or is married (*Ibid.*, 679-681). Not one of these requirements is found in Thesawalamai.

The *dattaka* only adopted son allowed according to medieval texts, is in every relevant respect regarded as the true son of the adopting parent for purposes of adoption. Further the *Dharmasastras* did not permit the only son or an eldest son to be adopted. The Thesawalamai differed from these rules of *Dharmasastra*. It even favoured an adopted son and adopted daughter getting married. (*Thes. Code*). The adoption by a man or woman under the Indian Customary Law is to provide an heir, but under the law of the *Dharmasastras* the object is to provide a son who will perform the religious funeral rites. The custom of a woman to adopt on her own right though recognized by the Mithila School of Hindu jurisprudence. (Mayne, 278, et. seq.) is denied in modern times in most parts of India (Derrett *Ibid.*, page 120). Such a custom is found among the Tamils of Pondicherry (Srg. Avis, 144) and in Ceylon.

CEREMONIES OBSERVED DURING ADOPTION

A simple but colourful ceremony was observed among the Tamils in adopting a person. In Thesawalamai the ceremony consisted of drinking saffron water by the person who wished to adopt, after the person to be adopted and the relations of the adopting parent had dipped their fingers to signify their consent. Among the Colombo Chetties and Tamils of Puttalam, a similar ceremony was performed and the adopted child was called *manchall neer pillai* (மஞ்சள் நீர் பிள்ளை) literally "saffron water child".

RIGHTS OF SUCCESSION OF THE ADOPTEE AND ADOPTOR

Analogous to the *adoptio plena* and the *adoptio minus plena* in Roman Law, (See Buckland's Text Book on Roman Law, pp. 122-123) the Thesawalamai recognized two types of adoption. Adoption could be by both the adopting-parents when both of them drank the saffron water. This type of adoption made the adopted child a new member of the adopting parents' family and his ties with his natural parents got severed. Such a child inherited equally with the children of the adopting parents and ceased to have rights of inheritance in his natural parents' family. There could be partial adoption, as where the adopting father alone drank saffron water. In such cases, the child had rights of inheritance to his natural mother's property. On the other hand if the adopting mother alone drank the saffron water, the child retained his rights of succession to his natural father's property. (*Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna* by H. W. Tambiah, p. 134, et. seq.)

The consent of the close relations was also insisted upon to constitute a valid adoption. The consent was signified by the relations dipping their fingers into the saffron water. If any relation did not consent, then such a person did not lose his rights as heir to the adopting parent to inherit the particular share that would have gone to him on the death of that parent.

CHANGE OF CASTE

Under the Law of Thesawalamai the adopted child took the caste of the adopting father. If she was a girl she took the caste of her adopting father, but her children belonged to the caste of her own husband.

LAW OF ADOPTION OBSOLETE

With the recognition of the Law of testamentary disposition, the necessity for adoption ceased and became obsolete, although the statutory provisions governing it existed on the statute book for some time (See *Report of the Thesawalamai Commission*—Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1930). The Jaffna Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance makes no provision for the succession of adopted children and this gave the *coup de grace* to an already moribund institution. In Ceylon, a general statute dealing with adoption of children applicable to all persons who are domiciled in Ceylon was passed in 1941. Adoption under the statute has its own incidents and is applicable to all persons in Ceylon and is not governed by the Thesawalamai.

GUARDIANSHIP

The Thesawalamai recognizes the father, and on his death, the mother, as the guardian of the child, so long as they did not contract a second marriage.

When the father remarries, the custody of the children has to be handed over to the maternal grand-parents of the child, who are empowered to give as dowry to the female children their mother's separate property and half of the acquired property of the mother. (*Thes. Code*). Interpreting these provisions, the Supreme Court held in *Ambalavanar vs. Ponnamma* that these provisions of the *Thesawalamai Code* were not imperative but merely set out a convenient arrangement. It is submitted with

respect that the ruling in *Ambalavanar vs. Ponnammam* (1941, 42 N.L.R., 289) does not correctly set out the law of guardianship in Thesawalamai. The law on this point is more correctly set out in *Theivannpillai vs. Ponniah* (1914, 17 N.L.R., 437) and *Kanapathipillai vs. Sivokolunthu* (1911, 14 N.L.R., 4841). These cases decided that the provisions of the Thesawalamai Code regulate the Law of Guardianship. The *Kandyan Law* adopted a similar rule (Hayley on *Kandyan Law*). Although this topic was not developed by the Dharmasastras, Indian Customary Law adopted a similar rule. In giving reasons for this preferential treatment to the mother's parents Dr. Derrett is of the view that if the property remained with the father's brothers it would be extremely difficult for the child to assert his rights (*Origins of Kandyan Law—University Review, Ibid.*, p. 124).

PARENT AND CHILD

In Thesawalamai, the Kandyan Law and the Indian Customary Law, the sons are under obligation to pay the father's debts—a provision which is now obsolete. Tamil Customary Law made it incumbent on a son to honour his father's debt. It is submitted that the *Dharmasastras* adopted this rule from the Indian Customary Law. If the property was given to a child on a promise to support the parents, he has to support the aged parents who gave the property; in default the parents could retake the gift.

The obligation of the father to support his legitimate and illegitimate children is now governed by a general statute, the Maintenance Ordinance, which applies to all domiciled in Ceylon. A woman governed by Thesawalamai and who is in possession of her deceased husband's estate is bound to maintain her children by statute (In Ord. 1 of 1911). The obligation of the children to support the aged parents is now not based on Thesawalamai but on the Roman Dutch Law.

THE LAW OF PROPERTY

*The different kinds of property
known to Thesawalamai*

The Thesawalamai distinguished between hereditary property brought by the husband known as *mudusam* (முதுசம்) and dowry property brought by the wife known as *chidanam* (சீதனம்) and acquired property known as *theddiatheddam* (தேடிய தேட்டம்).

On the death of the father, his hereditary property descended only to his sons. The daughters were given dowry only from the dowry property of the wife and the acquired property was divided among all the children equally (*Thesawalamai Code I, 1*). But, in Portuguese times, on the "orders of the King of Portugal, during the time of Don Philip Mascarenha, among the many alterations that were made affecting Thesawalamai, a daughter could be given dowry out of any property, irrespective of whether it was *mudusam* dowry of the mother or acquisitions."

Dowry or Chidanam :

The institution of dowry is deeply rooted in Jaffna society. The duty of providing a dowry to a daughter is cast on the parents and, failing the parents, on the brothers, sisters and close relatives. The dowry consists of immovables, movables, cash or jewellery, as the case may be, and it is a substantial endowment to the daughter. Its characteristics are more akin to the settlements made by the *karnavan*, in Malabar, to his daughters when they are married, and have very little similarity to the *stridhana* known to the *Dharmasastras*.

The genesis of *stridhana* (woman's property) could be traced to Vedic literature. The wedding hymn in the Rig Veda (X. 85) speaks of gifts being sent along with the bride. From the works of Manu (VIII 416) and other text

writers, the property owned by women consist of presents made at the marriage, such as ornaments, costly dresses and household articles (*Kane*, III, 771).

Gautama does not define or describe *Stridhana*. Kautilia (*Kane* III, 2, p. 152) defines it as "means of subsistence and what could be tied to the body, i.e., ornaments and jewellery". Although *stridhana* literally means woman's property, in ancient Smrthi works, the term is restricted to special kinds of property given to a woman on certain occasions.

Manu describes *stridhana* as what was given before the nuptial fire, in the bridal procession, in token of love, received from her father, mother and brother. He called it the sixfold property of the woman (*Manu* IX, 194). Manu also speaks of another form of *stridhana*, the subsequent gift (*ibid.*, IX, 195). Several other Smrthi writers have expressed various other views on *stridhana*. Katayana gives an elaborate account of *stridhana* and includes, within the ambit of this concept, gifts given by the father-in-law. Apart from the apparent similarity in name, the *chedanam* in Thesawalamai, has very few characteristics in common with the *stridhana* of Hindu Law (*Mayne*, 10th Ed.).

The Dharmasastras started with the principle that a woman could not hold property and gradually ameliorated her condition by recognising certain species of property as her own, whereas the Thesawalamai recognised the right of a woman to own dowry property and cast both moral and legal obligations on the males to provide the dowry.

Writers of eminence have traced the origin of *chedana* to the practice prevalent in Malabar, enabling a male who is the *karnavan* of the *tavasti illam* to provide a marriage settlement for his daughter and thus creating separate *tavasti illams*. It is said that the early settlers who came from the Malabar coast continued this practice in Jaffna. This view cannot be considered to be fanciful.

URUMAI PROPERTY

Property inherited by a person not through his direct ancestors, but through collaterals and other relations, is called *urumai* (உருமை). Again, *urumai* property may be derived from the maternal or paternal side.

Theddiatheddam or Acquired Property :

Theddiatheddam or acquired property under the old Thesawalamai consists of profits during the marriage. The Jaffna Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance gives it a twofold definition. It divides such property into : (a) property acquired for valuable consideration during the subsistence of the marriage ; and (b) profits arising from the separate properties of either spouse during the subsistence of the marriage.

This definition, although intended to restate the old Thesawalamai, brought about curious results as a result of judicial interpretation. The original interpretation which was given to the first limb of the definition was that it comprised of property acquired for valuable consideration and did not include conversion of other kinds of property such as *mudusam* or *chedanam*, into immovables or cash, as the case may be. (See *Nalliah vs. Ponnama*, 22, N.L.R., 198). But in *Avitchy Chettiar vs. Rasamma* (35, N.L.R., 313), the Divisional Bench of the Supreme Court took the view that when an immovable property is bought with the cash dowry of the wife it acquired the character of *theddiatheddam* since it is property acquired for valuable consideration during the subsistence of the marriage and thus satisfied all the requirements of the first limb of the definition.

This decision caused great alarm among the people of Jaffna and a Commission was appointed by the Government whose function, *inter alia*, was to draft a new definition of *theddiatheddam*. The Commission, after many years of deliberation, produced their report and suggested an amendment of the law so as to abrogate the rule laid down

in *Avitchy Chettiar's* case and restored the old view that property did not change its character by conversion. The Thesawalamai Amending Ordinance of 1947 was passed giving effect to the recommendations of the Commission. This Ordinance repealed Sections 19 and 20 of the principal Ordinance and substituted a new definition of '*theddiatheddam*' as follows :—"No property other than the following shall be deemed to be the *theddiatheddam* of a spouse : "

(a) property acquired by that spouse during the subsistence of the marriage for valuable consideration, such consideration *not forming or representing any part of the separate estate of that spouse.*

(b) profits arising during the subsistence of the marriage from the separate estate of that spouse.

Under the old Thesawalamai, the nature of the interest which a spouse had when the property was bought in the name of the other spouse was a matter of doubt. The decisions of the court developed on two lines. One view was that both were equal owners. The other view was that the spouse in whose name the property was bought, was the legal owner, the other spouse has an equitable interest in half, which crystallized into legal ownership on death or divorce. The Jaffna Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance made the spouse in whose name the property was bought the legal owner of half, and further stated, that on death, divorce or a separation by an order of court, the half share separated and each spouse had the right to deal with his or her share. During the subsistence of the marriage, the husband was considered the manager and he could therefore sell or mortgage the acquired property without the consent of his wife, but could not gift more than his half share. But if he gifted the whole of it and a *bona fide* purchaser bought it from the donor, the wife lost title to her half and the only remedy she had, was to sue her husband for compensation.

The Jaffna society underwent a metamorphosis in course of time. Many people ceased to follow the agricultural pursuits of their forefathers and took up to intellectual vocations and business. There was a growing feeling that the old concept of Thesawalamai which gave half share to the woman of the property acquired by the husband for valuable consideration during coverture should be discarded in view of the changed conditions. Before the Thesawalamai Commission, many witnesses stated that recognition of the wife's half share in the *theddiatheddam*, although it suited an agricultural economy when both the husband and the wife toiled and earned their living by the sweat of their brow, was thoroughly unsuited as the wife contributes little or nothing to the acquisition of wealth by her husband. Hence, they said that legislation should be enacted to make only that spouse in whose name the property is acquired the sole owner of the *theddiatheddam*, but, on intestacy, half share of it should devolve on the surviving spouse. Ordinance No. 58 of 1947 gave effect to these recommendations. This Ordinance, however, is not retrospective, and applies to all *theddiatheddam* property acquired after September 1947 by persons governed by Thesawalamai. In spite of its obscurity, the effect of this legislation, *inter alia*, is to make the spouse in whose name the *theddiatheddam* property is bought both legal and equitable owner and to make the other spouse a legal heir to half of the acquired property on death, if no disposition *inter vivos* of such property has taken place by the spouse in whose name the property is acquired.

TESTAMENTARY DISPOSITION

Testamentary disposition was not known to Thesawalamai. The Dutch introduced it and the English developed it and it became an institution used in Jaffna as well as in other parts of Ceylon.

THE RULES OF INTESTATE SUCCESSION IN THESAWALAMAI

The Thesawalamai mainly dealt with the rules of intestate succession. In approaching the subject one must consider three periods. The law of intestate succession of those who died before 1911 was governed by the rules of succession contained in the *Thesawalamai Code*, the principles of law developed by the Courts by analogy and the rules of Roman Dutch Law which were applied in case of *casus omissus*. Some of the rules of intestate succession in the *Thesawalamai Code* are obsolete yet others are so obscure that one of the eminent judges referred to these rules as "a wilderness of single instances" (per Pereira, J. in *Chellappah vs. Kanapathy*, 17 N.L.R., 295).

THE JAFFNA MATRIMONIAL RIGHTS AND INHERITANCE
ORDINANCE 1 OF 1911

The Jaffna Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance was passed in 1911 to reform the law of intestate succession and to create separate property for the wife in certain types of property. The last part of the Ordinance, following the analogous provision of the Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance (which itself was based on the English Common Law, as it then stood), regards the wife as the owner of her jewels, paraphernalia and insurance effected in her name. It gives her the power to dispose of movables at her will, but requires the written consent of her husband for a declaration of immovable property in her name. Alienation is a generic term including leasing, mortgaging and creating other interests in land. It also creates new rules of intestate succession which will be dealt with later.

The scope of the amending Ordinance 58 of 1947 has already been discussed. For the purpose of the law of inheritance, it gives a new definition of *theddiatheddam* and makes the spouse, in whose name the property is acquired, the full owner and makes the spouse a legal heir to such half.

THE RULES OF INHERITANCE BEFORE 1911

The rules of inheritance before 1911 are to be found in the scanty provisions of the *Thesawalamai Code*, a few decisions found in Muttukrishna's work and in the law reports. In the absence of clear principles which could be deduced from the rules of *Thesawalamai*, the Roman-Dutch Law is resorted to as the residuary law of the country.

Under the old *Thesawalamai* the property, belongs to the family. The father has the right to administer the family property during the subsistence of the marriage. On the father's death, his hereditary property and half of the acquired property (subject to the obligations of payment of debts) devolves on his male children and undowried daughters. The dowried daughters, like the *diga* married daughters under the Kandyan Law are excluded from inheritance. On the mother's death, the dowry property and half of the *theddiatheddam* devolves on her children, the married daughters being excluded. But the father has the right to the usufruct of the property till he marries a second time. The mother has a similar right over her dead husband's acquired property and half of the acquired property.

THE DEVOLUTION OF URUMAI

As we have seen earlier, property descending from an ancestor was known as *mudusam*. The property devolving from collaterals and others, on the other hand, was known as *urumai* property. The rules of devolution governing *urumai* property are complicated, but two fundamental rules could be observed. Firstly, females succeeded females and males succeeded males, and secondly, the rule is that the property reverts to the side from which it came.

If a married daughter dies, her dowry devolved on the other married sisters and the female descendants of her

children. Even if an unmarried sister dies, her property devolves on her sister or sisters to the exclusion of the brothers. Similar rules existed in the Marumakattayam Law. When one *tavasti illam* is extinct, the property belonging to the family unit is inherited by the other *tavasti illams*. The brother's property descended to the other brothers to the exclusion of the sisters—a rule of patriliney preserved in Thesawalamai.

In view of the rule that property reverts to the side from which it came, the father, in no event, succeeds to the property of a child derived from his mother's side when the intestate has mother's relatives surviving him. The father retains his own hereditary property and his half share of the acquired property unless, due to age or infirmity, he divides it among the children on a promise of support by the children (T 12). If the children do not honour the promise, the father can get back the property given.

THE RULES OF INHERITANCE UNDER THE JAFFNA MATRIMONIAL RIGHTS AND INHERITANCE ORDINANCE
No. 1 OF 1911

The Jaffna Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance lays down statutory rules of succession to persons governed by the Thesawalamai and who are unmarried and die after the Ordinance came into operation. It further applies to males who were governed by the Thesawalamai and who are married after the Ordinance came into operation and during the subsistence of the marriage. A woman who marries a person not governed by Thesawalamai is not governed by it during coverture although, before her marriage, she was governed by it.

Property is broadly divided into 'father's side property' and 'mother's side property'. Either type of property may devolve on the death of an ancestor. Such property, as already stated is called *mudusam*. If the property devolves from any other relative it is called

urumai. Property received by any person in *mudusam*, *urumai*, dowry or under a will, as a legatee, donation or any other manner, other than for pecuniary consideration from a father or any of his ascendants or any of his collaterals, is designated "father's side property" (17). Property derived from the mother's relatives in similar ways is called "mother's side property".

Subject to the surviving spouse's right to usufruct of the property of the deceased spouse during the minority and unmarried state of the children, the order of succession is descendants, ascendants and collaterals. Different rules of succession are prescribed for 'father's side property' and one half of the remainder of the estate and 'mother's side property' and one half of the remainder of the estate. The children took their share per capita, but the children's children took it *per stirps*. All relations of equal degree shared the inheritance equally. The object of the statute is to make the relations of the father, heirs of the 'father's side property' and the relations of the mother, the heirs of the 'mother's side property' in the absence of children.

On the failure of kindred on the mother's side the property derived from such source devolves on the father's kindred in the same order, and *vice versa*, on the failure of the father's kindred on the father's side, the property derived from that side goes to the kindred on the mother's side. In the absence of any heirs, the surviving spouse is made an heir to the whole of the deceased spouse's property. If there is no surviving spouse, the property escheats to the Crown.

Illegitimate children inherit the property of their intestate mother, but not of their intestate father, nor the property of their mother's relations. Where an illegitimate child dies, leaving no spouse or descendants, his property goes to the mother and the heirs of the mother to the exclusion of the Crown.

Where the Statute is silent, the provisions of the Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance are applicable and when this is silent, the Roman Dutch Law, as it existed in South Holland, applies.

LIMITED INTERESTS IN PROPERTY KNOWN TO THESAWALAMAI

In law, a person might have limited interests, short of full ownership, in another person's land. The Glossators, coined the Latin phrase *jura in re aliena* when these interests could be asserted, not only against a particular person, but against the whole world. Such limited interests are also known to the Thesawalamai. Servitudes peculiar to this system of law, leases, *otti* mortgages and pre-emptionary rights belong to this category.

As stated earlier, our courts have taken the view that the principles of Thesawalamai applicable to the above topics are local in character and apply to all lands situated within the Northern Province of Ceylon whoever the owner may be. In *Suppiah vs. Tambiah* (1904, 7 N.L.R., 151) the Supreme Court took the view that the law of pre-emption applies to sales of all lands in Jaffna whether the vendor or the purchaser is an Englishman, Moor, Tamil or Sinhalese. The Supreme Court rejected the contention that the law of pre-emption applies only to the Tamils governed by the Thesawalamai.

Even the Dutch and the British adopted the view that the "Seventy Two Orders" promulgated by the Dutch enjoined (Order 27) all those who wish to "sell or *otti* any lands, houses, slaves or gardens" to procure the publication thereof for three weeks in the nearest church. The decisions referred to, in Muttukrishna's work support the rule laid down in *Suppiah v. Tambiah*. It is too late in the day to contend that this part only applies to Tamils governed by the Thesawalamai.

SERVITUDES

Servitudes are either personal or praedial in Roman Law and systems based on it, such as the Roman Dutch Law. Praedial Servitudes attach to the dominant land. Servitudes may be of different kinds. The most important are :—the right of way over another's land, the right to lead water, the right to draw water, etc. Many servitudes recognised by the Roman Dutch Law, are recognised in Ceylon. In addition to these, the Thesawalamai recognises servitudes which are peculiar to the Northern Province of Ceylon. The recognition of these servitudes is consistent with the principle of Roman Dutch Law that the list of servitudes known to it, is not exhaustive. Servitudes, not known to the Roman Dutch Law, will be recognised by our Courts if their existence can be proved by custom (*Kawrala vs. Kirihamy*, 4 C.W.R., 187).

In the Northern Province of Ceylon, attempts to create certain types of servitudes over land have failed for want of proof of certainty and reasonableness of such a usage. In *Vallipuram v. Sandanam* (1915), 1 C.W.R., 96) it was contended that a landowner who has a coconut land adjoining a field could not plant trees within a margin of four yards from the boundary. It was held that there was no such servitude.

There are certain peculiar servitudes set out in the *Thesawalamai Code* and still others have been established by custom.

SERVITUDE OF ENJOYMENT OF FRUITS OVER AN
OVERHANGING BRANCH OF A TREE

Unlike the Roman Dutch Law, in Thesawalamai, if a person plants a tree which requires attention and the branches of that tree overhang his neighbour's land, the owner of the tree has the right to the fruits on the overhanging branch. His neighbour has no right to the fruits

nor does he have the right to lop the branches. (See *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna*—Tambiah, pp. 263-264).

SERVITUDE OF CROSSING FENCES

Jaffna is a land of fences. The Thesawalamai recognises the right of a person to cross his neighbour's land for the purpose of erecting a boundary fence (*Ibid.*, p. 265).

LEASES

The law of leases in Jaffna is governed by the Roman Dutch Law, the general law of the land. But the Thesawalamai deals with the leasehold known to the ancient Tamils. These leaseholds are similar to the leases in Malabar (Section 7 Part IX). The rights and obligations of Landlord and Tenant is regulated. In the absence of agreement, the provisions of Thesawalamai on this matter, are followed.

OTTI MORTGAGE

Otti mortgage under the Thesawalamai may be defined as a 'usufructuary mortgage of lands situated in the Northern Province of Ceylon for a definite sum of money or other legal consideration, on condition that in lieu of interest, the mortgagee should take the produce of the land and that it should be redeemable at certain fixed periods of the year after due notice has been given! (See *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna*—Tambiah, p. 275).

The Marumakattayam Law recognises a similar type of usufructuary mortgage and it cannot be a mere coincidence that it is known by the same name. Lewis Moore defines *otti* under the Marumakattayam Law as follows: (See *Lewis Moore on the Malabar Law and Custom*, p. 250) "An *otti* may be defined as a usufructuary mortgage, the usufruct of which extinguishes the interest, leaving only a nominal rent to be paid to the mortgagor". The same

incidents are attached to *otti* as a *kanam* (a leasehold known to the Marumakattayam Law) but, in *otti* the mortgagee has the right of pre-emption. The incidents of mortgage under the Thesawalamai are the same as in the Marumakattayam Law, subject to certain variations.

The mortgage known as *otti* was known to the Tamils in the time of St. Sundarar. The hymn of this Hindu saint beginning with the lines *vittu kolvir ottiyalan virumpi adipadan* cannot be comprehended unless one understands the significance of *otti* under the Thesawalamai and the Marumakattayam Law. St. Sundarar was pleading for the restoration of his eye. The right of pre-emption in the *otti* form of mortgage known during the time of this Saint, is expressed in felicitous language when the Saint says, "I willingly surrendered myself and became thy slave forever; and thou hast full dominion and plenary control over me. There is no other master to question it, and there is nobody else having any subsidiary rights over this slave, to intervene on behalf of the slave against the doings of the Supreme Master". Sundarar condemns the Deity in the following moving lines: "The slave has done no wrong. But it pleases Thee, my Master, to deprive me of my eyesight. What reason canst Thou assign for inflicting on me the wanton cruelty of depriving me of my eyes? None! and therefore Thou standest condemned. After so many entreaties from me you have restored me one eye. If Thou wouldst not restore me the vision of my other eye, may Thou prosper, my plenary Lord!". The idea of the '*otti*' holder as the supreme owner, having pre-emptionary rights over the subject matter of the *otti* is described by St. Sundarar in this beautiful stanza.

Otti mortgage, therefore, was known to the ancient Tamils and the incident of '*otti*' in St. Sundarar's time, was not very different from what is found both under the Marumakattayam Law and the Thesawalamai.

Although the *Dharmasastra* recognised a usufructuary form of mortgage (*adi* that was *bhaya*—Kane III, p. 430), the incidents are not the same as *otti*. Hence *otti* was known to the Tamil customary law and its incidents are not influenced by the *Dharmasastra*.

LEASEHOLDS

The leaseholds set out in the *Thesawalamai Code* which imposes the duty on the tenant to give two-thirds share of the produce to the landlord has its counterpart in the *verumpattam* (வெறும்பட்டம்) lease of Malabar in India. (See *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna*—Tambiah; Lewis Moore, *Malabar Law and Custom*, p. 191 et seq). Some of the decisions of the Ceylon Courts have even gone to the extent of holding that the law of pre-emption known to Indian customary law, will be presumed to be founded on, and co-extensive with the Mohamedan Law until the contrary is shown (See *Mohammedan Law* by Tyabji (2nd Edition) p. 658 and the cases cited therein).

The researches of Kane and others have shown that *otti* mortgage was recognised in Indian customary law and was not influenced by the *Dharmasastras* (Kane III, p. 496). Kane cites *Smrthi* texts which prohibit the sale of lands owned by Brahmans to Sudras and Chandalas. Kane further cites texts which recognised the right of pre-emption in favour of full brothers, *sapindas*, *samanodakas*, *sagotras* (certain classes of heirs under the Hindu Law), neighbours and creditors (Kane III, p. 496). The law, as contained in the *Smrthi* works, dates back at least to 1500 years, a period anterior to the Mogul invasion of India. The recognition of pre-emption in the Tamil country in St. Sundarar's time, proves that this concept was known to the Tamils before the Mogul influence had penetrated South India.

THE LAW OF PRE-EMPTION

Pre-emption is the right a person has to buy the property of another in preference to other buyers. It has

been defined as 'a right which the owner of certain property possesses as such for the enjoyment of that property, to obtain in substitution for the buyer, proprietary possession of certain other immovable property, not his own, on such terms as those in which such later immovable property is sold to another' (per Mahmood, J., in *Gobind Dayal v. Inayatullah* (1885) 7 All. 775 @ 809; cited with approval by Wиейewardene J., in *Karthigesu v. Parupathy*, 46 N.L.R. 162).

Pre-emption is recognised in many systems of Indian customary law and is an institution intended to protect outsiders from purchasing family property. It is found in the ancient Code of Hammurabi (2200 B.C.) (See the *Law of Pre-emption* by Agrawala (6th Ed.) pp. 20, 21). The Mosaic Code probably influenced by the Babylonian Law, contained the same provisions of pre-emption (See *verses 24-34 of Leviticus*).

Different theories have been expounded regarding the origin of the law of pre-emption, in India. In *Brij Lal's case* (1867) N.W.P. Full Bench Rulings—July-Dec. p. 95), the view was taken that pre-emption was known to the ancient customary laws of India as a remedy to prevent the intrusion of a stranger into the estate of the family of community rather than any desire to borrow an institution from the Mohameddan Law. It was also pointed out that the Mohameddan form of pre-emption (*Wajib-Oolwiz*) is different from the pre-emption known to the Indian customary law. A contrary view was expressed by Sir John Edge in delivering the opinion of the Privy Council in *Digambar Singh* (1914) 42 I.A., 10). The learned judge said that pre-emption in village communities in British India had its origin in the Mohammedan Law and was apparently unknown in India before the time of the Moghul rulers. This view of the Privy Council has been adopted in a large number of cases decided by the Indian Courts. The customary laws in Bihar, Gujarat and even the *Dharmasastras* on the other hand establish the fact that

pre-emption was not an institution borrowed from the Mohammedan Law. It is submitted that the view expressed by the Full Bench was the more correct one.

In Ceylon, some writers opined that pre-emption found its way through the Mohameddan Law (See *Laws of Ceylon Vol. I—Balasingham*). But this is an unreal view in virtue of the fact that pre-emption is unknown even to the Muslim Law as applied in Ceylon. The Mohammedan Code of Laws prepared by the Dutch and the British does not even mention the Law of Pre-emption.

The Dutch and the Tamil versions of the *Thesawalamai* Code gave the right of pre-emption to four classes of persons, namely, co-sharers, co-heirs, adjacent landowners and otti mortgagees. But due to an error, the English translation gave the right of pre-emption only to co-owners, persons who would be heirs on intestacy of the vendor and otti mortgagees who have lands adjacent to the land in question. The English translation was regarded as authentic and the Courts gave the right of pre-emption only to three classes of persons mentioned above. The vendor has to give notice of the intended sale of the land to the person or persons entitled to pre-emption. Failure to do so would enable the pre-emptor to bring an action to set aside the deed of sale and that his name be substituted as purchasers on payment of the market prices. The period within which notice has to be given is prescribed by the *Thesawalamai Code*. If the pre-emptor lived in the same village it was one month, if, within the same Province, but outside the village, it was three months. If the pre-emptor lived outside the Province it was six months and for those who lived outside Ceylon it was one year (*Thesawalamai Code VII*).

During the Dutch regime, most of the people of Jaffna were Christians (See *Baldeus*), and the *Thesawalamai Code* was intended to apply only to the Christians. The "Heathens" who married Christians, were given certain

concessions. The Dutch compiler says that the mode of giving notice set out above underwent a change during the time of the "old Commander Bloom" of blessed memory as, since those orders, no sale of lands whatsoever has taken place until the intention of such a wish to sell the same has been published on three successive Sundays at the Church to which they belong, where objections have to be lodged.

During the early British period (Joseph Cuffe J says that the custom originated in 1806— Muttukrishna on *Thesawalamai*, p. 1), a new form of notice known as a Publication Schedule was introduced. This received legal sanction in 1842 by the promulgation of Ordinance No. 1 of 1842. This Ordinance was repealed in 1895 by Ordinance No. 4 of 1895. Thereafter, notice may be either oral or in writing. In a majority of cases the Courts have to decide on oral evidence. This leads to perjury and many other inconveniences.

In view of the unsatisfactory state of the law of pre-emption, the Thesawalamai Commission recommended many changes which have far reaching consequences. which were later adopted by statute.

THE THESAWALAMAI PRE-EMPTION ORDINANCE

No. 59 of 1947

The Theasawalamai Pre-emption Ordinance brought about statutory changes both in the substantive law of pre-emption and the procedure to be adopted if a right is infringed. This Ordinance further restricts the right of pre-emption to co-owners with the intending vendor, and persons who would be heirs of the intending vendor if he died intestate. The right is not given to all heirs. It is restricted to descendants, ascendants and collaterals (Section 4). This right could only be exercised if the property is held in undivided ownership.

Recent decisions (*Ramalingam vs. Mangaleswari* 53 N.L.R. 133, followed in 55 N.L.R. 133.) insist on a further requirement, namely, the financial means of the pre-emptor. It is submitted with respect that this is an undue extension of the law and is not warranted by the provisions of the statute. This requirement will prevent those in whom the pre-emptionary right is already vested from obtaining a loan and exercising their right of pre-emption. The Statute further vests a right and it is submitted that this right cannot be whittled away by the further refinements.

To avoid the perpetration of frauds and perjury the Statute requires that notice should be notarially executed, duly posted and published. The procedure, by which the pre-emptor can complete his purchase by private treaty, is also prescribed by the Ordinance. Failing such an agreement, the steps to be taken in Court are also prescribed in the Ordinance. The price the pre-emptor has to pay to enforce his right is the prevailing market value. In the case of a number of co-owners and heirs bidding, it is enacted that no preference shall be shown among them and the highest bidder should be declared the purchaser.

THE LAW OF OBLIGATIONS AS RECOGNISED BY THE THESAWALAMAI

The *Thesawalamai* Code does not deal with delicts or quasi-contracts but treats a few contracts which are common in an agricultural community. It also deals with the sale of both movables and immovables. In dealing with the latter, it must be noted that it contains the law of pre-emption which was applied before the Pre-emption Ordinance came into operation. The Sale of Goods Ordinance, based on the corresponding English Act, now provides for the law governing sale of goods. The Roman Dutch Law and general statutes apply to the sale of immovables. An interesting point to be noted is that, under the old *Thesawalamai*, a sale of a cow was complete, the moment the dry

dung of the animal was given to the purchaser, a characteristic which is common to many archaic systems of law. The provisions of the Thesawalamai on this subject are obsolete today.

A few rudimentary provisions governing pawn, hire of beasts and exchange are contained in the *Thesawalamai* Code which are all obsolete. The provision that a pawnee who uses for his personal use the ornaments pawned with him without the consent of the pawner forfeits the interest for that period is found in Hindu Law (See Colebrooke's *Hindu Law* Vol. 1 p. 149). The rule of Thesawalamai is that a hirer of a beast need not pay any compensation or damage if the animal gets disabled. The proprietor must consider such loss as accidental. The proprietor must further supply another animal, if the animal died during the period of the contract without any fault on the part of the hirer. Provisions governing exchange of various kinds of grains point to the wide prevalence of exchange when money was scarce. All these provisions are now obsolete.

The provision governing loans of money contained in the *Thesawalamai* Code, although now obsolete, gives a student of law an insight into the extent of the influence of Roman Dutch Law. The limitation that interest should never exceed the capital is found both in Thesawalamai and the Roman Dutch Law. (*Thesawalamai* Code IX 1; Vander Linden's *Institutes* p. 219).

Where there are several co-debtors, the law of suretyship, as found in the Thesawalamai, allows the creditor to take satisfaction from the debtor whom he meets first. This provision is also found in Hindu Law.

In modern times the law of suretyship applicable, to persons governed by the Thesawalamai, is the Roman-Dutch Law since these provisions in the Thesawalamai are now obsolete. The Married Women's Property Ordinance which took away the privileges conferred on a married

woman by the two *Senatus Consulta*, the *Senatus Consultam Vellianum* and the *Senatus Consultam Authentica si qua Mulier* which prohibited wives from becoming sureties to their husbands do not apply to women governed by the Thesawalamai.

Some of the main concepts of the law of Thesawalamai have been examined. An attempt has been made to show that the Thesawalamai has little in common with the *Dharmasastras*. Eminent scholars such as Ganapathy Iyer and Mayne have found that the *Dharmasastras* is indebted to the Indian Customary Law in developing some of its fundamental concepts. These scholars refer to the Thesawalamai as a pure form of Customary Law of the Tamils who migrated from India. It is unadulterated by the recondite mysteries of the *Dharmasastras*. These scholars are of the view that the joint family system, adoption and marriage as known to Hindu Law take their roots from Indian Customary Law. Scholars like Dr. Derrett who have made a profound study of the original sources of *Dharmasastras* and Indian Customary Laws are of the view that *Dharmasastras* never developed the clear and settled principles of Indian Customary Law, and hence to comprehend the Hindu Law, the study of the *Dharmasastras* and the Indian Customary Law are complementary. Dr. Derrett is also of the view that the study of Indian Customary Law helps a scholar to interpret some of the obscure texts of the *Dharmasastras*.

The study of the Thesawalamai and the customary laws of the Tamils of Ceylon and South India will throw abundant light on Indian Customary Law.

The future of Thesawalamai is uncertain. With a stroke of the pen it may be abolished. Legislation may, in the process of amending the Law, exterminate it. Hence this system of law which has governed the destinies of the Tamils of North Ceylon may vanish in the near future.

Review

தென் இந்திய வரலாறு, டாக்டர் கே. கே. பிள்கா,
(பழனியப்பா பிரதர்ஸ், சென்னை) ரூ. 2.25.

As far back as 1919 Vincent Smith observed that 'hitherto most historians of ancient India have written as if the South did not exist'. Though of late this imbalance in the study of Indian history has to a large extent been redressed, yet, as is noted by Sri Prakasa (one time Governor of the Madras State, and presently of the State of Bombay) in his Foreword to this work (p. 2), the average educated North Indian has a very scanty knowledge of the history and culture of the southern half of the country. Recent archaeological excavations undertaken in South India and the inter-relation of evidence available with that in the adjacent countries of East and West Asia has enabled the construction of a reasonably clear picture of South India's past. But this is yet the possession of the serious and devoted scholar and is not available to the laymen in easily digestible form. A noted advance was made in this direction when Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the doyen of South Indian History, published in 1955 *A History of South India*, a comprehensive account of the history of the whole of South India treated as a single geographical entity. With the increasing emphasis on the national languages and the necessity to provide the best available knowledge through the medium of the languages of India, it became imperative that writings of a scientific nature be undertaken in these languages also. They had to be done by those who were primarily specialists in the subjects they were tackling and secondly could handle these subjects in the medium of the particular national language they were using. In both these respects Professor K. K. Pillay is admirably fitted to write this comprehensive work in Tamil on the history of South India.

The author in his preface defines his concept of history as a study of the life, habits and culture of the people in any society. He promises then to eschew detailed narratives of wars and conquests and to provide only a basic political framework with which to understand social and economic life. While this is a most commendable aim, it has to be admitted that for the latter to fall into place, the major political landmarks in a people's history must first be established. In certain periods of South Indian history, we are yet in the realm of conjecture with regard to certain basic political facts. Within these obvious limitations, Professor Pillay always shifts the emphasis on providing us with information on social life, religion, art and architecture and such themes and this is a refreshing quality which pervades the whole work.

He opens with a description of the geography of India south of the Deccan and then goes on to a discussion of the pre-historic period of South India. This is in many respects the most difficult chapter to write and the author has skillfully brought together the major discoveries that have been made in the last century or so of South Indian archaeology. Then he splits up his subject into various convenient periods such as the Age of the Mauryan Empire, the Sangam Age, the period of the rise of South Indian Kingdoms and the later Cholas and Chalukyas. A separate chapter is devoted to the Hindu revival of the 6th to 9th Century A.D. and in the last chapter is brought together the external influences exerted by South India culture in the neighbouring countries of Asia. Four maps and a few well-selected illustrations of architecture and sculpture of the area under review serve as useful aids to the reader.

Professor Pillay has thus made available to the reader in Tamil the most up to date information on the history of South India. We hope this is only the beginning of a series of such and other more specialised writings in the Tamil language.

News and Notes

TAMIL IN LENINGRAD

The following is an extract from a letter written by Mrs. M. Athilakshmi, Professor of Tamil and Telugu, Oriental Faculty, Leningrad State University :—

“ I like to bring to your notice that I am not in Moscow, though there are also students learning Tamil in that University. I was told that Mr. Krishnamurty, who is working as a translator is teaching in the evenings. But here in Leningrad where there is a good tradition of Indian studies dating back more than one hundred years, Tamil has been treated as a special language, to be taught and studied for five years for students who have completed ten years of schooling. It is a regular course, and the students have examinations once in six months as in every other branch of study. The first year students who study Tamil as their special subject, are now able to read simple texts. They having gone through the trials of pronunciation are now able to pronounce almost well. They know to recite a few songs of Bharati. From next year (the Academic year begins in September) they will be acquainted with the history of Tamil literature, and read selections from Tamil works of different ages. The students are showing immense interest and are inquisitive to know everything about the ancient but living language as they often call Tamil.

There is a grammar on Tamil ‘GRAMMATIKA TAMILSKOVA RASGOVORNOV YAZIKA’ (Grammar

of the spoken Tamil language) in Russian by A. M. Mer-varth, published in Leningrad in 1929 (228 pages).

Before my coming itself Tamil was taught as a second language to students specialising either in Hindi or Bengali. Those students are acquainted with the principles of grammar, and are able to translate from Tamil to Russian, with the help of a dictionary. It was Semyon Rudin who started the teaching of Tamil in 1956. He learnt by himself with the help of books. He is a good lover of Tamil. He also graduated from the Indian Philology Department of Leningrad University, his subjects being Hindi, Urdu and Bengali. But now he concentrates on Tamil. He has taken the Tamil name—'Sembian URudian'. He is also teaching Tamil in our university. Besides he is compiling a Tamil-Russian dictionary together with another Russian Tamil scholar of Moscow, Mr. A. M. Pichigorsky (his Tamil name Aingundran).

In Moscow there are three more philologues who know Tamil and are interested in Dravidian studies : Y. R. Glazov (glaz means eye, so he is called Kannan) who is making a special study of KURAL and is attempting to translate it I suppose. A. M. Pichigorsky is interested in the Philosophy of the Tamil works, whereas another lady scholar I. SMYRNOVA seems to be interested in the literary history of Tamil. Recently her essay *A Short Survey of Tamil Literature upto the XIX Century* was published in a publication entitled 'LITERATURI INDII'.

Besides Tamil, Telugu is also studied, both in Leningrad as well as in Moscow."

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THE TAMILS IN CEYLON

An Association with the object of carrying on intensive research into the history of Ceylon with special emphasis on the contribution made by the Tamil people for the growth and development of Ceylon throughout the ages, was inaugurated at a conference held at Jaffna Central College with Mr. S. U. Somasegeram in the chair. The conference was attended by judges, lawyers, history teachers from various schools in the Northern Province and others interested in historical research.

At the outset, Mr. Somasegeram, Inspector of Schools, Northern Province, in explaining the object of the conference, said that it was very necessary for the Tamil students to know the history of their own peninsula before they attempted to read and understand the history of the country. Some attempts were made thirty years ago to present to the world the history of the Ceylon Tamils and many of the valuable books written by the then scholars were now out of print. Books written in recent times by some interested people seemed to under-estimate the contribution made by the Tamil people for the growth of Ceylon history. In that context it was imperative that teachers and others interested in history should carry on intensive research into the history of Ceylon so that the people at large would understand the true history of the island and the contribution made to it by the Tamil people from times immemorial.

Kalaipulavar K. Navaratnam, speaking on 'History and Research', quoted chapter and verse from books published in recent years to show how historic truths were being distorted. In a recent publication entitled 'Classical Sinhalese Sculpture' (by the Assistant Commissioner of Archaeology, Mr. D. T. Devendra), Mr. Navaratnam pointed out, the author seemed to maintain that the name "Sita" was an anglicised pronunciation and the story of Ramayana should have emerged after the arrival of Europeans in Ceylon. He further asserted that there was no trace of

anything to prove Ceylon's connection with the Ramayana: Mr. Navaratnam said that there were temples for Vibhishana at Kelaniya and other places and Vibhishana was still being worshipped by the Sinhalese as one of their patron deities. Place names like Sita Eliya, Sitawaka, Sitawewa, etc., and the worship of Vibhishana from prehistoric times all went to show Ceylon's connections with the Ramayana epic. But, in spite of all these, Mr. Devendra's book published in London told the world at large that there was no trace in Ceylon to prove the island's connection with the Ramayana. He regretted very much that the writer had mentioned the name of Sita in irreverent terms in his book.

Mr. Navaratnam went on to say that efforts were being made to convince the world that Buddhism and Sinhalese meant one and the same thing. Referring to the contention that a Buddha statue was found at Kantherodai and, therefore, the statue should be a specimen of Sinhalese sculpture, Mr. Navaratnam said there were as many Buddhists among the Tamils as among the Sinhalese upto the seventh century and the statue found in Kantherodai should have been the work of Tamil Buddhists rather than Sinhalese Buddhists. If they were to believe that wherever Buddha statues were found the place should have been inhabited by the Sinhalese, the whole of South India should have been a Sinhalese colony upto the end of the seventh century A.D. for Buddhism flourished there upto the Pallava period in South Indian history. Even the authors of Manimekalai and Silappathigaram should have been Sinhalese. The absurdity of the argument was too obvious for any further comment. In conclusion, Mr. Navaratnam emphasised the urgency of an association to carry on intensive research into the island's history in order to tell the world the true facts.

Mr. K. V. S. Vas, Editor, *The Virakesari* who addressed the conference on special invitation, said that history was nothing but a statement of facts in chronological order and truth and faithfulness were essential qualities of anything

that went by the name of history. But unfortunately, the tendency with some of the history writers to-day seemed to be to view historical facts from a communal angle with the object of laying more emphasis on the contribution of a particular community than that of others in the development of the country's history. It was indeed a sorrowful state of affairs. He pointed out that Dr. S. Parnavitarne, Professor of Archaeology of the Ceylon University, in his recent book, "The God of Adam's Peak", had endeavoured to throw overboard the belief connected with the footprint on the Peak and establish that it was the footprint of Yama or Dharmaraja. The sloka quoted by the learned professor from Santhiparva in the Mahabharatha to prove his contention had a meaning very different from the meaning attached to it by him. Nowhere in the birth place of Hinduism, India had 'Sri' been described as the consort of Yama. On the other hand specific mention of Yami as the consort of Yama could be found in many places. If the learned doctor believed that Yama was a Vedic God and not Vishnu, then Yama was only two-fifth Vedic as Vishnu, for Vishnu had five slokas to his credit in the Rig Veda and Yama had only two. Wherever the name of Vishnu was mentioned in the Rig Veda he was described as the 'Supreme God who measured the universe with three footprints', namely, Thrivikrama. He was supposed to have measured this earthly world by one foot and the existence of only one footprint and not two in Adam's Peak was very significant. Again, Mr. Vas went on to say, that of various religions in the world, there was only one religion which attached great importance to the worship of the footprint—the Vaishnavite faith. In every Vishnu temple, big or small, whether in India or in any part of the world, including the Perumal temple and Vallipura Alvar temple in Jaffna, one could notice the Satagopam or the impression of the footprint of the presiding deity placed at the foot of the deity which received pride of place in the daily poojas. It was to that footprint that poojas were first performed before they were done to the deity itself. That was not all.

On the day of Sri Jayanthi, a celebration connected with the birth of Krishna believed to be an incarnation of Vishnu, Hindu households would be decorated with the footprints of Vishnu. The worship of footprint by the Hindus was not a practice of yesterday or of a few hundreds of years. It was a practice from time immemorial dating back to the epic period in Indian history. The Ramayana mentioned the coronation of the padukas of Rama and Rama's sandals ruled the country for fourteen years until the return of Rama from his exile. It was agreed that the Vibhishana cult was in existence in Ceylon before the introduction of Buddhism during the reign of Devanampiyatissa. The very story of Vibhishana centred round his surrender at the feet of Rama, which formed the basic philosophy of Vaishnavitism. The Vibhishana cult and the worship of Vishnu, the importance attached to the footprint of the Lord by the Vaishnavites, the mention in the Mahavamsa of Vijaya having seen Adam's Peak from the sea before he landed in Ceylon, the prevalence of Vaishnavitism in North India during the Bimbisaran period (a contemporary of Buddha) all lend evidence for the belief that the footprint on the Peak should be of Vishnu and certainly not of Yama, a tutelary deity who at no time in the long history of India and Hinduism was ever worshipped as a God nor had he any temple in any part of India, the birth-place of Vedas and the Vedic religion.

Continuing, Mr. Vas emphasised the importance of founding an association with the object of conducting research into the ancient history of Ceylon in an objective and impartial manner.

Mr. Handy Perinbanayagam, Principal, Hindu College, Kokkuvil, and Mr. Ambigaibagan, Principal, Vaideeswara Vidyalaya, also spoke. A resolution inaugurating the History Association was unanimously adopted. Mr. Somasegeram was elected President, Mr. K. Navaratnam and Mr. Ambigaibagan, Vice-Presidents, Mr. C. S. Navaratnam and

Mr. V. K. Nadaraja, Joint Secretaries, and Mr. T. Srinivasagam, Treasurer. A Committee was also formed, with power to co-opt more members.

—*The Hindu*

TEMPLE CITY OF ANGKOR

President Rajendra Prasad and the Cambodian Prime Minister, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, returned to Phnom Penh after visiting the ancient Cambodian temple city of Angkor, four miles from Siemreap.

The Indian President evinced keen interest in the bas reliefs of Angkor Wat, the rectangular temple of three storeys with towers, porticos, galleries and stairways. He climbed to the second floor of the temple to pay homage to the statues of Buddha and offered a bouquet of lotus flowers and a tray of "romduol" flowers which bloom and emit their scent after nightfall.

"I am very much impressed by the beauty of Angkor and the grandeur and nobility of its typically Cambodian art", the President said afterwards. He made a gift of Rs. 2,000 for the maintenance of this monument.

Sprawling across an area of five square miles, the temple-studded Angkor was the capital of Khmer kingdom between the 9th and 12th centuries.

Earlier in the day, the President flew into Siemreap, about 350 miles from Phnom Penh, by a Royal Cambodian plane.

Temples, many dedicated to Hindu Gods Shiva, Ganesh and Vishnu and the Buddha, were floodlit when the President visited them.

Most of the temples are exactly like South Indian temples with huge 'mandaps', Pali inscriptions and rows

after rows of dancing *Apsaras* and with a Pallava touch. These, as well as a number of other temples and monuments, numbering 600, built in sandstone, are scattered in the midst of a tropical forest from majestic Angkor to Bente Serai, about 20 miles from Siemreap.

—*The Hindu*

THE MADRAS STATE TAMIL DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH COUNCIL

The following draft order which is proposed to be issued in respect of Medium of Instruction in Colleges is circulated to Members for information.

DRAFT G. O.

Subject : Colleges—Medium of Instruction in Colleges—Change over to Tamil in the reorganised B.A. Degree courses—Orders—Passed.

Government have had under consideration the question of medium of instruction in Colleges for a long time now. It was decided long ago that, as stated in the Government memorandum submitted on the report of the Official Language Commission, it should be an objective of educational policy to bring about the progressive development of the regional language for use as the medium of instruction at every stage of education, not excluding the highest. The policy of Government in the matter has been stated thus in the answers given to the Questionnaire of the Official Language Commission "to adopt the regional language or mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the secondary stage and also to make possible the adoption of the regional language as the medium of instruction at the University stage". But Government have not been unaware of the difficulties in implementing the latter part of this policy, chief of which are the great paucity of the necessary literature in the various fields of knowledge and the paucity of teachers qualified to teach in the language. In the Memorandum submitted by the Government to the Official Lan-

guage Commission, the attitude of Government (which was endorsed by leaders of all parties in the Legislature) was formulated as below :—

“There is a conflict requiring reconciliation, between two different objectives, viz., the need for raising higher educational standards and the need, also, to develop the potentialities of the mother-tongue as the vehicle of culture. The Government of Madras have not yet taken a decision on how this reconciliation is to be effected. Present indications are that the answer will have to be found.

I. First, in making a distinction within the field of higher education between scientific and professional education and education in the “Humanities”, and, on the basis of this distinction (a) taking active steps to bring about an early change in the medium of instruction in colleges so far as the latter is concerned; and (b) continuing to use English as the medium of scientific and professional instruction in colleges, at any rate, without change until 1965; and

II. Secondly, while continuing to maintain English as the Second Language and subject of compulsory study in Secondary Schools, to undertake all practicable measures for improving the efficiency of instruction in the study of that language.”

2. This question was discussed by the newly constituted Tamil Development and Research Council where the view that a beginning should be made with Tamil as the medium of instruction in the reorganised B.A., degree courses found almost unanimous acceptance. The question has been further discussed with the Vice-Chancellors of the two Universities in the State and *their advice taken*. As a result of these discussions, Government wish to reaffirm explicitly their policy in the matter as set out in the Memorandum presented to the Official Languages Commission and declare that English will continue to be the medium of instruction in respect of all University degree courses except the reorganised B.A. degree courses and that no change in this respect will be considered, until the two following conditions are satisfied, viz., (i) the change-over should

be demonstrated to have been successful in respect of the B.A. Degree Courses ; and (ii) An agreed decision on the nature of the changes (if any) to be made in respect of any other University Degree course should be taken on a co-ordinated basis for all Universities in India.

3. The medium of instruction of the reorganised B.A. degree courses in the State will accordingly be changed to Tamil. It is obvious that the best time schedule for this change will be one which will link it with the reorganisation of Secondary Education. This is due to commence in the academic year 1959-60 and the first batch of pupils admitted to the New VIII standard during that year will complete — the new XI standard in the Higher Secondary School (as the equivalent of the Pre-University Course in Colleges) in 1962-63. Those students of this batch who are declared eligible for admission to the B.A. degree course, will therefore constitute the first batch of pupils for whom instructions will be available in the Tamil medium in the Colleges of the State. That is to say, the change will be made from English to Tamil as the medium of instruction in the B.A. degree course during 1963-64 for the first year of the course, during 1964-65 for the second year of the course and during 1965-66 for the third year of the course. At the end of the Third Five Year Plan, the first batch of pupils will get their B.A. degrees after completing their entire education in schools and college with Tamil as the medium of instruction.

It will be open to private colleges to continue to provide English Medium instruction in the B.A. degree courses even after this change-over is effected ; but no grant will be payable by the State Government in respect of such courses.

4. Government wish to make it clear that the study of English as a subject will continue in the new Tamil medium B.A. degree courses and emphasize that the standard in this subject will be, as it is at present, the same as in Part I of the reorganised B.Sc. degree courses.

5. In order to commence the change-over during the year 1963-64 all necessary preparations will have to be completed before

the end of 1962-63. The adequacy of these preparations should be demonstrated by the fact that those who have made the preparations have actually succeeded in providing the instruction in Tamil successfully for all the three-years of the B.A. degree course ; Text-books, Technical Terms, Instructional machinery, and procedure should be evolved in the actual process of imparting instruction in the Tamil medium. To this end, a "Pilot College" will be organised. The change-over will be introduced in the first year of the B.A. degree course during the year 1960-61 in the "Pilot College" and extended to the Second year and Third year in the same College. In the process of imparting instruction in the Tamil medium in this college, all the preparations necessary for the change-over to be made throughout the State during the year 1963-64 will also be carried out. Government have decided that the Government Arts College, Coimbatore, will be the "Pilot" college where the change over will be introduced in 1960-61.

6. Government are anxious that the pupils taking the Tamil medium B.A. degree course in the Pilot College in 1960-61 should not entertain the apprehension that their future prospects will be adversely affected thereby. To this end, Government wish to give the assurance that these pupils will not only have equal opportunities with others in regard to admission to post-graduate courses, employment under the Government of India, etc., but will also be given special preference in the matter of selection to suitable appointments under the State Government and in quasi-Governmental agencies.

7. To advise them on the implementation of this policy and to plan the various preparatory measures to be undertaken in order to introduce the Tamil medium in the Pilot College in 1960-61, Government appoint a committee to be known as the 'College Tamil Committee' consisting of the following members.

- (1) Sri G. R. Damodaran, Principal, P.S.G. & Sons Charities, College of Technology, Peelamedu — *Chairman*.
- (2) Sri V. A. Devasenapati, Reader in Philosophy, University of Madras.

- (3) Sri K. R. Applachari, M.A., L.T., Principal, V.O.C. Training College, Tuticorin.
- (4) Sri S. Velayudhan, Chief Professor of Economics, Presidency College, Madras.
- (5) Sri T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Head of the Department of Tamil, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.
- (6) The Principal of the Government Arts College, Coimbatore,

and three other members to be co-opted by the Committee. Sri V. Kannaiyan, Secretary of the Tamil Development and Research Council, will be the Secretary of the Committee. The necessary staff to assist the Committee in its work will be appointed in due course.

8. The Committee will consider the following points and advise Government on them :

(i) The mode of selection of pupils for the B.A. degree courses in the Pilot College. It is necessary that pupils should be chosen from every district and should be the best among those, who, being eligible for admission to the B.A. degree course decide to take that course.

(ii) The selection of staff to conduct the new courses—The staff or Professors and Lecturers for the various subjects of the B.A. courses in the Pilot College should be specially got together so as to comprise an organised team which will be competent to impart instruction in the Tamil medium. Even though the Pilot College will be a Government College, the selection of staff for these courses need not be confined to people in Government service and the choice should be from as wide a circle as possible so long as the persons chosen possess the qualifications prescribed by the University. The Committee might prepare a list of suitable persons to take up the various subjects of the B.A. course from which Government could choose the members of the staff to run the new courses.

(iii) Preparation of text books and lecture notes for the new courses.

(iv) Technical terms to be used in the new courses—As far as possible, well known international terminology should be used subject to such adaptations as may be necessary. Well known Tamil terms may also be used but it would be desirable in such cases to have the international terms also indicated in brackets.

(v) Any other matter relevant to the conduct of the Tamil medium B.A. courses.

9. The Committee will be free to consult all persons whose advice and opinion in the matter will, in its opinion, be useful. The first report of the Committee may be submitted to Government in three months.

10. The Committee will be a first class Committee for purposes of Travelling Allowance and Daily Allowance.

List of Books Received

on Complimentary and Exchange Basis
in June 1959

Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library,
Madras, Vol. XI, No. 2.

Bulletin Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R.—February,
March and April 1959.

Boctokobelehnr : No. 1/1959.

Bollpocbi : No. 2/1959.

Boctok : Nos. 2 & 3/1959.

Cobetckoe : No. 6/1958.

Chinese Literature : Nos. 4 & 5, 1959.

Diogenes : Nos. 23 & 24/1958.
and No. 25/1959.

East and West : Vol. 9, No. 4, December 1958.

Quest : April-June 1959, 21.

Rumanian Review : No. 1/1959.

Rumania Today : Nos. 3 & 4/1959.

Soviet Affairs Analysis Service No. 92.

The Aryan Path : Vol. XXX, June 1959, No. 6.

The Indian P.E.N. : Vol. XXV, Nos. 5 & 6, 1959.

The University of Kansas City Review : Vol. XXV, March
1959, No. 3.

Values : Vol. IV, June 1959, No. 9.

World Student News : Nos. 3-4, 1959.

தமிழ்ப் பொழில் — மலர் 2.

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(„ calm)
இ	—	i	(„ sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(„ machine)
உ	—	u	(„ full)
ஊ	—	u:	(„ rule)
எ	—	e	(„ fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(„ able)
ஐ	—	ai	(„ aisle)
ஓ	—	o	(„ opinion)
ஔ	—	o:	(„ opium)
ஔ	—	au	(„ now)

CONSONANTS

		Hints re: articulation	
<i>Hard</i> ¹ (Plosive)	க	—	k (as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c („ church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t: („ card?)....Retroflex - articulate with blade of tongue.
	த	—	th („ threat, this, thick)....dental.
<i>Soft</i> (Nasal)	ப	—	p („ pipe, amber)
	ம	—	t („ atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex-articulate with tip of tongue.
	ங	—	ng („ sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj („ angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n: („ urn?)....Retroflex n - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ந	—	nh („ anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m („ mate)
	ள	—	n („ enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with tip of tongue.
	ய	—	y („ yard)
	ர	—	r („ red)
<i>Medium</i> (non-nasal continuant)	ல	—	l („ leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with tip of tongue.
	வ	—	v („ very)
	ழ	—	l- („ ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ள	—	l: („ hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with blade of tongue.
<i>Auxiliary</i> ² (ஆய்தம்)	ஃ	—	x („ ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard*, have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

(a) a *slightly aspirated unvoiced* value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant*.

e.g., பக்கம் – is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

(b) an *unaspirated but voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant*:—

e.g., பங்கம் – is pronounced pangam, not pankam
பஞ்சம் – „ panjam, not pancam,

(c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant*.

e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative—sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of *t*: which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

e.g., எஃகு became ehku

Later its value became fixed as *h*, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil=Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve : ngkat : am).

- (ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

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I, C. Amritaganesan, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Date : 1st April 1959.

C. AMRITAGANESAN,
Publisher.

(This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

Note.—(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column.

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel *a* has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top

(3) All the eighteen vowel consonants under ϕ (x) are shown as a guide: in other cases only the irregular forms are shown. The rest being exactly similar to those shown under ϕ (x), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored.

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TAMIL CULTURE

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MALAYA : Manager, *Tamil Murasu*, 71, Selegie Road, Singapore 7.

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TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

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North - Up, South - Down

U. R. EHRENFELS

I

Attitude-analysis of "Northerners" to "Southerners", and *vice versa*, within numerous literate societies of big-nation areas, produced evidence that their mutual evaluations and reciprocal behaviour conforms, with the exception of exogamy, to the male-female antithesis (Ehrenfels, 1956/a : 8, 194 ; 1956/b : 9) which is a characteristic element in the formation of phratries, moieties and other composite parts in dual segmentations of various pre-literate small-group social systems (Radcliffe-Brown, 1951 : 21, Ehrenfels, 1957). Northerners play the role of the masculine, "upper" segment, Southerners that of the feminine, "lower", as far as popular value-judgments in a great number of otherwise different big nations, are concerned. Leaving open the question whether these judgments are imaginary or conform to facts, they produce, at any rate, mutual attitudes, comparable to those which characterize rival segments in primitive dual systems. Colloquial expressions, such as "up north" or "down south" give expression to this identification of *north* and *up*, or of *south* and *down*, even in countries, where the north consists of flat low-lands and the south is mountainous and should be referred to as the "up-country"; so for instance in Germany or in peninsular India and Ceylon. This kind of phraseology is expressive of a well-grounded, though largely subconscious, linkage of *north* with *on top*, and of *south* with *down below*.

I cannot offer an explanation for this convention in the speech of literate nations, though it has been suggested to conceive it as an adaptation to the cartographically indicated situation. (Bates, 1956). But the cartographic

arrangement in itself is also not grounded in any intrinsic, geographic or technical advantages. The opposite, or any other, distribution on the map could be, and actually has been, used, in the beginning of Eurasafrican geographic traditions, (Fordham, 1921 : 40) as we shall note later.

II

In a world-wide distributed system of moieties, phratries and other forms of segmented societies, sky and earth are conceived as the upper and lower parts of one unit, and again identified with the *male* — *female* antithesis, in a divine pair, or a world — father — mother. Baumann recently summarized the wide distribution of these mythologies (1955 : 137, 316, 325 ff.). Further elaborating this dichotomy, he quotes Roeder (1939 : 97) for anthropomorphic world-pictures, showing, in the right upper part, a concentration of male elements and, in the left lower part, that of female ones (Baumann 1955 : 138), and again Tessmann (1928) for beliefs, allocating male magic power up in the head and female magic forces down in the sex organs or in menstrual blood (Baumann, 1955 : 349). A list, quoted by Baumann (1955 : 139) from Duyvendak (1940 : 94, ff.) contains frequent mythological equations of *male-female* with *up-down*, *in front-at back* and with *east-west*. There is no reference in this list from Indonesia, to *north-south* directly, but the mythological equation of north with east, and of west with south, is widespread (Ehrenfels, 1956/c, FN13) and again stressed by Baumann's (1955 : 321) quotation of Nadel's (1947) observation among the Nuba. Duyvendak's list, therefore, contains a double reference to the equation *male-up* and *female-down* : firstly this equation in itself and then through the identification of male with east, which is again mythologically equivalent to north, and of female with west, — mythologically equated with south.

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss the geographical, linguistic and mythological identifications of *up*

with *male* and *north*, or of *down* with *female* and *south*. These conventionalized identifications may have developed independently, or may have emerged as the ~~result of~~ diffusion from one of the discussed concepts to the other.

III

In an attempt to understand at first the cross-cultural recurrence of similar attitudes taken in otherwise dissimilar big-nation areas by Northerners towards Southerners, and *vice versa*, I considered the old climatological explanation, as it was, for instance, formulated by de Courcy—Ward (1918 : 281). This theory assumes a direct and simple link between cold climate and the mentality of Northerners, or between warm climate and that of Southerners. The latitudinal distribution of north-south-polarized national units along roughly each one meridian (Ehrenfels 1957), however shows that cultural north-south-polarization phenomena, like magnetic needles, place typically southern parts of each polarized unit to the south, even in cold, sub-arctic climates, (as, for instance, in Southern Scandinavia, South Scotland, and South Ireland). Likewise, northern polarized cultural sub-regions are found in tropical, equatorial climates, such as North Nigeria, Northern Morocco, North Sudan, North Ceylon, North Malabar, North Siam, etc.).

This situation led me to advance the hypothesis that every area in which the typical north-south-polarized culture situation can be observed, is a unit within which individuals and institutions enjoy a higher degree of mobility than beyond the frontiers of this area. This mobility will, therefore, tend to create a concentration of such individuals, groups and institutions in the northern part of each area, as are fit and willing to live under the *relatively* colder, rougher, and hence harder, circumstances of these sub-regions and *vice-versa*. The comparative seclusion of each national area would then be responsible for cultural north-south-polarization phenomena within these areas and

their magnetic needle—like latitudinal stringing—up along the meridian. (Ehrenfels, 1956/b : 9, 1957).

Two main arguments stand against this politico-climatological and rationalistic interpretation of the phenomenon under discussion.

(1) It postulates large-scale north-south population movements, within each polarized area, which are comparatively rare as recorded facts of history. The northward migrations of French Huguenots and Austrian Protestants during the counter-reformation, or the southward trend among some Viking and Norman conquerors, British seafarers and later European painters and literati, may be quoted in this connection. But the continuous mass-movement within each polarized area, though it may have taken place continuously and unrecorded by history, can hardly be proved, — unless a world-wide machinery of discovering past family histories over several hundred years could be organized over the entire northern hemisphere.

(2) The second argument against my interpretation of north-south-polarization is of a mythologically less secure nature. Yet it will carry weight with most anthropological students of mythology.

The mythological identification of *up* with *male* (and thus indirectly with *north*, though in mythology often also with *east*) and *down* with *female* (or *south* and *west* respectively) in exogamous dual systems is so strikingly similar to the same process in the north-south-polarization phenomenon, of literate big-nation areas, that complete dissociation of the two sets of ideas seems hardly feasible. Yet the *up-and-down*-identifications of exogamous moieties in dual systems cannot possibly be explained by internal migrations,—much less by adaptation of each segment to relatively different climates, as in the case of *north-south*-polarization, because these groups are too small.

The mythologically observed identification elements: *male* — *upper* (*in front*) — *sky* — *sun* — *east* (or *north*), and *female*—*lower* — (*at the back*) — *earth* — *moon* — *west* (or *south*) cannot be explained in terms of climatological or any other experimentally observed phenomena. Two possible explanations may seem plausible enough in some, but not all cultures where they occur. These would be (a) stressed male superiority in some social systems and (b) a generalization of conventionalized body postures *in coitu*. However, the frequent occurrences of male-up, female-down identification also in matrilineal societies, such as for instance Iroquois (Baumann 1955 : 323) and Khasi (Ehrenfels 1950 : 29) does not fit well in the first argument, namely stressed social subjection of the female element in society. The second argument, based on the assumption that conventionalized body-postures *in coitu* were responsible for these equations, forgets that conventional postures during sex-acts do not always coincide with a male-up, female-down position and hardly conform to the *male-in front* or *female-at the back* equation, which Baumann (1955 : 135) quotes after Duyvendak (1940 : 94).

IV

Mythological identifications of up with *male* and *north* (or *east*), and down with *female*, *south* (or *west*) are so widespread a phenomenon that their historic inter-connection with concepts of literate societies, especially cartography, seems possible. However, not all maps conformed in the beginnings of cartographic traditions to the north-up, south-down equation. The Encyclopaedia Britannica shows us that Ptolomy's map (150) did, whilst Isidor of Sevilla's (630) and Herford's (1280) place east up, west down, which may be interpreted as an expression of the east-north-identification to which we have already referred. But the map of Beatus (776) and that of Idrisi (1154) place south on top and north down at the lower margin of the chart.

This non-conformity emphasises all the more the pre-dominant and, at any rate, later general coincidence of cartographical conventions in late literate civilizations with those prevailing in preliterate dual organizations, by proving the technical feasibility of the opposite arrangement, namely: south on top and north below. But does this observation suggest the probability, or even possibility of any direct link between pre-literate dual organizations and late literate cartography?

Such an assumption, unlikely in itself, seems to be further contradicted by Fordham's observation that not only "...Romans and Arabs drew maps with the south at the top", like a late German route map of 1501 (1921: 40), but that "only the Italian and Catalan navigators, *working with the compass* established a northern orientation for the chart" (1921: 41; my italics). Yet, there is one element, common to both: mythological world pictures and modern cartography. This is the symbolic significance which has been attributed to the top portion of maps, whether it be the east with a representation of Paradise, and a cross to indicate the "orientation" toward the Holy Sepulchre (Fordham 1921: 40), or any other direction. Our contemporary attribution of top qualities to the north seems, therefore, indeed grounded in mythological concepts.

The explanation of coincidence between two so widely separated sets of culture phenomena, as are phratries or moieties in dual organization, or mythological world-pictures on the one side, and modern cartography or north-south-polarization in comparatively recent big-nation areas; on the other, may be based on two different, though not entirely disconnected, sets of ideas.

Firstly: The identification of *male* with *up*, *east* and *north* which cannot be explained rationally, sociologically or by way of sexual analogies, but which, all the same,

is so widespread that either an almost prinitial diffusion, or a kind of Bastianian *elementar gedanken*, must here be assumed.

Secondly : With the spreading of literacy, uniform big nations emerged which began to occupy large areas. Since in such areas, northern sub-regions are climatically differentiated from southern ones, the process of internal migrations would have been eased by increased mobility within each national area, leading to concentration of "harder", more masculine types in the northern, and "softer", more feminine types in the southern sub-regions of each of the large big-nation areas.

A check-up of individual family-histories to ascertain the possibility of such internal polarization movements to have taken place, in each of these areas from the U.S.A. to China, and from Ceylon to Korea, is a practical impossibility. But another method of research in this sphere offers itself. This is the study of north-south polarization phenomena on the southern hemisphere. Particularly large national areas in the making would offer almost laboratory conditions for this kind of study. There, the harder types would tend to migrate towards the colder south and *vice versa*, thus producing a polarization pattern which reverses both : the familiar situation on the northern hemisphere and also the traditionally founded mythological equation of *male* with *north* and of *female* with *south*.

The other set of identifications, namely *male* with *up* and *female* with *down*, is on the other hand not likely to be changed on the southern hemisphere. A particular research aspect which may be suggested here, is a possible reversion of colloquial references to the north from *up* to *down* and to the south from *down* to *up*, in languages, spoken by immigrants into south-equatorial lands, from the northern hemisphere.

It may be expected that such studies, apart from clearing the entertwined strands of diffusion and parallel development in north-south attitudes, may also point to certain structural differences between societies on the southern and the northern hemispheres,—however much they may otherwise be influenced by the community of language, religion or political organization.

After this article has been written in 1957, the author pursued anthropological researches in East Africa, especially Tanganyika, south of the equator. There he found traces of converging aggressions towards the equator from both: North and South. Masai and other Nilo-Hamite cattle people have come "down" from Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan in the North and intruded into the area of Bantu-speaking agriculturists in the South. Some of these northern invaders permeated into Tanganyika just a little beyond the geographic line of the equator. On the other hand there were aggressive invasions on the southern hemisphere: the Wa-Zimba in the 17th century who crossed the Zambesi and reached Southern Tanganyika, even Mombasa, and again the Wa-Ngoni in the 19th century who invaded Nyasaland and Southern Tanganyika also from the South. These Zulu-speaking warriors pushed the large Yao-group of matrilineal cultivators from the Lake Nyasa area through the Ruvuma valley still further northwards as far as Lindi District (Ehrenfels, 1959).

Nearer the equator, in Morogoro District of Eastern Tanganyika, the composite Luguru tribe integrated various clan groups into one unit which had migrated from the South with others from the North (Ehrenfels, 1960).

In the recent history of southern Africa, the aggressively dominating role, played by the extreme South, complementary to the North on the northern hemisphere, is dramatically illustrated by the introduction of *apartheid* as official policy in the Union of South Africa. This extreme ideology extends its indirect influence even beyond the political borders to its northerly neighbours, nearer the equator, such as the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Racial discrimination for instance is more pronounced in Southern Rhodesia than in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

These observations go to show that a reversal of the north: south situation on the northern hemisphere into a congruent south: north situation on the southern hemisphere is here in the process of formation. The linkage is thus suggested, between cultural polarisation and climate which has been presented by the author of this paper, in the paras III, IV as well as elsewhere.

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Saiva Siddhanta as Religion and Philosophy *

K. SESHADRI

"A little philosophy inclineth men's minds to atheism," wrote Bacon, the British philosopher. He also added that depth in philosophy brings back our minds to religion, which suggests that in a sense philosophy fulfils itself in religion. Philosophy is mainly the fruit of intellectual effort. Religion is rooted in experience of the heart. Each supplements the other. This is clearly demonstrated in systems of Indian thought, in Vedānta particularly, where philosophy is largely the deepest spiritual experience discussed in retrospect. In India, philosophy never really dissociated itself from religion in the essential sense. This ought to be deemed its special strength, rather than any sign of weakness.

Saiva Siddhānta is an excellent example of what religion can do to preserve the freshness of philosophy, and of what philosophy can do to make religion universal. Saiva Siddhānta is both Samaya and Siddhānta. It is a profoundly religious approach to the fundamental problems of 'perennial philosophy'. The religion of Saiva Siddhānta is a religion of Love. Its philosophy is a philosophy of Realism. If there is to be a religion for the future it must be a religion of Love; and if there is to be a philosophy, it must be a philosophy which accepts the world of everyday experience as real, without abandoning the pursuit of the highest ideals. It must be a philosophy, which accepts the diversities of the world of Becoming as real, without losing sight of the essential and ultimate unity of Being—a philosophy in which Realism and Idealism, Monism and

* The article is a summary of a lecture delivered at the Saiva Siddhanta Conference, Trivandrum, 1959.

Pluralism are all aspects of Truth. Saiva Siddhānta is not only a blend of religion and philosophy, but a synthesis of a variety of philosophical conceptions on the one hand and a harmonization of fundamental religious beliefs on the other. It is Vedānta, but it is also Siddhānta. It recognises Veda as Pramāṇa, but seeks to establish its conclusions in the light of Āgama as well. That its conclusions claim to be beyond doubt, that they rest on the foundations of direct, personal experience, is brought out by the word 'Siddhānta' (Siddha plus Anta). If, as philosophy, it is a synthesis of various points of view, as religion, it is a practical and progressive system of spiritual discipline, which begins with the simplest rituals of worship and prayer, and without rejecting them, discovers a deeper meaning in them, and leads to the highest yoga securing the most immediate and intimate union between soul and God.

The religion of Saiva Siddhānta is universal in that it provides for the emancipation of all souls, at all stages of progress, by means of appropriate Dikshas, into which the Ācāryas initiate the aspirants. The Ācāryas are spiritual preceptors, illumined souls, who have dedicated their lives for the uplift of the others. By virtue of the purity of their love and wisdom, the Ācāryas are themselves regarded as Siva in a diversity of manifestations, and revered as God. Having attained spiritual realization, they continue to work in the material world of men and things, guiding those that are on the path of spiritual progress. The guidance is given in appropriate measure and manner, to each according to his capacity and need. There is a gradation of aspirants, who have reached different mile-stones, as there is a gradation of mukta-śivas. The highest alone are one with Siva, the supreme. Yet, even they are not absolutely identical with Him. The state of Mokṣa is not one of identity. It is a state, in which 'Similar' that are distinct unite without annihilation. 'Paramam Sāmyam upaiti', says the Upanishad. The released soul attains the highest degree of parity with the Lord.

The four familiar kinds of Mukti are all recognised in Saiva Siddhānta, including Sāyujya, which is the highest and most intimate kind of experience. Kaivalya is not countenanced, for Mokṣa is bliss of union, and not of isolation. It is a union in whose ecstasy soul and God become indistinguishable. But it does not mean the extinction of either. They are one, and yet not absolutely one, in the union of “தான்” and “தலை” we have the compound “தாடலை” which is neither a simple, single word nor two distinct words. This illustration is particularly apt, for it pointedly suggests that there can be no Mukti without total surrender of the self, and the act of surrender is symbolised by placing one’s head (தலை) at the blessed feet (தான்) of the Supreme Lord. It further suggests that the grace of God is indispensable for the redemption of the soul. Surrender presupposes devotion, and releases the flood-gates of grace. This sums up the substance of Saiva Siddhānta as religion. It is a religion of love, through and through. If the soul’s love of God expresses itself as deep, selfless devotion, God’s limitless love for man descends on the soul as the unique redemptive power of grace. The Sivajñāna Bodham says that just as the eye cured of its blindness still needs the light of the sun to see, the soul freed from the ego-sense still needs the grace of God to consummate the act of redemption. The Siddhiyār says that the soul does not become omniscient or independent, even in release. It does acquire several powers and perfections, but it can never assume the five unique functions of the Supreme Lord, which are the special unshared prerogative of Siva.

The Supreme Lord is Siva,—Siva not in the sense that He is one of the traditional Trinity, but Sivam who is described in the Upanishads as the “Chaturtham”. God is person. Indeed He is *the Person* in the fullest and truest sense of the term. His personality is not a limitation or a condition of bondage, as it is in the case of man. God’s personality is a manifestation, not a mask. Through His

personality God's unique excellences shine forth. Man's personality is adventitious to him, and it is both a condition and a consequence of his Karma. Man enveloped in "malas", of which the "Ānava-mala" is the strongest, acquires an individuality, which reflects his personality. This is something, which he should get rid of, for association with it implies perpetuation of bondage. Divine personality is sat-cit-ānanda. It is neither Saguna nor Nirguṇa, which does not mean that it is contentless. God is reality, the plenitude of Being and Perfection, not a category or a mere substance with attributes.

Saivism as religion is far from anthropomorphic. Its conceptions and delineations are richly symbolic, and have a direct, personal appeal to man. They cannot be put down either as naive pantheism or obscure transcendentalism. The fundamental categories of Saiva Siddhānta are philosophically sound, and they are developed in such a way that they provide a secure basis for a practical and popular religion. The philosophy carries conviction, while the faith is profoundly satisfying.

The attainment of God-head, which is the goal of religion, is also the realization of the Ātman, which is the essence of reality. The Ātman is the soul of souls and the self of all. It is the soul, for whom the entire universe is body, on whom the entire universe is dependent, by whom it is animated, controlled and directed from within. The Ātman is the inner principle of integration, which preserves the integrity or one-ness of the universe. This is very much like Viśiṣṭādvaita, but Saiva Siddhānta claims to go beyond all classification, and would reject all nomenclature. It would accept the description 'Advaita', provided Advaita carried with it no liability on account of its cognate conception of 'Māyā'. Advaita here does not imply either the unreality of the world, or the absolute, relationless nature of the ultimate. Advaita, for the Siddhāntin, stands for that unique, unparalleled relation, not only between man and God, but also between God and the entire world.

Advaita supplies the key to the mystery in the Mahāvākyas like "Tattvamasi" and "aham brahmāsmi". This does not, however, imply the denial of the reality of the world or of the soul. What is related, in an intimate and irrevocable manner, to the supremely Real can never cease to be. "The light of the stars is invisible in the radiance of the sun, but on that account the existence of the stars is not denied", argues the Siddhāntin. The Soul is "hidden" in the body; so is God immanent in the universe and in every particle of the universe. "பொன்னை மறைத்தது பொன்னணி பூஷணம்" sings Tirumular. "The Gold is hidden in the golden ornament". "Hidden" does not imply any unreality. The ornament is not unreal, just because its substance is different. God is like the fragrance in the flower or the brilliance in the gem. The flower and the gem are not any the less real, although their value depends on what lies hidden in them. The world of matter and form needs to be sustained by the power of the immanent spirit. Its life flows from the Ātman within, and the Ātman is at once the source and the consummation of all life. The ultimate is the Supreme, and it is the origin as well as the goal of all Creation. Here, as in Viśiṣṭādvaita, philosophy merges into religion. The metaphysical Absolute of the philosopher becomes the personal God of theism. Thereby philosophy is rescued from unintelligible abstractions, and religion is saved from dogma. To love God or to be devoted to Him is to love and serve humanity. Through love of humanity one attains the love of God. This is the meaning of the symbolism of Dāsa, Satputra, Sakha etc. Through love and self-surrender is the soul purified, cleansed of all its malas. The Āṇava-mala, the dross of ego-sense, is the most difficult to shed. But it *must* be shed, if the soul is to be saved. The narrow, little, decrepit self must die in order that the divine self may be realised. "நான் கெட்டு சிவமானவா" declares the Saint. This is the meaning of "dying to live" in Saiva Siddhānta. The rooting out of all sense of ego is the alpha and the omega of spiritual evolution. When Āṇava is got rid of;

the bonds of Pāśa snap, the little self rises, to its full stature, and the soul emerges from Paśutvam to that state of blissful consummation described as "S'antam śivam - advaitam chaturtham - ātmā".

Mokṣa is both self-realisation and God-realisation. It is a positive state of Jñāna-Ānanda, in which Pati-jñāna brought about by Pāśa-Kṣaya is a unique experience of awakening into an illimitable life of all-enveloping bliss.

In this scheme of religious philosophy, moral discipline is not divorced from spiritual progress. The lower values are not liquidated or annulled, but sublimated into the highest. The good life is inspired and informed by the highest Puruṣārtha. Morality gets enriched by relating itself to spirituality. All values are transvalued in the light of the universal immanence of God. Dharma is re-interpreted as the will of God. The whole world of sense and desire wears a new aspect. Every desire appears as an aspiration for the highest. All love is love of God. This transformation can take place only with the grace of God. அருள் and அன்பு are inseparable. அன்பு does not bear fruit without அருள். By God's grace is God-head attained. Hence the necessity for self-surrender. It is to the surrendered soul that God grants grace. The unsundered cling to the vain-glorious, little ego, and bar the doors and windows of the soul against the free inflow of grace.

Participial and Verbal Nouns as Predicates in Early Old Tamil

KAMIL ZVELEBIL.

§ 1. The scholars, working in Tamil and Dravidian philology, have so far rather indicated than explained the use of participial and verbal nouns in predicative function. This use has been found especially in Old Tamil. J. Bloch, in his *Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes*, p. 45, says: "Il semble donc finalement que le système flexionnel de type pronominal se soit développé secondairement. Il succède à l'usage de noms verbaux capables de sujet pronominal au nominatif. On en trouve d'assez nombreux exemples dans la vieille poésie tamoule." True to this historical and comparative observation, he states, that the use of verbal nouns in predicative function had been once predominating in the ancient stages of evolution of all Dravidian languages. Beytham (*Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache*, p. 114) quotes examples showing that this use is still alive in Modern Tamil. However, none of the authors has, so far, described this use systematically, and various questions, arising in connection with this use, have still to be answered. Are the forms in question really verbal nouns or participial nouns? Are these verbal nouns true predicates capable of subjects, or are they determinate members, determined by the so-called subjects? Are the constructions in question actor-action constructions, or nominal sentences in the form of determinative compounds? What is the state of affairs in Modern Tamil?

In the following remarks I try to elucidate some of these questions upon the basis of syntactic investigation of the Early Old Tamil text *Narrinai*.¹

¹ *Narrinai* is a poetic text of 400 stanzas, one of the anthologies of *Ettuttokai* ("Eight anthologies"), written in Early Old Tamil (approximately 1.-3. Cent. A. D.).

§ 2. Let us say at the very beginning that the right interpretation of such constructions is of utmost importance for the analysis of the very nature of Tamil (and Dravidian) sentential structure. According to the answers on some of the questions arising in connection with the use of verbal nouns as predicates, the Tamil sentence may be regarded either as a Subject-Predicate construction, or as a cluster of determinants, or attributes, determining the verbal forms in predicative use. Let us consider a typical instance from *Narrinai* (further abbrev. NT, 53, 3) :

1. *evan̄kol tōli yannai kanniyatu* ? "What, o friend, did the mother think ?"

Fundamentally, this construction may be analysed in two ways :

1. As a nominal (or better non-verbal) sentence, where the predicate, expressed by verbal noun (*kanniyatu*) is, in ultimate analysis, the subject and the original subject (*annai*) is attributive agent: What (*evan̄ kol*), o friend (*tōli*), thinking in past (*kanniyatu*) by (of) the mother (*annai*) ? When analysed in this way, the construction would of course not be that of Subject-Predicate, but of a determinative compound: *annai* (determinant) *kanniyatu* (determined member) "mother—of thinking in past"; "of the mother (Attr.)—thought (S)—what ? (P)."

2. As a Subject-Predicate construction, where the verbal noun in predicative use is capable of substantival subject in the nominative ; according to this interpretation, *annai* is not an attribute, but Subject in the subject-case, the whole sentence is not a non-verbal sentence, but a verbal sentence, where *kanniyatu* is a verbal predicate : What, o friend, the mother thinking in past ? *annai*-Subject, *kanniyatu*-Predicate, expressed by verbal noun, capable of nominative Subject ; "what (O) the mother (S) thought (P) ?"

3. Which interpretation is right? Can we find, in the textual material, examples, which would speak in favour of one or the other interpretation? The whole matter is even more complicated, since the form *kanniyatu* may be understood as a participial noun: the mother (is) that which thought.

The first interpretation is rather tempting. It is in accord with the "attributive" character of Dravidian languages. It indicates certain syntactic relations between the Dravidian and Altaic languages (cf. Valter Tauli, *Uralaltaische Jahrbücher* XXVIII, 3—4, 142: "predicate is the determinatum and the subject the determinate", and, ib. 144: "nominal determinant of the predicate in the function of agent became the so-called subject"). It is rather original. Upon the basis of such interpretation it might be possible to found a theory that the Dravidian sentence is actually a determinative compound, where the Predicate (at the end of the sentence) is the determinatum, and all that which precedes, including the Subject, are determinates of the Predicate. We might even write an equation

$$S : P = \text{determinans} : \text{determinatum}.$$

However, it is not right.

We may come across a number of examples in the ancient texts, where the Subject is expressed by a pronoun, showing easily, whether it stands in *casus rectus*, in the nominative case or in *casus obliquus*, in the attributive case. And we find, that the pronoun is in nominative, in the subjective case, which shows that it is real Subject, and not determinant of the Predicate expressed by verbal noun:

2. *niṇakku¹ yān² maraittal³ yāvatu⁴*? NT 72,4 "What⁴ do I² hide³ from thee¹? "*"

* Var. transl. "Why did I hide from thee?"

3. *nām*¹ *ceytato*² *nrillai*³ (NT 27,5) "We¹ did² nothing³."

The subject, expressed by *yāṇ* and *nām* respectively is in a true subject-case (in the nominative). It is not an attribute. Thus we see, that the relation between the noun (*annai* in NT 53, 3) or pronouns (in NT 72 and 27) and the verbal nouns (*kanniyatu*, *maraittal*, *ceytatu*) is not a determinative relation, but the predication. Thus we may agree fully with Bloch's statement, that the verbal nouns in predicative use are capable of nominal (substantival or pronominal) Subjects in the nominatives. Cf. also Bloch's instance *yāṇ piṛakku* "I shall be born", or our examples *viṇavuval yāṇē* (NT 173, 10) "I shall ask", *iṇi¹ yevan² moikō³ yāṇ⁴* (NT 224, 8) "what³ I⁴ say³ now¹?" This interpretation is also confirmed by Modern Tamil examples given by Beythan (op. cit. l. c.) and by our examples *antak¹ kataiyai²... eḷutiyatu³ nāṇ⁴ tāṇē⁵* "I myself ... wrote that story" (*Ānantavikaṭaṇ*, 23, 9, 1956, p. 80), lit. "That¹ story² (object in accus.)—past writing³—I⁴ myself⁵ (Subject)", and *atai¹ yum² nāṇ³ colla⁴ ppōkīra⁵ ṭillai⁶* "And² I³ am not⁶ going⁵ to say⁴ that¹ either²" (ib. p. 76), lit. "That¹ (object in accus.)—and² I³ to say⁴ going⁵ (Predicate, verbal noun)—is not⁶". The verbal forms in question are verbal nouns, not participial nouns, as will be shown later.²

§ 4. After these preliminary remarks we may say that the Predicate in Early Old Tamil was expressed—along with predicates in finite verbal forms and nominal predicates—by verbal and participial nouns.

a. *finite verbal forms* :

1. *yām...varukam* (88, 3) "We ... shall come".

2. *mīṇ keṭuva* (NT 16, 6) "Fish perish".

3. *varuvar¹ ... iṇṇōrē²* (ib. 18, 2 ... 10) "He that went away² ... will come¹". These verbal forms are

² Very important is also the absence of syntactic sandhi: were *annai* attribute, the initial plosive of the following word would be most probably geminated **annaik kanniyatu*, cf. *kutiraikkal* "the leg of the horse".

capable of expressing the categories of person, number, aspect and tense. The construction is that of Subject-Predicate, of actor-action.

b. *participial nouns.*

1. *annai*¹ ... *celk²enrōlē*³ (NT 53, 11) "The mother ... said : Let (ye) go. Liter. "The mother¹ ... Let(ye) go²—she who said³". We see : a nominal sentence.

2. *en*¹ *mukam*² *nōkkiyōlē*³ (NT 55, 9) "She looked at my face", lit. "(At) my face²—she who looked³", again : a nominal sentence.

3. *āyilai*¹ *varuvōl*² (NT 308, 3) "The woman with fair jewels will come", lit. "(The one who has) fair jewels¹—she who will come²". Again a nominal sentence.

Thus we see that, analysed ultimately, this Subject-Predicate construction may be regarded as a nominal sentence, not as an actor-action construction, where A (the Subject) (is) the one who acts (Predicate, expressed by participial noun). There is, therefore, a fundamental difference between this type of construction and that one, in which the Predicate is expressed by verbal noun. It is also seen from this analysis, that forms like *kanniyatu* or *eytatu* are not participial, but verbal nouns ; were they participial nouns, they would be in agreement with the Subject (*annai kanniyaval*, *kanniyōl* "the mother [is] she who thought", just like *annai... enrōlē* in NT 53, 11).

c. *verbal nouns :*

The verbal nouns, used in EOT in predicative function, are formed by the suffixes *-tu*, *-al*, *-vu*, *-ku*. Examples :

1. *Viyanpunattu... varukō* ? (NT 204, 2) "Shall (I) come to the large field ?"

2. *niṇ kūreyirunḱu* (ib. 204, 6) " (I) shall eat thy sharp teeth."

3. *yān ancuvalē* (ib. 229, 2) "I fear".

4. *pularvatu kol avan naṭpu ?* (ib. 72, 10) "Is perhaps his love fading away?"

5. *anc¹il² ōti³ arum⁴paṭar⁵ uravē⁶* (ib. 105, 10) "(The lady with) beautiful¹ fine² hair³ is full of desire⁴, (having) difficult⁴ distress⁵".

6. *enru¹ . . ulakan² kūruvatu³ unṭu⁴* (ib. 327, 6) "thus ... the world says", lit. "thus¹ ... the world²-saying³-exists⁴", cf. Beythan, op. cit. l. c. *ikaravikuti āṇpālaiyum kāṭṭuvatu unṭu* "i-Suffix zeigt auch männliches Geschlecht", lit. "the suffix i also masculine gender (Object in accus.) indicating-exists". Cf. also our example *kōpālan¹ āccariya²ppaṭṭatu³ unṭu⁴* (*Ānantavikatan*, 26. 8. 1956, p.104) "Gopalan was surprised", lit. "Gopalan (S)¹ surprised-being², ³-exists⁴ (passive)".

I am well aware of the problems—especially those of terminological nature—arising in connection with this conception. It seems that we have, on the one hand, forms, formed by morphemes *-ku*, *-tal*, *-al*, *-kai*, *-mai* etc., and their allomorphs, which are not capable to express the tense-categories; these forms may be called true verbal nouns (in the narrower sense of the term); on the other hand, there are forms ending in *-tu*, formed from stems expressing tense-categories; we may call these forms "conjugated nouns"; however, syntactically, they have the same characteristics as verbal nouns; thus, for the sake of our investigation, they may also be called verbal nouns (in the broad sense). Important is that these forms in *-tu* are found as predicates having subjects in the *casus energēticus*.

It seems highly probable that previous to the origin and development of the verbal flexion of the pronominal type there existed a more ancient stage characterized by the use of verbal and "conjugated" nouns, and perhaps stems and roots as well, in predicate; it must have been a

system (if it was a system at all) of rather indeterminate forms, compound of bases plus different morphemes of verbal and conjugated nouns, only partly capable of expressing tense and person. Whether it was, in the proto-Tamil stage, a system, which later broke down, the fragments of which we may find still in Early Old Tamil texts side by side with the new developments of the regular verbal flexion, or whether it had never been a real system in full development, we are at present unable to determine.

The use of verbal nouns as predicates has many drawbacks: they are incapable of expressing the categories of person, number, tense and aspect. Thus they show a *primitive*³ stage of linguistic development, and that obviously has been the reason why they became largely non-productive in later evolution of Tamil. There was, however, one exception: the verbal noun in *-tu* (Old Tamil *kaṇṇiyatu*, Modern Tamil examples *eḷutiyatu*, *pōkiratu*), which was capable at least to express tense. Therefore only this verbal noun is still used in predicative function in Modern Tamil. It seems that in the course of evolution the verbal nouns in *-ku*, *-al*, *-vu* etc., have been suppressed, in predicates, by the secondary flexional system of the pro-nominal type.

CONCLUSION

Verbal nouns (and "conjugated nouns" as well as perhaps stems) and participial nouns are used, in Old Tamil, to express Predicate. Predicative participial nouns are in formal agreement with their Subjects, and such constructions may be ultimately analysed as nominal sentences.

³ The absence of indicators of tense, person and number seems to be, in this case, truly a feature of a more rudimental development. We must not forget the later development of highly complicated though highly regular conjugation of Middle Tamil and New Tamil verb. The case of Malayalam dropping the personal terminations of the verb and systematically simplifying the conjugation is something entirely different. It may be rather compared to the analytic tendency found even in standard Tamil speech of the modern period e.g. in the negative of verbs, and also to the developments of verbal flexion in most of the Tamil local dialects.

Predicative verbal nouns are true Predicates, capable of nominal Subjects in the subject-case, in *casus rectus*, in the nominative. Such constructions are not to be analysed as nominal sentences, they are not to be analysed as determinative compounds, but as Subject-Predicate constructions, as predications. The use of predicative verbal nouns reflects most probably an ancient and primitive stage of language-development. The first historical stage of the evolution of Tamil (Early Old Tamil Period) shows a fundamental difference between the determinative and predicative relations. This period shows a transitional stage, when the use of predicative verbal and participial nouns begins to be suppressed by a more developed and expressive use of flexional system of the pronominal type.⁴ In Modern Tamil this development has been fully accomplished, and the use of predicative verbal nouns has been limited to a single form (in *-tu*) more or less in colloquial language, whereas the use of participial nouns as Predicates has been fully dropped in contemporary common speech.⁵

⁴ According to the statistical investigation of *Narrimai*, the relation between Predicates expressed by finite verbal forms of pronominal type and those expressed by the infinite forms (i.e. verbal nouns, and participial nouns) is circa 5 : 2.

⁵ According to a personal information of a well-educated speaker of Tamil, a form like *ninkal enke utkaruvatu* ? "Where will you sit ?" is felt to be rather a finite verbal form, and is regarded as very colloquial. Participial nouns in predicative use may be still found in some very high modern prose in imitation of classical style of the Middle Ages.

On the Future Tense Base in Tamil

M. ANDRONOV.

Dr. R. Caldwell maintains that "most of the Dravidian tenses are formed from the participial forms of the verb".¹ Further he makes it clear that he means here the verbal participles but not the relative participles. It is true that in the next pages after a detailed study he is compelled to admit that there is a number of exceptions in which this forms are undoubtedly formed from the relative participle (e.g. naṭantanēn naṭantavan etc.)

In regard of the future tense Dr. Caldwell has to make one more reservation stating that "the future is generally formed not from a future (verbal) participle, but by suffixing to the verbal theme some particle which is regarded, whatever its origin may have been, as a sign of future time, and adding to that particle the pronominal terminations".² On the next page Dr. Caldwell definitely says that "he is inclined to consider these signs of the future as originally nothing more than the formatives of verbal nouns"³ (of the type of aṛivu, paṭippu, etc.). This explanation of the suffix of the future tense, as well as the explanation of the structure of the whole form, has survived till the present day at the tacit consent of the majority of students of the Tamil language. This is proved by the fact of the publication by Dr. K. Zvelebil of an article, in which this formula of Dr. Caldwell's is repeated, and the forms like aṛivēn "I shall know", paṭippen "I shall learn" are analysed as aṛivu "knowledge" + ēn, paṭippu "learning" + ēn, etc.⁴

¹ R. CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, 3rd edn., London, 1913, p. 486.

² *Ibid.*, p. 513.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

⁴ K. ZVELEBIL, *A Note on Tamil Syntax*, "Tamil Culture", Vol. V. 1956, N. I., p. 72.

Meanwhile, there are some reasons to think that this finite forms of the future tense could not have been formed in this way by affixing pronominal terminations to verbal derivatives. Thus, Dr. Caldwell himself states that "verbal nouns are carefully to be distinguished from verbal derivatives or substantives derived from verbs. The latter, though derived from verbs, are used merely as nouns".⁵ Verbal derivatives formed from the verbal roots with the help of the suffix -vu, -pu, -ppu are nouns by their nature.⁶ The only feature, they have in common with verbs, is the root from which they are derived. But this fact of derivation from the verbal roots does not impart any verbal characteristics to these words, as it does not in many other languages, e.g. in Sanskrit. These derivatives have no verbal nature, e.g., they cannot have a direct object or a subject in the nominative case. In this respect the words as arivu, paṭippu do not differ from other nouns.

On the contrary, in the forms ariven, paṭippēn, etc., such verbal features as capability of having a subject in the nominative case or a direct object (for the transitive verbs) are expressed very definitely (cf. en arivu, ataṅ arivu and nāṅ arivēn, atai arivēn).

According to Dr. Caldwell's scheme, a noun destitute of any verbal features receives them together with the pronominal suffixes. Numerous examples show, however, that it does not take place in reality. The words aṭi "foot", tēvar "god", ūr "village" and many others do not receive any characteristics when pronominal terminations are suffixed to them : aṭiyēn, tēvarir, ūrār, etc.

But it is clear even without such a comparison that the verbal nature of a word cannot arise as a result of juxtaposition of two nominal elements void of any verbal traits. Affixation of some pronominal suffix cannot turn a noun into a verb, cannot impart verbal nature to a noun.

⁵ R. CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar*, p. 542.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 546.

It is evident that in such forms as arivēn "I shall know" or paṭippēn "I shall learn" the nature of the verb is connected not with the pronominal terminations, but with the bases of the verbs. These bases cannot coincide, however, with the nouns arivu "knowledge", paṭippu "learning" since the latter, in contradistinction to the verbal bases, have no verbal value.

II

Participial nouns of the past and present tenses are formed from the corresponding relative participles with the help of pronominal suffixes -an, aḷ, -tu, -ar, -ai. In order to prevent the hiatus between the -a of the participle and the vowel of the pronominal suffix, the consonant -v- is incorporated between them. Thus, from the root cey- "to do" the following participial nouns are formed in the past and present tenses :—

<u>ceytavan</u> "he who did"	<u>ceykiravan</u> "he who does"
<u>ceytavaḷ</u> "she who did"	<u>ceykiravaḷ</u> "she who does"
<u>ceytatu</u> "that which did"	<u>ceykiratu</u> "that which does"
<u>ceytavar</u> "they (masc. and fem.) who did"	<u>ceykiravar</u> "they (masc. and fem.) who do"
<u>ceytavai</u> "they (neut.) who did"	<u>ceykinravai</u> "they (neut.) who do"

In the future tense the participial nouns are formed not from the relative participle of the future tense in -um, but from the same base as the finite forms. The only difference here is that in the weak verbs the tense-marker is not -v-, but -p-, as in the middle verbs. Cf.

<u>ceypavan</u> "he who will do"	<u>ceyvān</u> "he will do"
<u>ceypavaḷ</u> "she who will do"	<u>ceyvāḷ</u> "she will do"

(exception :

ceyvatu "that which will do" ceyyum "it will do")

ceypavar "they who will do" ceyvār "they will do"

ceypavai "they which will do" ceyyum "they will do".

It is clear that the participial nouns of the future tense are formed from the base which has little in common with the future relative participle in -um (e.g., ceyyum). But outside the Tamil language—in Malayalam and Kannaḍa—the relative participles of the future tense (correspondingly *ceyva* and *geyva*⁷) look just like the form from which the Tamil participial nouns are formed, except the fact that their -v- of the future tense does not turn into -p-.

The same form (i.e., *ceyva*) is to be found in Old Tamil, where it is used as the 3rd person plural in the neutral gender.⁸

The comparison of the Tamil relative participle of the future tense *ceyyum* "which will do" and the 3rd person (neut.) *ceyyum* "it (they) will do" proves that in the modern language the relative participle is used in the sense of a finite form (a similar phenomenon can be found in some cognate languages).

On the other hand, the comparison of the Tamil *ceyva* "they (neut.) will do" with the relative participles of the future tense in Malayalam (*ceyva*) and in Kannaḍa (*geyva*) points to the possibility of the origin of the Tamil *ceyva* in the same way (i.e., from the relative participle).

In other words, it is possible to assume that at the period when Tamil and Kannaḍa existed as a single lan-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 559.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 558.

guage there should be a relative participle of the future tense (e.g., *keyva*⁹) which survived in Malayalam (*ceyva*) and Kannaḍa (*geyva*) and could be traced in Tamil *ceyva* "they will do" (by analogy with *ceyym* "it (they) will do" from *ceyym* "which will do").

Tamil participial nouns of the future tense are now formed from the base which once had been a participle of the future tense.

Conversion of -v- into -p- in the sign of the future tense of the weak verbs is caused by dissimilation of two v's, i.e., the future tense marker v and v which serves to prevent the hiatus between the vowel of the relative participle and that of the pronominal suffix, as in *ceypavan* > *ceypa-v-an* > **ceypa-v-an*.

The fact that this -p- is brought into being by the process of dissimilation is proved by the forms of the neutral gender (like *ceyvatu* "that which will do") where there is no dissimilation, since the suffix -tu begins with a consonant (*ceyvatu* > *ceyva-tu*), and no hiatus can arise.

In some instances the suffixes -an and -ar in the participial nouns are replaced by the suffixes -ōn and -ōr. For instance, *paṭittōn* "he who read" instead of *paṭittavan*, *paṭittōr* "they who read" instead of *paṭittavar*, *perrōr* "parents" ("those who received a child") instead of *perravar*, and so on.

Here -ava- becomes -ō- as in the words *katiravan* > *katirōn* "the sun", *takappan* > *tavappan* (colloq.) *tōppan* (brahm.) "father", or *makan* > *mavan* (colloq.) *mō* (Jaffna dialect)¹⁰ "son".

⁹ For Tamil *cey-* "to do" from *key-* see L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar's "Ancient Dravidic surd k- and its modern derivatives", *The Educational Review*, Vol. XXXVII, Madras, 1931 and "Initial fricatives and affricates in Dravidian", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXII, 1933. Cf. also *key-* "to do" in Kodagu with a future-present participle *keyuva*.

¹⁰ *Sarasvati*, 1959, No. 8, p. 48.

In those cases when -ava- in the participial nouns of the future tense formed from the weak roots, turns into -ō- and one -v- disappears, dissimilation does not occur, and -v- in the historical relative participle does not change into -p-; e.g., ceyvōn "he who will do" from * ceyva-v-an, where -ava- changed into -ō-.

III

Tamil finite forms are constructed on the same pattern. The only difference is that the final -a of the relative participle is dropped before the vowel of the pronominal suffix, or the both vowels merge together. This structure is particularly evident in Kannaḍa, where

māḍuvenu "I shall make" from māḍuva + enu,
 māḍuve "thou wilt make" from māḍuva + e,
 māḍuvanu "he will make" from māḍuva + anu,¹¹ etc.,
 are formed in complete accordance with the Sandhi rules.¹²

The difficulty of the explanation of the analagous Tamil forms lies in the fact that the Tamil grammars do not describe elision of vowels similar to that of Kannaḍa. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar points out, however, that this elision is not completely unknown in Tamil :

"A few cases of optional elision of the first of the meeting vowels are met with in literary usage, though not provided for by the grammars :—

... Final -a of optatives... :

śelg-ena — PN, 83 ; PP, II, 177.

olig-ena — 'S., Nād., 164.

kaḷaig-ena — M., Aḍ., 67."¹³

¹¹ Cf. H. SPENCER, *A Kanarese Grammar*, Mysore, 1950, p. 47.

¹² "... A final a, i, e, or a euphonic u suffers elision when it is followed by a vowel..." F. KITTEL, *A Grammar of the Kannada Language*, Mangalore, 1903, p. 171.

¹³ L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, "Dravidic Sandhi", *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. 28, Bangalore, 1935-36, pp. 94-95.

And further he definitely writes that in "colloquial Tamil -a of the relative participle is lost in the familiar compounds *pirand-ām*, *pukk-ām*..."¹⁴ But it is the relative participle with the pronominal suffix that must have been among the most familiar of all possible compounds.¹⁵

Long vowels in the personal terminations could develop as compensation for elision of -a, by analogy with the forms of the past tense :

naṭanta-en < *naṭantanen*
naṭantēn,

naṭanta-am < *naṭantanam*
naṭantōm (through * *naṭanta-v-am*
 where -ava- became -ō-), etc.

Influence of emphasis could lead to the difference in quantity of the vowel in such forms like *ceyvār* "they will do" and *ceyvar*.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁵ In modern Tamil such instances are met with every now and then; e.g., *ennappa* from *enna appa*, *mutincappuram* from *mutinta appuram*, *enkappa* from *enka appa*, *ennatappa* from *enna ata appa*, *periyappa* from *periya appa*, *cinnanna* from *cinna anna*, *antantai* from *anta antai*, *antam* from *anta am*, *ententa* from *enta enta*.

¹⁶ Cf. *marumakan* "son-in-law." > **maruma-an* > *maruman* (colloq.) and *periya appa* > *periyappa*.

Ancient Tamil Music

K. KOTHANDAPANI PILLAI

The pioneer who searched for ancient Tamil music in the dark corridors of antiquity was Rao Sahib M. Abraham Pandithar of K. M. Hall, Tanjore. He is no longer with us, but the torch he held up in those regions still shines and guides many a seeker after the truth. His work *Karnamritha Sagaram* stands as a monument of indefatigable work, unique in the array of materials he has culled out and the profusion of arguments he has advanced to substantiate his theory of 24 srutis. He has established a reputation as great as that of Bharatha Muni, and his *Karnamritha Sagaram* is as important as the *Nattya Sastra* of the Northern Sage. *Nattya Sastra* deals with music, dance and language and so does *Karnamritha Sagaram*.

Research in Music has made great progress from where Abraham Pandithar left it and it tends to prove and confirm most of the theories which Abraham Pandithar formulated. In the First Book of *Karnamritha Sagaram*, part I, chapter IV he states :—

“Noble readers! If we want to understand clearly the subtlety and antiquity of Indian Music, we would do well to make a few observations on the Tamil language which includes within itself poetry, music and drama. The period of the origin of Indian Music is as ancient as the period of the Tamil language and the sweetness of Indian Music is the sweetness of the language itself. Just as the language is unmixed and unaffected by other languages, so also the music of South India is perfect in itself having special rules of its own without seeking the aid of other music.”

Here he has stressed with an intuitive insight the inter-relation between language and music, which modern research has taken up for investigation.

In 1953, in his work, 'The psycho-analysis of Artistic vision and hearing: An introduction to the theory of unconscious perception' Anton Ehrenzweig observed, "It is not unreasonable to speculate that speech and music have descended from a common origin in a primitive language, which was neither speaking nor singing, but something of both. Later, this primeval language would have split into different branches; music would have retained the articulation mainly by pitch (scale) and duration (rhythm), while language chose the articulation mainly by tone colour, vowels and consonants."¹ The learned author would seem to be still in the region of surmises as his phrase 'would have' would indicate. But Dr. C. R. Sankaran and Dr. Chaitanya Deva, of Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, who carried on their further investigation into this inter-relationship, stress the fundamental identity of speech with music. This will be referred to in detail later.

To understand this inter-relationship between language and music, it is necessary to know what modern research has to say about the Tamil language. Regarding the phonetic or, more correctly, the phonemic analysis of the sounds of the Tamil language, in his monograph '*Phonemics of old Tamil*', this is what Dr. C. R. Sankaran of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, says:—

"Phonemes are significant classes of speech sounds in terms of which alone an organization of the descriptive study of speech sounds of any language is possible. We meet with the accurate description of phonemes of the old Tamil language, built apparently on the results of phonetic study in *Tolkappiam* which is the oldest descriptive Tamil

¹ Quoted by Dr. C. R. Sankaran and B. Chaitanya Deva in their article on Studies in Indian Music Scales 1—page 192 Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute Vol. 18.

grammar. Such an emphasis on the pattern inherent in the sounds of the language of study, and to attempt to establish, on the basis of their occurrence and distribution the types of sounds which must have been significant in distinguishing the meaning of words is not met with even in the *Ashtadhyayi* of *Panini*."

This will indicate that Tamil is a scientific language and it has been built up as a result of scientific study of the sounds of the language by the ancient Tamilians, independent of any other language. There are thirty sound-classes (phonemes) in Tamil, 12 vowels and 18 consonants. The twelve vowels represent the utmost limit to which the vowel sounds in any language can be divided as separate sounds, each having a separate existence of its own, in space and time. That this is the most accurate division of the vowel sounds has been confirmed by the investigations of W. N. Loche and R. M. S. Heffner² and referring to this Dr. C. R. Sankaran observes :—

"It is significant to find a striking agreement in this between Tolkappiar and the empirical findings of the modern investigator revealing thereby Tolkappiar's very rare insight."³

On these 12 vowel sounds depends the life of the language and they are called the 'life sounds' (உயிர்). Of them, seven,—அ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஐ, ஒ, ஓ are long vowels. Five out of the seven—அ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஒ—have their corresponding short vowels அ, இ, உ, எ, ஓ and the rest two ஐ, (Ai), and ஓ (au), are changeless or indivisible. These five long vowels corresponding to these five short ones are not merely the elongated sounds in point of time but are separate sounds each having a separate existence. Thus according to modern research there are 12 primary or life sounds, each of which can be identified as having an existence separate from the other.

² Notes on the length of vowels (II) *American Speech* Vol. 15-1940—quoted by Dr. C. R. Sankaran, P. 79, *Phonemics of old Tamil*.

³ *Phonemics of old Tamil*, p. 12.

Let us now turn to the sounds in music. The primary musical sound rising up from the basic tone and ending in the highest pitch in an octave, from குரல் to தாரம் i.e., from Sa to Ni or C to B, has also been divided into 12 as in the case of the primary sounds of the language. There are seven swarams corresponding to the seven long vowels. Two of them, குரல் Kural, (Sa or C) and இளி Ili (Pa or G) are changeless and indivisible. They correspond to ஐ (ai) and ஒள (au) of the vowels. Each of the remaining five is divided into two and are called சுத்தம், பிரதி, sharp and flat, making up ten divisions which together with the two indivisible ones amount to the 12 divisions of the octave.

This remarkable coincidence not only in their number but also in their very nature which exists between sounds in the language and the sounds in the music is the special feature of the Tamil language. That this is not an accidental coincidence and that the inter-relationship between the sounds in the language and the sounds in music was well perceived, and that the division of the octave was based on this perception will be apparent from the following :—

Divakaram defines these seven long vowels as belonging to the seven swarams or notes of the music.

“சூ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஐ, ஒ, ஒள எனும்
இவ்வேழ் எழுத்தும் ஏழிசைக் குரிய”

Adiyarku Nallar, in his commentary on *Silappadigaram* when explaining the ancient Tamil modes, gives the following quotation which goes to prove that the ancient Tamil Music was actually based on the sounds of the language,

“உயிர், உயிர்மெய்யள வுரைத்த ஐம்பாலினும்
உடல் தமிழ் இயல் இசை யேழுடன் பகுத்து
.....தொண்டு மீண்ட பன்னிராயிரங்
கொண்டனர் இயற்றல் கொளாவல்லோர் கடனே.”⁴

⁴ Commentary relating to line 45—Aranketru Kathai, *Silappadikaram*.

All the old books on Tamil music are lost and it is not possible to find from which of the books this quotation was taken. Anyhow this goes a long way to prove that the sounds of the language formed the basis for music.

Tolkappiar, the great grammarian, refers to this inter-relationship when he says,

“அளபிறந் துயிர்த்தலும் ஒற்றிகை நீடலும்
உளவென மொழிப இசையொடு சிவணிய
நரம்பின் மறைய என்மனார் புலவர்.”⁸

This means that the vowels and consonants exceed the limits of sound prescribed for them in his grammar and the particulars regarding them are found in the Book of Secrets of the Strings tuned to music. According to Tholkappiar, the book relating to music referred to by him dealt with sounds of vowels and consonants. There is no reason why a book on music should deal with the sounds of the alphabet at all, unless it was perceived that there existed an inherent and substantial relationship between the sounds of the alphabet and they formed the basis of the music. *Tholkappiam* is a grammar of the language. There would have been no need for the grammar to mention this migration of the language sounds to music, unless these sounds were actually taken over and adopted by music.

It was referred to previously that this aspect of identity of speech with music was investigated in recent years in the Deccan College Research Institute and the following quotation from one of their bulletins deserves to be taken note of in this connection :—

“It is necessary to stress the fundamental and primitive identity of speech with music. This basic identity is marked in all our investigations from diverse points of view. (c.f. the unpublished Ph.D. thesis of B. Chaitanya Deva on the psychophysics of speech melody in Dravi-

⁸ தொல் : எழுத்து ; 33.

dian) like the octave relationship for instance where considerations revealed by wave form analysis of speech point towards the deep sometimes hidden (as it were) identity of speech with music." ⁶

Twentieth century thus stands at the threshold and has just gained a glimpse of the fundamental truth stated above. That, in those ancient times, this fundamental relationship was perceived in all its implications, that the region of surmises, inferences and experiments was left far behind and that a system of Tamil music was built up on the basis of this fundamental truth, are really marvellous.

The zodiac had 12 divisions which corresponded to the 12 divisions of the octave, and astronomy and astrology came in handy to explain the intervals in the octave and the effect which the swarams or the notes produced. The seven planets (excepting Ragu and Kethu) represented the seven swarams, and the 12 divisions were distributed among the seven planets which corresponded to the distribution of the 12 divisions of the octave among the seven swarams. Of the seven planets the Sun and Moon had each one of the divisions out of the 12, exactly as in the case of Sa(c) and Pa(g) in the musical octave and as in the case of the alphabet ஐ (ai) and ஔ (au). The remaining five planets had each two divisions as in the case of the remaining five swarams in music and the five long vowels of the language. In astrology these divisions were called houses belonging to the planets. Abraham Pandithar has explained this connection between music and astrology in detail in his book by means of charts and diagrams so well that it needs no further elucidation.

This coincidence between the divisions of the zodiac and the divisions of the octave served as the best medium to explain the musical scales which were placed on a geometrical and mathematical basis. The people could appre-

⁶ Foot note on p. 192 Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, Vol. 18—Studies in Indian Musical Scales I: A. Vedic chant.

ciate these especially when astrology was much in vogue and well understood by the people. The earliest mention of the connection between astronomy and music is found in the Achiar Kuravai of *Silappadikaram*. No work of the Sangam period which refers to music refers to this connection. It is found that the Greek and the Chinese had also used astronomy to explain the attributes of music.

The division of the octave into 12 in Tamil Music should have been made long prior to the use of astronomy to explain the basis of musical divisions and scales. As stated by Abraham Pandithar, Tamil Music is as ancient as the language itself. To put it more correctly the division of its octave is as old as the division of the alphabet. This division of the octave into 12 was used by all the ancient nations of the world and is called the primordial division of the octave. Ilangovalar had based the pentatone mode described by him in Achiar Kuravai on these 12 divisions of the octave and called it தொன்றுபடுமுறை, the primordial division.

Of all the existing books in Sanskrit the *Natya Sastra* of Bharata Muni is considered by scholars as the earliest. Some assign this to the 4th century A.D., some to the 2nd century B.C. and some others to the 5th century B.C. His work is based on the 22 divisions of the octave which came into use long after the use of the 12 divisions and not on those primordial divisions of 12. Nor was astronomy used to explain the scales or attributes of music as the ancient nations have done. In fact in no Sanskrit book about music this connection between astronomy and music is traceable.

To whatever century Bharata Muni may belong, there is ample internal evidence in his *Natya Sastra* that the music of South India was of a very high order even before the time of Bharata Muni. The following lines in the slokas 31 and 32 of chapter V of *Natya Sastra* speak to the highly developed nature of South Indian music :—

“Chitra Dhakshna Vruthethu sapta rupe
prakirthitha
 Soubahane Sanirgeetha devasthuthya binanthathe
 Naratha thaisthu Kantharvaihi Sabayam
Devadhanavaha.”

This means that songs in seven forms in Chitra and Dakshina margas together with the Upohana and Nirgita were started by musical experts like Narada in the assembly of Dhanavas and Gods.

Dakshina marga denotes a very difficult time-measure or Tala wherein eight matra kalas are used for a kalakshara or a count. Experts state that it is very difficult to sing to this time-measure, and in fact no one now sings or is able to sing to this time-measure. The very name ‘Dhakshina marga’ itself denotes that this difficult and rare time-measure and the songs to suit them, were in vogue in Dhakshina or South India and proclaims the musical efficiency of that region.

Again in chapter IV of his *Natya Sastra*, Bharatha Muni gives an animated description of the South Indian music and dance.

“Thathra Dhakshinathya sthavath Bahu, Nritta, Geetha, Vadya, Kaisiki, Prayaga, Chathura, Mathura, Lalitha, Anga Abinayascha.”

This means that in the South there are many kinds of dances, vocal music, instrumental music and abinayas, graceful, lovely, intricate, sweet and delicate. These indicate how intimately Bharatha Muni had heard and observed the South Indian Music and Dance. To have gained the appreciation of the greatest exponent of dance and music, the South Indian Music and Dance should have been of a very high order. Centuries of culture and practice should have preceded this state of high perfection, to which Bharatha Muni pays a glowing tribute.

Romance of Two Tamil Words

P. JOSEPH.

Etymology is a tricky subject and unless one is extremely careful he is more than likely to let his imagination run riot and indulge in fanciful derivations of words. Hence the jibe that those who have no inclination for serious study dabble in derivations. One critic was brutally caustic. Derivation enthusiasts, he hit out, rush down the slippery Etymological slope, like the Gadarene swine, to their destruction. True this science, unlike a few others, does lend itself to abuse ; the fault, however, lies not with it but with those who use,—rather abuse,—it. As confirmatory evidence it is very valuable ; in fact sometimes it is the only evidence available. Within reasonable limits, therefore, it is quite legitimate. In any case it is highly fascinating.

Etymology bears ample proof of the borrowing of words from one language into another in the course of ages. One of the ways in which such borrowing takes place is through commerce. When a new object reaches a nation by way of trade, the name of the object too goes with it. Thus the Tamil word *akil*,—as shown in a previous paper¹,—went into the Hebrew language. An attempt is now made to indicate that two other words were borrowed into Hebrew in the same manner. Among the objects taken by King Solomon's famous Ophir expedition back to Judaea were those that were given the names *kophim* and *tukkim*. These are plural forms of *koph* and *tukki* and signify the ape and the peacock respectively.

The Hebrew word *koph* is connected with the Egyptian *gafi*, Greek *kepos*, Latin *cephus*,² German *affe* and English

¹ JOSEPH, " *Algummim* " or " *Almuggim* " of the Bible, *Tamil Culture*, VI, 2, pp. 133-138.

² SCHROEDER-JEVONS, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan People*, p. 270.

ape. According to Schroeder, *kepos* was a later importation into classical Greek, while the word in earlier usage was *pithakoi*, which had existed in one of the old dialects. This gives added point to the surmise that the appearance in the west of the Hebrew *koph* and allied words in the other languages was the result of commerce.

The writer of the Jewish sacred book, the Talmud, in an endeavour to trace the origin of the word *koph* linked it with the Hebrew *kaf*, meaning the palm of the hand, the hand. *Koph*, hence, was supposed to signify the animal that moves on its hand. *Koph* would literally mean one with a hand and from this meaning it is not easy to get to that of animal that moves on its hand without unduly stretching the interpretation, if not the imagination. The Talmudic writer's explanation, the suspicion arises, was in consequence of his previous knowledge of the derivation of the Greek word *pithakoi*, meaning an animal that walks on its hand (*koi* = hand). He was, no doubt, assisted in his liberal interpretation of *koph* by the fortuitous circumstance that *kaf* in Hebrew meant a hand. *Kaf*, however, and the Greek, *koi*, were not indigenous. They had apparently been borrowed from the Dravidian *kai* (hand),—a root with any number of derivatives in the different Dravidian languages. Anyway, the real significance of *koph*, it seems, has to be sought for in a way other than the one tried by the Jewish writer.

The protagonists of a Sanscrit origin have connected *koph* with *kapi*,³ which in Sanscrit is supposed to come from *kump* (tremble). The reasoning is hardly sound. To see a monkey in something that trembles needs quite an extension of fancy. The inadequacy of the Sanscrit derivation can be realised from another example. The word *kapitha* (wood-apple) is derived from *kapi* + *stha* (the tree on which monkeys stand). Unconvincing indeed! *Kapitha* evidently has a connection with the Dravidian

³ MAX MULLER, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I, p. 233.

kavitta or *kavinda* (to be bent, to be round), which originally comes from *kavi* (to bend). The tree, therefore, gets its name from the fruit that is round. This meaning of *kapi* is confirmed by that given to another Sanscrit word *kapithasya*⁴ (having a face like a wood-apple, i.e. a roundish face). These instances clearly show that the original meaning of *kapi* has been lost in Sanscrit; no wonder, since it was foreign to the language.

And so we arrive at a Dravidian explanation for *koph*. The monkey in Tamil and other Dravidian languages is called *kurangu* and *kapi*. They are derived from *kuru* and *kavi* respectively, which mean to bend. The monkey is the bent animal. *Kavi* is a prolific root in Tamil with a host of derivatives,—a fact that confirms its indigenous nature. The Tamil *kapi* has, no doubt, gone into the Hebrew as *koph*. The soundness of this explanation is highlighted by the non-cogency of the Talmudic and the highly imaginative character of the Sanscrit derivations.

As the word could never have gone to the west without the animal that bore the name, we may safely assume that monkeys were originally exported from India. But could the Hebrews not have got the word and the animal from Egypt? Though not impossible, it is not probable, since, for reasons which are beyond the scope of this paper, Africa's claim to having received the Ophir expedition is rather thin.

That the peacock is indigenous to India need not be argued at length. The bird, seen in large numbers in the dry tracts, abounds particularly in Gujerat, Cutch and Rajputana.⁵ Cuvier says, "It has long since been decided that India was the cradle of the peacock. It is in the countries of southern Asia and the vast archipelago of the eastern ocean that this bird appears to have fixed its dwelling and to live in a state of freedom. All travellers who

⁴ cf. MONIER-WILLIAMS, *Sanskrit—English Dictionary*, s.v.

⁵ WATT, *The Commercial Products of India*, p. 141.

have visited these countries make mention of these birds. Thevenot encountered great numbers of them in the province of Gujerat; Tavernier throughout all India; and Payrard in the neighbourhood of Calcutta."⁶ Sir William Jardine has it that, of the only two species of peacocks known, both of them inhabit the continent and the island of India.⁷

Indian peacocks were known to western nations from very ancient times. As commemorated in the Baveru Jataka,⁸ which embodies evidence of one of the earliest Indian commercial enterprises, the peacock was taken by Indian merchants to Sumer. While Baveru is equated with Babylon, several scholars think that the incident narrated refers to a trading transaction of a time much older than the days of the Babylonian empire, in fact of the time of its ancient compeer, Sumer.⁹ Later evidence can be gathered from the classical writers. While narrating the invasion of India by Alexander, Quintus Curtius mentions a dense forest, skirting the banks of the Ravi and abounding with trees, which were full of wild peacocks.¹⁰ Aelian has several notices of peacocks and describes the Indian variety with a wealth of detail and colour,¹¹ emphasising its beauty, its great price, its arrival in Greece, and the wonder it aroused owing to its strangeness.¹²

If we compare the story contained in the Baveru Jataka with the description of Aelian, we can clearly see the close parallel. The Jataka speaks of a delighted crowd gathering round the new arrival and contrasts the excitement with that occasioned previously, when a crow had been taken to Sumer. The story also refers to the big

⁶ CUVIER. *Animal Kingdom*, VIII. p. 136.

⁷ JARDINE. *Naturalists' Library*, XX. p. 147.

⁸ COWELL. *The Jataka or Stories of the Buddha's former Births*, Bk. IV. No. 339.

⁹ cf. FRANKE. *Jataka Mahabharata Parallelen*, WZKM, XX, pp. 317 ff.

¹⁰ McCRINDLE. *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 217.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 139, 141, 146.

¹² *Ibid.*, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 362-363.

price paid for the novel bird, namely, a thousand pieces.¹³ Aelian, who lays special stress on the introduction of the peacock into Greece, says that the bird owned by Demos excited so much attention that people came even from Lacedaemon and Thessaly to see it. He mentions too that a special exhibition was arranged at the beginning of every month, when quite a high rate of admission was charged. He further adds that Alexander was so struck with admiration of the bird that he decreed the severest penalties to those who should kill it. Finally the narrator gives an idea of what the people paid for the bird; a pair cost a thousand drachmas (about 40 pounds).

The way the Sumerians and the Greeks behaved when they first saw the peacock was quite in keeping with its outlandish character. The awe-struck Sumerians asked the Indian merchants to give them the bird and get for themselves another on their return home. Aelian avers that the strange bird was introduced into Greece from Samos, where it was brought by the barbarians. To the ancient Greeks all who were beyond the pale of their heritage were barbarians, in much the same way as the Dravidians were to the Aryans in India.

The foreign nature of the peacock, evident in these descriptions, is confirmed by the name given to it in the western countries,—a name evidently borrowed from the land which was its original habitat. The peacock was called *tukki* in Hebrew,—in the Biblical passages which refer to the Ophir expedition,—*taus* in Armenian, *taus* in Persian, *tawas* in Arabic, *taos* in Greek, *pavo* in Latin and *phawo*¹⁴ in old High German. In Latin and High German the initial *t* of the Greek has been changed to *p* and the final *s* dropped, while the euphonic *v* has been brought in to bridge the gulf between two vowels. The Greek and Latin forms, it would appear, were taken from the Hebrew, *tukki*, whose origin can be sought for only in India. Two

¹³ COWELL, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ SCHROEDER-JEVONS, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

possible derivations have been given. According to Lassen, it comes from the Sanscrit *sikhi*, meaning one with a *sikhi* (tuft).¹⁵ The Sanscrit word denotes the *avis cristata*, a bird with a tuft. Another and a more plausible derivation has been suggested by Dr. Caldwell.¹⁶ *Tukki* is connected with *tokai*, signifying a tail. *Tokai* itself is derived from *tongu*, which means to hang like a tail, plumage, particularly a peacock's tail. *Tongu* in its turn comes from *toku* (to assemble, to aggregate, to come together); and in the case of a bird's tail the feathers come together to form it. *Tokai*, therefore, from meaning a tail has come to signify the tailed bird *par excellence*, viz., the *avis caudata*. This is a very natural explanation. It is true that the word *tokai*, although used especially for the tail of the peacock, does not stand in modern parlance for the peacock itself. But in the classics it did, and in times gone by it seems to have obtained in that sense even in ordinary conversation.

Max Muller saw the cogency of the derivation and yet at first thought that the word *tokai* itself was taken by the Tamils from the Sanscrit *sikhi* by changing *s* into *t* and the first *i* into *o*. This explanation is far-fetched in view of the thoroughly indigenous nature of the Tamil root *toku*, which is highly prolific. Finally Max Muller himself was convinced of Caldwell's view point.¹⁷ Even the word *mayura*, it is interesting to note, has not in Sanscrit a compelling derivation, which perhaps has to be sought for in the Tamil *mayil* (*mai* + *il* = the blue house), the blue bird. It may even be from *mayir* (feathers, tail); then the bird would get the name for the same reason as it got the name *tokai*. *Mayura* does not occur in the Rig Veda and this would clearly show that the Aryans got the word from their predecessors in the Punjab, since to the former it was the name of a foreign bird.¹⁸

¹⁵ LASSEN, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I, p. 651.

¹⁶ CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, p. 66.

¹⁷ MAX MULLER, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

¹⁸ cf. SCHROEDER-JEVONS, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

The Hebrew word *tukki*,—it can confidently be concluded,—was carried with the bird by Solomon's mariners to Judaea. The Bible is not a descriptive narrative like the *Jataka* or the work of Aelian. If it were, we could certainly have read of the raptures of the Jews, when they first laid their eyes on the strange bird. And the narration would have run on lines parallel to those of the *Jataka* writer and Aelian ; all the more so, for the peacock is mentioned in the whole Bible only once, that is, in connection with the celebrated Ophir voyage.

The Sumerian contact was probably around 2500 B.C. After a lapse of almost as many years came the classical evidence. About half way, namely, in the 10th cen. B.C. stood the Biblical mention. The intervals of silence are indeed long ; but there may be other references, which have not yet come to light. Anyway, an item like the peacock was not likely to figure regularly in ancient lists of merchandise, since it was meant mainly to slake foreigners' curiosity. That curiosity led to their giving the rare import a peculiar name which had no logical explanation in any of their languages but only in that of the land of export.

The Vocabulary and Content of Tamil Primers and First Readers

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An examination of a sampling of Tamil primers and first readers approved by Text-Book Committees and Departments of Education for use in Madras State, Ceylon and Malaya, showed the need which exists for scientific study and basic research concerning the compilation of Tamil Readers and Children's books.¹ The method employed by the primers which were examined is an adaptation of the "phonic" and "alphabetic" methods which were popular with English primers twenty-five to thirty years ago.² The primers which were studied as well as other primers and Infant books which the writer has had occasion to examine reveal little acquaintance with recent developments in the techniques of teaching reading, and this brief preliminary survey is intended to encourage students interested in educational research to pay attention to the problems of reading-readiness, and to the principles underlying compilation of primers and Children's books. The use of better methods and more suitable text-books will ensure a greater success in Tamil teaching and greater proficiency in the Language Arts so that the Tamil lesson in the Primary and post-Primary Classes becomes more rewarding both for the child and the teacher.

It is not possible to state in the absence of basic research concerning Tamil as to which of the methods prevalent in teaching reading in the West is the most suitable for teaching Tamil reading and constructing Tamil

¹ Two sets of Tamil primers have been examined. Six different primers by six different publishers are designated A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and another five different primers by different publishers are numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

² See SCHONELL, FRED. J., *The Psychology and Teaching of Reading*, 3rd Ed., p. 44 ff., Oliver and Boyd, London, 1952.

Primers.³ The number of letters in the Tamil alphabet and the syllabic nature of the characters representing vowel-consonants may or may not render the "global" or "ideo-visual" method based on Gestalt psychology and the logical demands of Linguistics as successful for Tamil as it has been with European languages in which syllabic characters are not involved. It may be that the child if taught only the "global" method might be led to read from memory or by guess work than by the recognition of the visual patterns.⁴ But it does not require much experiment to prove that it is injurious to children's interests to teach the auditory and visual patterns of all the 247 Tamil characters in isolation to children before they may begin recognising them in words. Hence it is very doubtful if the direction in the *Madras Revised*

³ On different methods of Teaching Reading see the following :—

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION. *The Teaching of Reading*, Publication No. 113, Geneva ;

BROOM, M. E., et al., *Effective Reading Instruction in the Elementary School*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1942 ;

MENZEL, EMIL. W., *Suggestions for the Teaching of Reading in India*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1944 ;

ZARRILI HUMBERTO and ABADIE SORIANO, *Metodologia de la lectura : su evolucion desde el deletreo hasta la globalizacion*, Montevideo, 1946 ;

GRAY, WILLIAM, S., *The Teaching of Reading and Writing*, Paris, 1956.

⁴ MENZEL, EMIL, W., *Suggestions for the Teaching of Reading in India*, op. cit., p. 27.

"Since the letter is not the unit of vision and is no easier to recognize than an entire word of several letters, the teaching of reading in its first lessons should deal with words instead of letters. The sentence method, the word method, the story method, the Beacon method, all are built up on this assumption and have proved themselves vastly superior to the strictly phonetic method. Deciphering a word according to its sound symbols is a very complicated process which children learn only very slowly. The newer methods aim at making a certain number of word-pictures familiar to the beginner".

p. 28—

"Moreover, by emphasizing the individual letter, faulty habits of reading are inculcated. For fluent reading one needs a long eye-span ; that is, one must see entire words and phrases at once. Close attention to letters not only discourages this but builds up wrong habits which make the development of proper eye habits difficult".

Syllabus for the first standard is according to the latest and best results of reading research :

"The letters of the alphabet may be taught to pupils in the old traditional method beginning with "அ". The pupils may be expected to read and write all the letters of the alphabet in the alphabetical order by the end of the year".⁵

The results of recent reading research has not proved the unconditional superiority of any particular method used in European and American schools. The "phonic" and "alphabetic" methods proceed on the basis that the analytic study of words and their sounds confer mastery of the mechanics of reading. Applied to Tamil these methods would concentrate on "letter" or "character" recognition. The "word" and "sentence" methods in employing larger units of language than the letter and the syllable lay initial emphasis on meaning and meaningful understanding of what is read. Studies made of children learning by the two groups of methods show that the first group of methods develops attitudes and skills different from those developed by the second set of methods. Children taught by the "phonic" and "alphabetic" methods show ability in following the printed lines and recognising new words, but show no vital concern for the content, whereas those taught by the "word" and "sentence" methods show greater interest in content but develop more slowly word recognition. Where one group of methods was adhered to the exclusion of others, children have developed one group of attitudes and skills and often failed to develop others of equal importance. Hence it has been recommended that equal emphasis be placed from the beginning on both meaning and word-recognition, remembering that in the selection of methods consideration

⁵ Revised Syllabus for Standards I to VII, Government of Madras, 1957. See criticism of the directive in DANIEL, J., *Teaching Reading to Beginners in the Hindu*, Madras, of 9 February, 1958.

should be given to the special characteristics of the language concerned.⁶

The Tamil primers do not have the support of pre-reading books, supplementary readers or illustrated and graded readers and dictionaries like those provided, for example, in the complete *Pilot Reading Scheme* by Pat Davenport (E. J. Arnold & Son, Ltd., London). The first of a series of pre-reading books published in Tamil by E. Sendall (Associated Printers, Madras, no date) introduces letters in association with words familiar to children and is delightfully illustrated in colour but is defective for the same reason that these primers under examination are defective. E. Sendall's first series do not appear to have been continued.

⁶ See GRAY, WILLIAM, S., *The Teaching of Reading and Writing*, op. cit., p. 75 ff; MENZEL, EMIL. W., *Suggestions for the Teaching of Reading in India*, op. cit., p. 41 :

"Which method is best? As has been repeated several times, a good practical teaching method will utilize all of the more scientific approaches. The best practical method is a combination method.

Some people get their most vivid impressions through the eye, others through the ear, and some through the sense of touch or even through smell. Some are predominantly eye-minded, or ear-minded, and any generally-used method of teaching reading must be prepared to assist children in the way in which they can learn best. In the argument as to which method is best we must always remember that no method is 'best' for all. Some children learn much better through one method than another. For this reason also a combination of methods may be better fitted for general use than a method emphasizing more exclusively any one of the various psychological approaches just described".

p. 52 :—

"I would advocate for small children a method using phonics (most certainly) but predominantly the sentence and story method. But let it remain a debatable, or rather experimental, point as to how much of both methods should be introduced in the beginning stages. Let there be a great deal of careful experiment under expert scientific supervision before we try to settle that point. The fact remains that the teaching of reading in India suffers very severely from a lack of (i) attention to understanding of content, and (ii) the fostering of independent reading habits both for pleasure and for assignment reading in the class-room. For both purposes the 'larger unit' methods can help a great deal."

DEFECTIVE PRIMERS

The preoccupation of wanting to teach during the first twelve months of school both in isolation and in combination all the twelve vowels, the eighteen consonants, the 216 vowel consonants and the āyutam (ஃ) in all 247 symbols, dominates the methodology of these Tamil primers. The letters and characters are taught in the primers in alphabetic sequence, and words are progressively introduced in which the 247 symbols occur as initials, medials or finals according to the rules of Tamil phonetics. While the letters are introduced in alphabetic sequence, the words in which the letters occur are chosen almost solely for the purpose of introducing the letters and not for the easy recognition of their auditory and visual patterns or for their meaningful associations. Thus a great many words occur in the primers which generally do not occur in the hearing and speaking vocabulary of a child of 5+ or even 6+, and which are too abstruse and recondite for the child, and far removed from its interests, activities and experiences.

The preoccupation with letter or symbol recognition is again evident in the manner in which the letter to be learnt is printed in a different colour from the rest of the word or printed in a larger type-face than the rest of the word. Thus a dissimilarity of colour or type-face might occur at the beginning or in the middle or at the end of a word making the visual *gestalt* of the whole word very confusing to the child, but emphasising nevertheless recognition of a particular letter or syllable.

அணில்

மரம்

THE VOWELS

The following table of words with vowel initials occurring in the first pages of the primers, shows that in introducing the child immediately to the visual and auditory

Primers	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
அ	அணில்	அன்னம்	அணில்	அணில்	அம்மா	அம்மா	அணில்
ஆ	ஆடு	ஆலமரம்	ஆடு	ஆடு	ஆடு	ஆடு	ஆடு
இ	இலை	இரதம்	இலை	இலை	இலை	இலை	இலை
ஈ	ஈட்டி	ஈச்சமரம்	ஈ	ஈ	ஈ	ஈசன்	ஈ
உ	உறி	உரல்	உறி	உரல்	உரல்	உரல்	உரல்
ஊ	ஊசி	ஊஞ்சல்	ஊசி	ஊதல்	ஊஞ்சல்	ஊசி	ஊசி
எ	எலி	எள்	எலி	எலி	எலி	எருது	எலி
ஏ	ஏணி	ஏற்றம்	ஏணி	ஏணி	ஏணி	ஏணி	ஏணி
ஐ	ஐயா	ஐவர்	ஐயா	ஐவர்	ஐந்து	ஐயா	ஐயர்
ஒ	ஒன்று	ஒப்பந்தம்	ஒட்டகம்	ஒட்டகம்	ஒன்று	ஒன்று	ஒட்டகம்
ஓ	ஓலை	ஓடம்	ஓலை	ஓணன்	ஓலை	ஓணன்	ஓணன்
ஔ	ஔவை	ஔடதம்	ஔவை	ஔவை	ஔவை	ஔவை	ஔவை
ஃ	ஃ	ஃ	ஃ	ஃ	ஃ	ஃ	ஃ

patterns of all the vowels with no consideration as to their frequency in the spoken vocabulary of the pre-school child, the compilers have had to include words outside the range of children's interests, experiences and needs, and introduce symbols like ஒள and ஃ which are unnecessary at this stage of the child's language development.

It will be granted that these readers intended as they are for rural as well as urban children of different economic and cultural levels should use a vocabulary common at these levels. The words ஐவர் and ஒப்பந்தம் represent concepts beyond the primary class and the words ஈசன், ஓடம், ஒளவை, ஒளடதம், எஃகு, அஃது, are unusual words, all of which should be reserved for post-primary grades. It might be argued too that the above selections of words place the town child at a disadvantage since உறி, எருது, ஏற்றம், இரதம், ஈச்சமரம், may be removed from its experiences, just as ஒட்டகம், and அன்னம் may be unfamiliar to the rural child who has not seen them in a zoo. Thus it will be found that of a total of 91 words the inclusion of 24 of them is very much to be questioned. Other words in the primers which begin with vowels and which are beyond the experience and interests of most children are ஈஞ்சு, ஆயுள், இல்லம், ஒற்றர், ஓலம், கௌதாரி, யௌவனம், ரௌத்திரி, லௌகீகம், சௌக்கியம். In the selection of words there is an exclusive use of nouns and an omission of verbs and verbal nouns expressing activities of childhood, e.g., words like இரு, ஒடு, ஆடு, எறி, ஏறு, should be used much more frequently.

Having introduced words in which vowels are initials, only some of the primers repeat in later pages the words introduced in the first pages. The repetition is again made for the purposes of letter recognition and not for word recognition. Thus

Primer A : அணில், அம்மி; ஆடு, ஆணி; இலை, இறகு.

Primer F : அம்மா, அப்பா, அண்ணா; ஆடு, ஆமை, ஆணி;
இலை, இறகு, இரல், இடையன்.

Repetition of words is very uncommon in the primers. They are far from the recommendation that a new useful word intended to broaden experience should be repeated at least fifteen or twenty times in a primer to provide adequate training in word recognition and prepare for mature reading.⁷ The following table shows the number of times words with vowel initials which have the highest frequency in children's oral vocabularies occur in some primers.⁸

Primers	1	2	3	4	5
அம்மா	3	2	4	1	0
அப்பா	2	1	3	1	0
அண்ணா	2	0	2	0	2
அக்கா	4	0	3	1	1
இலை	4	1	4	0	1
ஈ	3	1	1	0	0
உப்பு	2	0	0	0	0
ஊசி	4	1	3	0	1
ஊஞ்சல்	0	0	2	1	2
எடு	3	1	2	0	0
ஏறி	2	0	0	0	0

⁷ GRAY, WILLIAM. S., *The Teaching of Reading and Writing*, op. cit., p. 134 :

"Each new word should be used at least 15 times soon after it is introduced, and repeated more or less frequently throughout the primer to ensure its recognition at sight." See also WATTS, A. F., *The Language and Mental Development of Children*, p. 97 ff., George G. Harrap, London, 1950.

⁸ Word lists and vocabulary studies in other languages help to note the concepts with which children are familiar, in general e.g. SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH IN EDUCATION, *Studies in Reading*, 2 vols., University of London Press, London, 1950; EATON, HELEN S., *Semantic Frequency List for English, French, German and Spanish*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1940; DOTRENS ROBERT-NASSARENTI DINO, *Vocabulaire fondamental du français*, 2^e éd., Delauchaux et Niestle, Neuchatel (Switzerland), 1952.

In the choice of words beginning with vowels or consonants, the compilers appear to be concerned only with the first letters of words but not with the remaining elements of the words, nor to what extent the remaining combinations of vowels and vowel-consonants are familiar to the child. Each vowel consonant in Tamil, as in other languages of Indian origin, is rendered by a sign different from the pure vowel sign. Thus the “இ” value in “கி” is expressed by the sign “ி”. Hence an eclectic approach seems necessary for Tamil teaching. Both the synthetic and analytic methods whereby the *gestalt* and the meaningful unit is taught together with the letter and syllabic components of the meaningful unit should be used. In the selection of words for primers one has not only to see that the words occur in the spoken vocabulary of the child and have meaningful association with its interests but also provide for the progressive introduction in the visual patterns of consonants and vowel-consonants so that the child will gradually pass from known symbols to unknown symbols. Thus the child who can read “அம்மா” may find it easier to learn to read “அப்பா” and “மரம்” as the next words, than “ஒற்றி” or “உழவன்” which contain no letters contained in “அம்மா”. A further point to be noted in the selection of words for reading is that the visual pattern of a word is made more distinct and distinguishable by using dissimilar components than similar components, that is, the words should differ in length and in the number and position of projecting letters. Thus a page of Primer 4 :

படம்

மடம்

வடம்

பட்டம்

வட்டம்

is likely to be more confusing to the child than a page with words of dissimilar components like

படம்

பு

கத்தி

தட்டம்

பதக்கம்

பழம்

நாய்

நாடு

தமிழ்நாடு

These recommendations made on the basis of experimental studies done for English should serve as a guide in devising the permutations and combinations of visual patterns of letters constituting the words of pre-readers, primers and other reading material for children.

The vocabulary burden in the primers of words beginning with vowels is extremely high. On an average each primer uses in all only about sixteen words for the study of the twelve vowels diphthongs and the āyutam. Two primers (A and F) which while introducing the vowels print ஒளவை with ஒள have printed the same name as அவ்வை when the consonant வ் is introduced in the primers. This inconsistency in the primers themselves is a warning regarding the inopportuneness of introducing characters like ஒள and ஃ in a primary reader.

THE VOWEL-CONSONANTS

After the vowels, the vowel-consonants are introduced in order as the first letters of words. The choice of the words, as will be seen from the examples which follow, has not been made from any principle of children's learning but merely for the convenience of the traditional consonantal order and letter-recognition. Most of the words

are without any emotional content for the child and are beyond the child's experiences and outside its spoken vocabulary. Some of them are words which are not common even in adult usage and a few of them are even obsolete. Thus

Primer A : படல், நீதி, பீட்டி, தீரன், தூது, நாகம், நெட்டி, கௌரி, கௌளி, சோழன்

Primer B : சரம், ரம்பம், கமலம், கம்மல், கட்டம், கன்னடம், தனம், மரகதம், இல்லம், வனம், சமயம், உப்பளம், பவளம், ஊக்கம், சங்கம், நகல், மங்களம், கழகம், அச்சம், நன்னூல், கூத்தர், கண்ணொளி, யௌவனம், லௌகீகம்.

Primer C : சைனியம், செளரம், ஞுண்டு, பெளத்தர், மௌலி, வேங்கை.

Primer D : சாதம், கௌதாரி, ஒளடதம், பெளர்ணமி, மௌலி.

Primer E : இதம், பெளர்ணமி, சேடி, தாம், நெறி, - நேமி, அஃது, எஃகு, அறம், தபசி, பதன், பரம், பசிதம், பதிதன்.

Primer F : வாச்சி, என்பு, ஊண், ஐது, மௌலி, கௌலி, விழுது, முத்தி, கந்து, கப்பு, தொடி.

Primer G : படல், மடல், மேளதாளம், வஞ்சம், பண், கார்.

Rhyming pairs of words have been also introduced without regard to their appropriateness for children's interests and experiences, and often with little or no meaningful association.

Primer A : பாடம், மாடம்; காகம், நாகம்; கத்தி, சக்தி; சிரி, விரி, திரி; ஈட்டி, பீட்டி; ஊது, தூது; ஆச்சி, பூச்சி; செட்டி, நெட்டி; தேய், மேய்; பொரி, சொறி.

Primer B : சரம், மரம், அரம், ரசம்; கலம், பலம்; கட்டம், சட்டம்; தரம், தனம்; தளம், களம், வளம், பவளம், உப்பளம்; தணல், மணல், சணல்; மண், எண், உண்; கால், சால், பால்; கோழி, சோழி.

Primer C : In pages 37 to 43, Primer C gives catalogues of words of one letter (பு), two letters (சோறு), three letters (தம்பி), four letters (அண்ணன்). The size of the word cannot be correlated with interest and experience e.g. ஆ, கா, மோ, வீ.

Primer D : In pages 25 to 31, Primer D gives lists of words associated with such titles as குடும்பம், வீடு, உறுப்புக்கள், வகுப்பு, மரங்கள், பூக்கள், காய்கள், பழங்கள், பறவைகள், மிருகங்கள், ஊர்வன, வாகனங்கள், செய்கைகள்.

The influence of phonetic readers in English and of "the cat sat on a mat" pattern account for a great number of words used together in rhyming pairs without any other basis for their association in pairs than the rhyme. Thus :

Primer E : பஞ்சு, குஞ்சு; சட்டி, பெட்டி; நண்டு, சொண்டு; நாய், பாய்; தேர், வேர்; கொவ்வை, அவ்வை; கெடு, கேடு, கை; செடி, சேடி, சை; தெள், தேன், தை; நெறி, நேசி, நை; மெலி, மேடு, மை; பெண், பேறு, பை.

Primer F : சாக்கு, முக்கு; சங்கு, அங்கு, இங்கு, உங்கு; ஆச்சி, பூச்சி, வாச்சி; சட்டி, தட்டி, முட்டி; சொத்தி, பக்தி, முத்தி; கப்பு, அப்பு, ஆப்பு, உப்பு; வாய், காய், பாய், தாய்; கவ்வு, சவ்வு, தவ்வு; ஆள், வாள், தாள், நாள்; கொடி, நொடி, பொடி; ஒளவை, கௌவை; கௌரி, மௌலி etc.

Primer G : பலர், மலர்; மடம், படம்; படல், மடல்; பண், மண்; பணம், மணம்; பார், கார்; நட, கட; நரி, கரி; பட்டி, கட்டி; ஆடி, தாடி; தூண், பூண்; ஆச்சி, பூச்சி; பாய், வாய்; தேய், மேய்.

These words are catalogued in the primers in such a manner that the child is compelled to learn them not in association but in isolation. These words and jingles have been chosen for their consonantal composition, their

brevity and their phonic similarity. These pages are so much inert and dead material for the child. The listing of words according to their length and the number of letters of which they are composed shows again the pre-occupation with recognition of word-elements irrespective of the frequency of the given words in children's usage and their creative interest. The method is faulty in that it does not develop the eye-span, the area of visual focus demanded being too small for the development of a larger eye-span for regular reading.

The introduction of single words as the unit of reading practice in primary schools contributes more for meaningful reading than the alphabet, syllabic or phonic methods. Word recognition and study of the synthetic pattern should precede the break-up or analysis into the component syllabic or alphabetical patterns. This analytic process need not be undertaken by the primer. It should be left to the teacher to introduce gradually the break-up of the word into letters, and build new words out of the elements with which the children are familiar.

The pages which are reproduced here from two primers, one in use in India and another in use in Ceylon will show the practice of an inopportune analytic method and an overloading of letter recognition which find no justification in scientific reading methodology.

The artificiality and unrelatedness of the letters taught in isolation to the actual language needs of the child is again seen in the manner in which vowel consonants of the 'ஊ' series which never occur in words are introduced in the primers.

THE SENTENCES

From single words as the means of letter and word recognition exercises, the readers proceed to sentences. The sentences are brief and in order to be as brief as pos-

A page from Primer 'Y' approved in Madras State..



வெளவால்

கௌதாரி	யௌவனம்
சௌக்கியம்	ரௌத்திரி
பௌர்ணமி	லௌகீகம்
மௌனம்	ஒளவை

௧ - ௭

கௌ
வௌ
சௌ
ரௌ
டௌ
ணௌ
தௌ
நௌ
பௌ
மௌ
யௌ
ரௌ
லௌ
வௌ
ழௌ
ளௌ
றௌ
னௌ

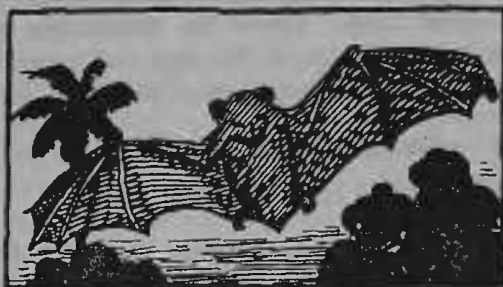
ஒளவையார் நிரம்பப் படித்தவர்.

மௌனம் மிகவும் நல்லது.

கௌதாரி ஒரு பறவை.

வௌவால் பறக்கும் பிராணி.

Another page from a Primer approved in the Madras State.



வெளவால்

ஒள = டெள : க் + ஒள = கௌ

கௌளி	வெளவால்
மௌனம்	ஒளவை

வெளவால் மரத்தில் தொங்கும்.

வெளவால் பகலில் தூங்கும்.

வெளவால் பழம் தின்னும்.

மௌனச் சுவாமியார் நல்லவர்.

ஒளவை நீதி நூல்கள் எழுதினார்.

காலால் நடந்தே அவர் எங்கும் சுற்றினார்.

சிறுவர்க்குச் செந்தமிழ்ப் பாடல்களைப் பாடினார்.

ஒள

கௌ	கௌ	தௌ	மௌ	லௌ	ளௌ
ஙௌ	டௌ	நௌ	யௌ	வௌ	றௌ
சௌ	ணௌ	பௌ	ரௌ	ழௌ	னௌ

sible, in the first sentence lessons the readers use the second-person singular imperative which in Tamil is the shortest verbal form. Often the imperatives are not closely related to the life of the child and sometimes are far-fetched, abstruse, meaningless or pedantic. e.g. :—

Primer A : மீன்பிடி, தீனிதின்; பாக்குவெட்டு.

Primer B : நன்னூல் படி! (This at 4+!)

Primer C : ஆதி; ஓகோ; கைநோ; பூமோ; ஈநீ; ஆகா (unalloyed gibberish); மிருது மயிர்; குழும் முக்கு, பிளவு உதடு.

Primer D : ஒளடதம் சாப்பிடு.

Primer E : உண்டு வளர்; கல்வி கல், பதவி பெறு; பணம் தேடு; வீடு கட்டு; அறம் செய்; முத்தி பெறு; and later on மலம் கழி.

Primer F : கற்றோரை நாடு.

These orders are generally followed by bare statements of fact or moral and ethical maxims which again are not woven in with child interest and contain no story or personal element.

A	பூ மணம் தரும் பசு பால் தரும் நாய் வீடு காக்கும்	ஒட்டகம் பெரிய மிருகம் ஒளவை படித்த கிழவி கௌளி வீட்டில் இருக்கும்
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B குறித்த வேளையில் சாப்பிடு
காலம் தவறுமை சால நன்று
சோம்பர் என்பவர் தேம்பித் திரிவர்
மூத்தோர் சொல் வார்த்தை அமிர்தம்
தந்தையும் தாயும் பெற்றோர் ஆவர்
கௌதாரி ஒரு பறவை
வெளவால் பறக்கும் பிராணி
வெய்யில் வெப்பம் உள்ளது
வெட்டி வேர் மணம் உள்ளது

C அவன் வரான்; ஐயர் வரார் (verbal form above standard)

எங்கள் வீடு

இது எங்கள் வீடு. இங்கே
 அப்பா இருக்கிறார். நானும்
 அப்பாவும் அம்மாவும்
 இங்கே இருக்கிறோம்.
 எங்கள் வீடு இது. எங்கள்
 வீட்டில் ஒரு நாய் இருக்
 கிறது. அது நல்ல நாய்.
 எங்கள் நாய் கடிக்காது.
 “வள்” “வள்” என்று குலைக்
 கும்.

In this short lesson which may be introduced with an illustration among the lessons of the latter half of a primer, the words used have a high frequency in the spoken vocabulary of a child. They are not two-syllable and three-syllable words strung together for similarity of sound. They are sufficiently of different visual pattern, and contain greater interest for the child than a mere catalogue of parts of a house. There is a personal and narrative element giving unity to the short lesson.

POETRY

Children have a keen sense of rhyme and of the magic and music of words, and hence every effort should be made to introduce them to simple and melodious poetry. The primers vary in the number of poems which they include and in the total number of lines.

Primer	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
No. of Poems	8	1	3	3	5	4	9

Some of the poems are popular nursery rhymes and action-songs and easy children's poetry from Barathi and Desigavinayagam Pillai. Some of the poems have been selected by two or more Readers as may be seen from the table on page 228. The nursery rhymes and action songs (அம்புலிமான், நிலா, கைவீசம்மா) are popularly recited to children, and hence, are suitable for inclusion in all primers. The Kazhagam poems என் தாய் and மழை have the moralising tone predominant in them, but I have heard young children reciting them to their parents, especially to their mothers who encourage their repetition. They may be included even if their vocabulary burden is high. The verses on the Dog, on the Cock, on the Cow and Calf by Desigavinayagam Pillai and the Child's song by Barathi are very apt

for primers since they introduce topics of interest and familiar scenes and contain personal elements related to their world of feelings, images and perceptions. The words are not remote to children and are emotive conveying vivid pictures. Thus Desigavinayagam Pillai's poem on the *Cow and Calf* is a good choice, and should be included in all primers.

தோட்டத்தில் மேயுது வெள்ளைப் பசு—அங்கே
துள்ளிக் குதிக்குது கன்றுக்குட்டி
முத்தம் கொடுக்குது வெள்ளைப் பசு—மடி
முட்டிக் குடிக்குது கன்றுக் குட்டி.

And Bharathi's

சின்னஞ் சிறு குருவிபோலே—நீ
திரிந்து பறந்து வா பாப்பா
வன்னப் பறவைகளைக் கண்டு—நீ
மனதில் மகிழ்ச்சி கொள்ளு பாப்பா.

The verses in Primer F are 50% religious and contain too heavy a vocabulary burden with words entirely beyond the range of the child. For instance in எங்கள் தேவன் occurs the verse

பூதலத்தில் உள்ள பேர்க்கு
புனிய நெறி காட்ட வந்தார்
மாதவத் தோரான பேர்க்கு
மாட்சி பேரானந்தம் தந்தார்

The words in bolder types are clearly beyond the range of children of 5+ for whom the primer is intended. Some of the selections in Primers A, E, G contain to an excessive degree the moralising and didactic element. Thus the ஆத்திசூடி with its most recondite phrases and concepts

இயல்வது கரவேல்
உடையது விளம்பேல்
ஐய மிட்டுண்
ஒளவியம் பேசேல்

has been included in these three primers, probably as a homage to past conventions of Tamil teaching which commenced with this acrostic didactic verse. The Madras syllabus prescribes 50 verses of the ஆத்திசூடி and 50 lines of songs, rhymes and lullabies for the first standard. This inclusion of ஆத்திசூடி is often defended on the ground that these children comprehend later as adults what they have learned in the first standard. No educational or psychological principle justifies inflicting so many verses of didactic poetry unintelligible to the child so that it may discover their meaning with relish about ten years later.⁹

Another acrostic found in Primer E contains words and concepts beyond the interests of the child.

எண்ணும் எழுத்தும் படித்திடுவோம்
ஏவாமற் பணி செய்திடுவோம்
ஐந்தும் இரண்டும் கற்றிடுவோம்
அன்பாய்க் கூடி நடித்திடுவோம்
ஒற்றுமையாக வாழ்ந்திடுவோம்
ஒடிப் பாடி நடித்திடுவோம்
ஒளவை பாடல் படித்திடுவோம்

The chief test to be used in the selection of poetry for children is the capacity of the poem to be used for pure enjoyment. On the other hand, the compilers of most Tamil readers seem to utilise poetry merely as a literary medium through which religion, morals, ethics, good manners, biography and vocabulary may be taught. This is a perversion of the poetry lesson.¹⁰

⁹ *Revised Syllabus*, op. cit., p. 5. The didactic burden is evident again in the poetry prescribed for Standard II: "Ulaganeethi"—10 stanzas of four lines each suitable for children; "Konrai-Vendan"—40 lines suitable to children; nursery rhymes and action songs—about sixty lines. The didactic verses form the major part of prescribed poetry.

¹⁰ See CUTFORTH, JOHN A., *English in the Primary School*, 2nd ed., Blackwells, Oxford, 1954; HERRICH, VIRGIL E. and JACOBS, LELAND B., *Children and the Language Arts*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1955.

News and Notes

TAMIL MEDIUM IN COLLEGES

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Education, stated that the threat of financial sanction did not enter into the proposal the Madras Government had made for the switch-over from English to Tamil as medium of instruction at college and university levels.

The Minister, while talking to Pressmen, explained the recent decision of the Government about the medium of instruction at the college level. He said that the scheme had the approval of both the Vice-Chancellors in this State. There was no question of any threat of financial sanctions for preventing the English medium being used. Even at present there were, he said, many recognised educational institutions which were not in receipt of financial aid. If it was the general policy that the Tamil medium should be adopted for the Bachelor of Arts degree courses, then those who wanted Government aid would have to fall in line with the general policy, he added.

The Minister observed that even now secondary schools had to follow a certain pattern in regard to the syllabus and curriculum. This did not mean that there was no other syllabus or curriculum equally effective. The fact that the Government did not give any grant to such institutions should not be regarded as threat of financial sanctions. The Minister pointed out that the policy already pursued in regard to secondary schools was at present being extended to college and university levels.

—The Hindu

COMMITTEE MEETS IN COIMBATORE

The College Tamil Committee, constituted to advise the Government on the implementation of the introduction of the Tamil medium in the Pilot College (Government Arts College, Coimbatore) from June, 1960, and to plan the various preparatory measures to be undertaken, met in the P. S. G. College of Technology, Peelamedu. Mr. G. R. Damodaran, M.L.C., Principal, P. S. G. College of Technology, Chairman of the Committee, presided.

On the first day, the Chairman explained the Terms of Reference and the issues to be discussed in the G.O. relating to the adoption of Tamil medium. The problems to be tackled were pointed out by the Chairman.

On the second day, he submitted a draft report outlining the policy and the measures to be taken. The members of the Committee adopted the report.

The report suggested the procedures to be adopted in the collection of technical terminology, preparation of text books, selection of authors for writing those text books, appointment of suitable qualified staff for the Pilot College and the selection of the students.

As regards the technical terms, the Committee has decided to confine themselves, for the present, to those needed for covering the subjects proposed to be taught in Humanities for the B.A. degree course, namely, History, Economics, Politics, Geography and Psychology. The Tamil equivalents or transliterations adopted in the school text books, standard dictionaries, glossaries published by Government of Madras, and the terms used by *Kalaikathir*, the scientific journal of Coimbatore, and by *Kalaikalanjiam* of Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam, will be accepted with suitable modifications, wherever necessary. In the absence of acceptable Tamil equivalents in these sources, the Committee would explore the possibility of discovering new terms. Wherever proper Tamil equivalents are not avail-

able, transliteration of the International terminology, as suggested in the G.O. will be attempted and no adaptation will be made which will transform the original beyond recognition.

Each member of the College Tamil Committee has been assigned a subject for the preparation of such terms and he has been authorised to employ qualified persons for carrying out this preparation.

A Publication Committee is to be constituted with a nominee of the University, a Professor of Tamil and a Professor teaching the subject to select the text books and to decide the author for the preparation of the text books. It was proposed by the Committee to invite talented authors through notification in the Press, inviting specimen translations or adaptations. To encourage the publication of original works, the Committee has recommended to Government to draw up a prize scheme and to award coveted prizes to the authors for their best books in the various subjects.

A time-schedule has been drawn up by the Committee to implement the policy of Tamil medium at various stages. The Committee has decided that the text books should be ready by April 15, 1960, and has recommended to Government to organise orientation courses for the teachers who are to be engaged in the Pilot College for instruction.

The Chairman of the Committee would be interviewing a few selected educationists for their suggestions to implement the Tamil medium. The Principal of the Government Arts College, Coimbatore, has been requested by the Committee to take necessary steps for the construction of buildings required for additional accommodation, to purchase necessary furniture, library, etc.

The Committee has co-opted Messrs. B. R. Krishnamurthi, Principal, P. S. G. Arts College, Peelamedu, and

M. Aramvalarthan, Principal, Rural Institute of Higher Education, S. R. K. Vidyalaya, Perianaickenpalayam.

—*The Hindu*

TAMIL RESEARCH COUNCIL'S ADVICE

In reply to a question asked by Mr. K. Vinayakam in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance and Education, said that the Tamil Development and Research Council had been constituted for the development of Tamil language in all its aspects. The Council would function continuously.

Answering supplementaries, Mr. Subramaniam explained that the first suggestion of the Council was that Tamil be introduced as the medium of instruction in the reorganised B.A. course and the Government had taken a decision to introduce it as a pilot project in one college from 1960-61. The Vice-Chancellors of the Madras and Annamalai Universities, who were members of the Council, had also been consulted and they had given their consent to the proposal.

—*The Hindu*

TAMIL AS STATE LANGUAGE

The introduction of Tamil as the official language of the State was bound to work satisfactorily and it was proposed to be introduced in the Government offices gradually and in stages, said Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance, replying to questions in the Legislative Council.

Mr. Subramaniam, answering two interpellations tabled by Messrs. T. Purushotham and V. V. Ramaswami, said that Tamil had been introduced as the language of correspondence with effect from January 14, 1958, in about 1,925 Government offices in the State. Regarding the other offices, it was proposed to take up the various Government departments in convenient batches, the order of prefer-

rence being based on the extent to which the general public, particularly the ryots in the villages, had to deal with these offices.

The Official Language Act Implementation Committee, the Minister said, had been asked to submit to Government, every quarter, reviews furnished by heads of departments on the working of the scheme, together with its comments and suggestions. Two of these quarterly reports had been received so far. From these reports, it was seen that the glossaries of administrative terms distributed to offices had reached them only a few months ago, and that, therefore, a detailed review was not possible till the glossaries had been put to use for some more time.

Answering a supplementary whether the actual working of the scheme (introduction of Tamil as the language of correspondence) had proved to be satisfactory so far, Mr. Subramaniam said that his own view was that it was bound to be satisfactory. The glossaries had just been distributed and the Government's intention was to extend it to other offices gradually.

In reply to criticisms that Tamil equivalents given in the glossary to certain English terms like the Collector, lorry, etc., were not easily understandable, Mr. Subramaniam said that certain English terms had become very familiar to them and it was the intention of the Government that they should be retained.

Replying to another interpellation tabled by Mr. V. V. Ramaswami, Mr. Subramaniam said that there was at present no proposal before the Government to encourage the translation of Tamil works into other languages and works in other languages into Tamil. But if specific requests for assistance for translations were received, the Government considered each such request on its merits.

—*The Hindu*

CHILDREN'S BOOKS IN TAMIL

The Madras Government have appointed a committee to be known as the "Committee for research and production of literature on adult and children's education" with Rev. Xavier S. Thaninayagam, Department of Education, University of Ceylon, as chairman to conduct research and to produce children's books and books for neo-literates in Tamil.

The other members of the committee are: Messrs. M. R. Perumal Mudaliar, Principal, Government Teachers' College Saidapet; Aramvalarthan, Principal, Rural Higher Education Institute, Perianaickenpalayam, Coimbatore; B. R. Krishnamurthy, Principal, P. S. G. Arts College, Peelamedu; S. Vadivelu, Special Officer for Text Books and Personal Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction; and Al. Valliappa, author of children's books, Madras. The committee has been authorised to co-opt three additional members, if found necessary.

Mr. V. Kannaiyan, Secretary of the Tamil Development and Research Council, will be the Secretary of the committee.

The Government Order announcing the constitution of the committee says that the question of co-ordinating and developing the activities of all agencies at present engaged in the production and publication of books for adults and children had been under the consideration of Government for some time. The matter came up before the Tamil Development and Research Council at its meeting held on April 8, 1959. It was agreed that there should be detailed research in adult and child psychology, taste, vocabulary, the subjects in which they are much interested, etc.

The Government Order adds that the committee mentioned above has been appointed "to advise the Govern-

ment on the implementation of this policy to conduct research and to plan various preparatory measures to be undertaken in order to produce children's books and books for neo-literates in Tamil".

The committee will be free to consult all persons whose advice and opinion in the matter will, in its opinion, be useful.

—*The Hindu*

SOUTHERN LANGUAGES TRUST

35 TAMIL BOOKS PUBLISHED

The Southern Languages Book Trust, Madras, celebrated the release of the 100th book to be published under its auspices—"A Day At The Beach", a work in Telugu for young children, at a pleasant function held at Woodlands, Mylapore.

Dr. S. Govindarajulu Naidu, Chairman of the Trust, and Vice-Chancellor of the Sri Venkateswara University, announcing future plans, said they aimed at publishing children's books, as also books for neo-literates, special books for villagers, and a series of books expounding modern science in a simple way.

Dr. Govindarajulu Naidu said that the books brought out by the Trust were not so many independent works, but actually comprised of 45 separate titles, some of which were published in all the languages, while others were published in one or two or three languages. He mentioned that Rajaji's fables or short stories in all the languages was a best-seller. Another good-seller were books of selections from Tamil classics. The Trust took pride in having brought together so many people, like authors, publishers, artists, and the like, into the business of turning out good books. Yet, in one direction, namely, the art of selling books, much leeway had to be made.

The Trust had received financial assistance from the Ford Foundation, which had also given it from time to time the assistance of several technical consultants. They now hoped to receive the assistance of the four State Governments in the South. The Trust was also seeking the assistance of the Union Government, the Chairman said.

The note issued by the Trust said that the first books appeared in 1957, and the books so far published were made up of 35 books in Tamil, 25 in Telugu, 19 in Kannada and 21 in Malayalam. The Trust had arranged for the publication of three books in Tamil with the assistance of UNESCO, and planned to arrange for the publication of another eight books in collaboration with the same organisation during the remaining part of this year.

—*The Hindu*

TAMIL-RUSSIAN DICTIONARY

A Tamil-Russian dictionary is being prepared by the U.S.S.R. Publishing House of foreign and Soviet national dictionaries and will be published before the World Congress of Orientalists meets in the Soviet Union next year, according to a Tass release in New Delhi.

The dictionary would be followed by a Russian-Tamil dictionary, work on which has already begun in the editorial office of dictionaries of South-East Asian Languages, the Tass release said,

—*The Hindu*

SPEED DEMONSTRATION IN TAMIL TYPING

There was a High Speed Test Demonstration in Tamil Typewriting at the Government Central Tamil Typewriting Institute at Old Assembly Buildings, Government Estate, Madras. Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister, presided over the function.

Mr. M. Anantanarayanan, I.C.S., who is the Member in charge of the Government Typists' Training Scheme, welcomed the Minister. Mr. V. Subramaniam, Chief Instructor of the Institute, said that a good number of the trainees had recorded a speed of over 50 words within three months and that of all the regional languages it would be possible to attain in Tamil typing a speed equivalent to that in English typewriting in course of time.

About 30 Government typists drawn from all the districts participated in the High Speed Test Demonstration including two lady typists.

The Minister appreciated the progress made by the trainees in a short time in Tamil typing. It was really an achievement, he said, that many of the trainees excelled the All-India record within three months.

—*The Hindu*

THE CENTENARY OF ABRAHAM PANDITHER OF TANJORE

The above centenary was celebrated at Tanjore on the 22nd and 23rd of August, 1959 with great enthusiasm by a committee headed by Dr. A. S. Thava Pandyan, the senior grandson of Pandither. On the 22nd of August there was a memorial service at St. Peter's Church at Tanjore. It was a choral service throughout in which the lyrics composed by Pandither were rendered to Carnatic music of a high order. It was impressive and inspiring. The sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hezekaiel who dealt with Pandither's career as a physician, agriculturalist and musical scholar and said that he used the fortune he acquired by medicine for the good of the humanity and for the welfare of the Indian church.

On the 23rd of August a public meeting was held in the morning as well as in the evening. In the morning session the honourable Mr. Justice V. Subrahmanyam of

the Madras High Court presided. He paid an eloquent tribute to the glorious achievement of Pandithar rising from a humble position to one of name and fame. He said that he was an example of inspiration to the young generation of modern India. He emphasized how his faith in God supported him in all his difficulties and how God's grace blessed him.

The first speaker in the morning was Mr. R. Lakshmanan, the District Judge of Tanjore. He made a humorous speech and kept the audience rocking with laughter throughout. He spoke of Pandithar as an example of industry in working his way up and of service of humanity irrespective of caste and creed. The next speaker was Venuganam Venugopal Naidu garu of Coimbatore, a great musical scholar in possession of many Tamil musical works alleged to be lost. He explained that originally the Sanskrit works expounded the theory of twenty-four 'Suruthies' based as they were on the twenty-four letters of 'Gayatrimantram', but subsequently the 'Bhakthas' dropped out two 'Suruthies' calculated to inspire feelings of 'Kama' namely, 'Antra Gantharam' and 'Nishadam' and confined themselves to twenty-two 'Suruthies'. On the other hand the secularists stuck to the original twenty-four Suruthies for a time until the practise and authority of Bhakthas prevailed over them too. That is how twenty-two Suruthies came to be mentioned in well known Sanskrit books. The last item in the morning was a paper on Abraham Pandithar as a theologian and religious thinker by the Rev. A. Arul Thangiah of Madras who was unavoidably absent. It was read by a proxy. He expounded Pandithar's views on the approach to Christianity from an Indian point of view so eloquently pleaded by him in his work called "Nan Marai Kattum Nanneri".

In the evening Mr. A. C. Paul Nadar presided. The first speaker was Mr. Devaneyya Pavanar of Annamalai University. He dealt at length on the service rendered by Pandithar for the understanding of Tamil language bound

up with the origin of Carnatic music and the elucidation of music in the famous Tamil work, "Silappadikaram". The second item was a brilliant musical performance on Veena by Mrs. Gnana Selvam Thava Pandyan, a grand-daughter of Pandither. The next item was a charming and eloquent speech by Miss Tilakavathi Paul whose reminiscences of Pandither and character study of each and everyone of Pandither's ten children with their achievements thrilled the audience and kept it in spell-bound silence. It was followed by a short speech by Mr. Duraiappa Bagavather, a renowned musical scholar and son of the celebrated Panchapigesa Bagavather who taught fiddle to the daughters of Pandither namely Maragathavalli and Kanagavalli. He dwelt on Pandither as a conversationalist surrounded by a circle of learned men. He cited some of the profound sayings of Pandither to illustrate his wisdom.

The last but not the least item in the programme was a 'musical Kalakshebbham' by Mr. Thana Pandyan, a son of Maragathavalli, on the glorious achievement of Pandither in the field of music. It was a deep biographical study in the light of his original compositions of lyrics and his contribution to the study of the origin and development of Carnatic music. The technique of his performance was highly appreciated by the professionals. The audience was kept spell-bound for nearly two hours. At the request of the audience after meals he entertained them to a fine flute kacheri lasting till late in the mid-night.

The celebration was brought to a close by a magnificent display of fireworks.

Messages of good wishes were received from more than three hundred persons including Mr. Bishnuram Medhi, the Governor of Madras, Bishop Jebaraj of Tirunelveli and Mr. T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai, the Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University and many other scholars and musicians. The well known journals like *The Hindu* and *Kalki* paid well deserved tributes to Pandither.

Extracts from Letter

A British subscriber writes :—

I have been wanting to write to you for some time to thank you for *TAMIL CULTURE*, VII, 4, but have been prevented from doing so by one thing after another, the latest of them being a paper that can be read in ten minutes at our next Conference to be held at University College, Bangar.

As Dravidian Studies have received little or no consideration latterly, I thought I would do something about it on the principle “சிறு துரும்பும் பல்லுக்குத்த உதவும்” and wrote a simple paper on the *Mahabharata* in Tamil (tracing the history from the earliest times). *Villi Bharatam* fascinates me more and more; also the sequel by Aranganatha Kavirayar, of which one hears so little nowadays.

But to revert to *TAMIL CULTURE*, VII, 4, Fr. David has, as usual, tackled his subject with much vigour, and I read his article with great interest. He will, I am sure, prove a worthy successor to Rev. Fr. Gnanaprakasam. “News and Notes” were, as usual, interesting, but I was sorry to find no mention made of Sivaji Ganesan under the Kattabomman celebration, for I am sure he has done as much, if not more, than Rajaji to arouse indignation in the people.

Volume VIII, No. 1 has now arrived, and it is by far the best number I have perused so far, every article being well worth publishing. Rev. Dr. Thani Nayagam has indeed good news to give us, and the Hon’ble the Minister is to be congratulated on the very strong Council he has brought into being. P. Joseph writes really beautifully about the “Dravidian of Spain”, whose portrait I am so glad to have.

The linguistic discussions I am not in a position to discuss the merits of, for I was brought up on our own grammarians, who supply us—at least so I feel—with all that we need to know of the structure of Tamil to interpret the classics, and that is our only concern and the concern of the vast majority of those who read and learn Tamil. As I view the scene from this great distance, I grieve to find the intrusion of Western ways into the printing of Tamil, with its gratuitous insult to the teachers of Tamil up and down the country, that boys of even Form VI cannot break up the simplest of *sandhis*. Is there no power in the land to arrest this dry rot? Surely in speech we do not stop to break up *sandhis*; and we of a former generation got on very well without the spoon-feeding that seems to be the order of the day, as though it represented the high watermark of sound pedagogy.

List of Books Received

ON COMPLIMENTARY AND EXCHANGE BASIS

during July/September 1959.

ANNALS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH : Vol. XV, 1958-'59, Part II.

ARCHIV ORIENTALNI : No. 27/1, 1959.

ARCHIVUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU : Anno XXVIII,
Jan.-June, 1959.

DIALECTS OF TAMIL I (Dr. Kamil Zvelebil).

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE : Tome CCXLVI, 1958 Fasc. Nos. 2 & 3.

L'ARCHEOLOGIE DU DELTA DU MEKONG : Vol. XLII.

ORIENT OCCIDENT : Vol. II, No. 4, August 1959.

PHILOSOPHY EAST AND WEST : Vol. VII, Nos. 3 & 4.

QUEST : July/September and October/December 1959.

RUMANIA REVIEW : No. 2/1959.

THE ARYAN PATH : Vol. XXX, Nos. 8-10, 1959.

THE INDIAN P.E.N. : Vol. XXV, Nos. 8-10, 1959.

THE INDO-ASIAN CULTURE : Vol. VII, No. 4, 1959.

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS CITY REVIEW : Vol. XXV,
No. 4.

VALUES : July, 1959.

ZEMA POSVATNYCH REK : (Kr. Ivo Fiser & Dr. Kamil
Zvelebil).

தமிழ்ப் பொழில் - மலர் 7

BOOK RECEIVED

நவமணிகள் - (திருவாவடுதுறை ஆதீனம்)

--T. S. வைத்தியநாதன். பக்கங்கள் 304.

NOTICE

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Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(„ calm)
இ	—	i	(„ sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(„ machine)
உ	—	u	(„ full)
ஊ	—	u:	(„ rule)
எ	—	e	(„ fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(„ able)
ஐ	—	ai	(„ aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(„ opinion)
ஔ	—	o:	(„ opium)
ஔ	—	au	(„ now)

CONSONANTS

			Hints re: articulation
<i>Hard¹</i> (Plosive)	க	—	k (as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c („ church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t („ card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with blade of tongue.
	த	—	th („ threat, this, thick)....dental.
<i>Soft</i> (Nasal)	ப	—	p („ pipe, amber)
	஠	—	t („ atlas, sunday, arrears)....Retroflex- articulate with tip of tongue.
	ங	—	ng („ sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj („ angel)....palatal n
	ன	—	n: („ urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ந	—	nh („ anthem)....dental n
<i>Medium</i> (non-nasal continuant)	ம	—	m („ mate)
	ன	—	n („ enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with tip of tongue.
	ய	—	y („ yard)
	ர	—	r („ red)
	ல	—	l („ leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with tip of tongue.
	வ	—	v („ very)
<i>Auxiliary²</i> (-ஆதம்)	ழ	—	l- („ ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ள	—	l: („ hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ஃ	—	x („ ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard*, have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

(a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant*.

e.g., பக்கம் - is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

(b) an *unaspirated but voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant*:—

e.g., பங்கம் - is pronounced pangam, not pankam

பஞ்சம் - „ panjam, not pancam,

(c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant*.

e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai

எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative—sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of *t* : which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

Later its value became fixed as *h*, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil=Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve:ngkat:am).

- (ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

(This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

Note —(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column.

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel *a* has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top.

(3) All the eighteen vowel consonants under * (k) are shown as a guide: in other cases only the irregular forms are shown; the rest being exactly similar to those shown under * (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored.

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TO OUR READERS

It is very much regretted that owing to unavoidable circumstances, Issue No. 4 of 1959 has been unduly delayed. The current issue may also be delayed though we are trying our best to minimise it. We crave the kind indulgence of our readers and patrons.

Hony. Secretary,
Tamil Culture.

On the Uses of Participles and Participial Nouns in Tamil

M. ANDRONOV

The syntax of the Dravidian languages is not elaborately described, and various ways, in which participles and participial nouns are generally used, have not been hitherto classified. Thus, for instance, J. Bloch in the paragraph devoted to participles, is compelled simply to state that "les rapports entre ce participe et le nom sur lequel il s'appuie d'une part, et les termes de la proposition établie sur ce participe d'autre part, sont indéterminés dans la forme et doivent se traduire de façon variée".¹

But formal indeterminateness of these relations between the participle and the noun on which it depends does not deny the fact of existence of some models which regulate and determine the uses of participles and participial nouns in this language.

I

Participles, as other verbal forms in Tamil, have no voice characteristics.² This leads to the fact that the same participle can be used in active sense in one context and in passive sense in another. Everything depends here on the order of words and on their lexical meaning. Thus, for instance, the past participle of the verb *paṭi* - "to read" *paṭitta* can be used in active sense as well as in passive. This distinction depends, in this example, on the meaning of the word, determined by the participle: *paṭitta paiyaṇ* means "the boy who read", while *paṭitta pāṭam* means

¹ J. Bloch, *Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes*, Paris, 1948, p. 85.

² Cf.: "Rien dans le verbe ne signale voix, mode ou aspect." *Ibid.*, p. 100.

"the lesson which was read". These compounds can be understood only in this way because of the lexical meaning of the nouns, that is because by their nature the boy cannot be read and the lesson cannot read.

In a number of cases, however, the meaning of the word is not sufficient to determine the character of the action, expressed by the participle. Thus, in pārtta paiaṇ the participle pārtta (from pār- "to see") can be interpreted in both the ways: "the boy who saw" and "the boy who was seen". In such cases an indication should be given to the subject of the action, expressed by the participle: the participle has an active character when its subject coincides with the word determined by the participle; the participle has a passive character when the subject of the action does not coincide with the word determined by the participle. E.g.,

ennaip pārtta paiaṇ "the boy who saw me", and
nāṇ pārtta paiaṇ "the boy who was seen by me".

Peculiarity of the Tamil verb is that in the latter instance the subject of the action, expressed by the participle, is put, as a rule, in the nominative case.³ E.g.,

<p>Tāy <u>conna</u> collait taṭṭātē <u>pāppā</u> ! (P., K., 174)</p>	<p>Do not disobey the words spoken by your mother, child !</p>
---	--

This peculiarity (the subject in the nominative case) is characteristic of participles, derived from intransitive verbs, too. Like participles of transitive verbs, these participles are used as an attribute to some other word. E.g.,

<p>1. <u>Tān ninra</u> iṭattiliruntu koṇṭē takarak kuva- laiyai nīṭṭināl. (A, 8)</p>	<p>She stayed at the place, where she stood, and held out her tin.</p>
--	--

³ Some expressions of physical possibility to perform an action make an exception to this rule:

<p>Avar tammāl ceyyakkūṭiya utaviyaic ceytār Atu <u>tannāl</u> ānavarai kutittuppārttatu.</p>	<p>He helped as he could. It (a fox) tried to jump as high as it could,</p>
--	---

- | | |
|--|--|
| 2. Viṣam kalanta pālait
tayārittuk koṭukkirāl.
(C-2, 44) | She prepares some milk
mixed with poison.
(Or : milk with
which poison has
mixed.) |
|--|--|

So, every participle in Tamil, irrespective of transi-
tiveness or intransitiveness of the verb from which it is
derived, has a subject in the nominative case, unless this
subject coincides with a word, determined by the parti-
ciple.

In some of such cases, the subject of the action,
expressed by the participle, can be omitted and he under-
stood only with the help of the context. For instance,

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Eṅkaḷ viṭṭukku vanta-
vuṭaṇ avaḷaik kūp-
piṭṭēṇ. (Ki. Vā. Ja.,
Pū., 2) | I called her when
she was passing our
house. |
| 2. Enṇaik katalitta kur-
rattirkāka kaṭavuḷ
avaḷai mannikkavēṇ-
ṭum ! (P., P., 6) | May God forgive her
for having loved me ! |

(The subject of both the participles — aval — is omitted
here to avoid repetition.)

Cf. also piṛanta tiṇam "birthday" (but not "the day
which was born" !) and iṛanta tiṇam.

These features of Tamil participles underlie their
use with postpositions, which for the most part are or
have been nouns. Such a noun-postposition is determined
by a participle, the subject of which is expressed by ano-
ther noun. E.g.,

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 1. Nāṇ varum pōtellām...
(Lā. Ca. Rā., Ja., 83) | Every time when I
came... |
|--|------------------------------|

2. Paiyaṇ nīṅkaḷ nīṇai-
kiṛapaṭi illai. (Ki. Vā.
 Ja., Pa. Ma., 6) The boy is not what you
 think of him.

(Here the nouns-postpositions paṭi and pōtu are determined by the participles nīṇaikkīra and varum, which have subjects of their own — nīṅkaḷ and nāṇ.)

II

Participial nouns have both the nominal and verbal¹ characteristics. As nouns, they can be declined, act as a subject or predicate in the sentence. E.g.,

1. Ṇimēl naṭappataip-
parrittāṇē yōcikka-
vēṇṭum. (K., C.C.,
 378) It is of the things which
 are going to happen
 that we must think.
2. ...Kālaiyilēyē pōṇa-
vaṇinnum ēṇ tirum-
pivaravillai... (*Ibid.*,
 405) Why hasn't he returned
 who had gone in the
 morning ?
3. Avar Tamiḷ eluttā-
ḷarkaḷiṇ naṇmaiyai
virumpupavar. (Ki.
 Va. Ja., Pū., 141) He is a well-wisher of
 Tamil writers.

As verbs, participial nouns

(a) can be conjugated by tenses ;

(b) can govern a noun in the same case as all the other forms of the verb ; e.g.,

- Tantaiyaik konravanaip
paḷi vāṅkuvēṇ! (K,
 2-9-56, 37) I shall revenge upon
 him who has killed
 my father !

(c) can be determined by verbal participles, adverbial forms and infinitives ; e.g.,

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Kukaiyai mūṭic cenra-
varkal . . . (P., Ka.,
256) | Those who were going,
closing (the entrance
of) the cave . . . |
| 2. Appaṭip pārtavar-
kaḷukku oru kāṭci
marakkāmal irukka-
lām. (C-2, 7) | Those who have seen
(this film) under
such circumstances
may have not forgot-
ten one scene. |
| 3. Avarkaḷ kavaṇikka
vēṇṭupavai evai ? (V.,
IV, 54) | Which are those that
demand their atten-
tion ? |

(d) can have a subject of their own in the nominative case. E.g.,

- | | |
|--|--|
| Avarkaḷ enniṭam conna-
varrai yellām unniṭam
collip payaṇillai. (Ki.
Vā. Ja., Pū., 121) | There is no use telling
you all the things
which they told me. |
|--|--|

Participial nouns, derived from intransitive verbs, can also have a subject in the nominative case. In such cases a participial noun denotes a person which suffers an action, expressed by this participial noun and performed by its subject. E.g.,

- | | |
|--|---|
| Āvēcam vantavaḷaippōla
...ōṭinēn. (Ki. Vā.
Ja., Pa. Ma., 13) | I ran like a woman pos-
sessed by fury. (Or :
a woman to which
fury came.) |
|--|---|

Like all the other verbal forms in Tamil, participial nouns have no voice differentiation. Therefore, participial

nouns, derived from transitive verbs, can be passive as well as active in their meaning. E.g., irāyan enpavanuṭaiya tāyār (T.R., 26) means "the mother of a man who is called a king" (but not "a man who says : a king" from the root en- "to say, to call").

Of all the participial nouns those of the neutral gender singular are the most widely used and most peculiar ones.

In a number of cases they are used as other participial nouns and denote that which performs an action. E.g.,

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <u>Cenratai eppaṭik koṭ-
ṭuvara muṭiyum</u> ? (P.,
P., 9) | How to bring back that
which has already
passed ? |
| 2. <u>Avaḷ kavaṇattai iḷuṭ-
tatu, antak kural puti-
tāka iruntatu tāṇ.</u>
(Ti. Jā., Ko. Mē., 66) | Which drew her atten-
tion was that she
didn't know the
voice. |

Participial nouns of the neutral gender singular, derived from transitive verbs, can have passive meaning and denote that which was, is, or will be performed. E.g.,

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <u>Cūtāṭi iḷantataip pera-
lām.</u> (P., P., 7) | It will be possible to
return what was lost
in the game. |
|--|--|

(Iḷantatu here means "that which was lost" from the root iḷa- "to lose".)

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 2. <u>Enna ceyvatu</u> ? (P.,
K., 256) | What is that which will
be done ? |
|---|--------------------------------------|

(Ceyvatu "that which will be done" from the root cey- "to do".)

3. Aḷakāṇa kaṭikāram; A nice watch; it was
camīpattil vāṅkinatu bought recently.
... (P. Tū., U.P., 78)

(Vāṅkinatu "that which was bought" from vāṅku- "to buy".)

As other participial nouns, the participial nouns of the neutral gender singular can have a subject in the nominative case, irrespective of transitiveness or intransitiveness of the verb from which they are derived. In such cases the character of the participial noun is slightly modified, and it comes to denote an action, performed by the subject of this participial noun (but not the thing which performs an action). E.g.,

- Nīr colvatu uṇmaitlāṇ. That, which you say, is
(P., P., 3) true.

This peculiarity is common for participial nouns and participles. It is the result of the absence of voice differentiation in Tamil and leads to the fact that the same construction is characteristic of transitive and intransitive verbs. E.g.,

- Oru nāl, oru cēvakaṇ One day, seeing that a
varukirataik kaṇṭu... servant is coming...
(T.R., 25)

Like participles, participial nouns may have no subject. In some of such cases the subject is simply omitted and can be easily understood from the context. E.g.,

1. Jannaliliruntu veku- Since it (a statuette)
tūrattil iruntatāl, was very far from the
ataip pārkka muṭiya window, I could not
villai. (P., P., 10) see it.

(The subject of the participial noun 'atu is dropped to avoid repetition.)

2. Vicāraṇaiyin pōtu, It was proved at the
 pūṭṭuc carippaṭuttu- court that (I) came
 pavan mātiri anta into the room as a
 aṛaikkul v a n t a t u, locksmith, that they
 aṭikkaṭi vīṭṭin pakkat- often saw (me) near
 til kāṇappaṭṭatu nān the house, that I was
 piccaikkāraṇ, pūṭṭai a beggar, that (I)
 uṭaikkak kūṭiyavaṇ could break the lock.
 enpatellām nirūpik-
 kap paṭṭana. (P., P,
 10)

(The subject nān is omitted by all the participial nouns in this sentence.)

Very often, however, this participial noun has no subject and it cannot be learnt from the context. In such cases the participial noun of the neutral gender singular assumes a different meaning and denotes not the thing, which performs an action, and not the action, performed by the subject of this participial noun, but an action, performed by an indeterminate subject, or an action which is going on by itself. Every one or people in general can be understood as a subject of this action. Owing to such semantics, it makes no difference for the speaker, who exactly is the performer of the action of the participial noun, the speaker, so to say, abstracts himself from the subject of the action, which seems now to be going on independently and to have no need in any subject whatever. As a result of it, the participial noun, which now has no connection with any subject, assumes the meaning of nomen actionis. E.g.,

1. ...Nirmalā p o n r a Believing in women like
 penkaḷai nampuvatu Nirmala is difficult.
 kaṭṭinam. (K., 2-9-56,
 22)

2. Ivvaḷavu avamariyā- How can showing one's
taikkuppin mukattaik face be after such dis-
kāṭṭuvatu eppaṭi ? grace ?
(A., 4)

To sum up, a participial noun of the neutral gender singular can have following meanings :—

1. That which performs an action (ceyvatu “that which will do”).

2. That which is being performed (Enna ceyvatu ? “What is that which will be done ?”).

3. That which is performed by the subject of the participial noun (nīr ceyvatu “that which you will do”).

4. Nomen actionis (ceyvatu “doing”).

- A. — *Ampikai*, Cennai, 1946
- C-2 — *Citrā*, Cennai, 1955, No. 2
- K. — *Kalki*, Cennai, 1956
- K., C.C. — *Kalki, Civaḱāmiyīn Capaṭam*,
Cennai, 1955
- Ki.Vā.Ja., Pa.M. — *Ki. Vā. Jakannātan, Paṇala mallikāi*
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- Lā.Ca.Rā., Ja. — *Lā. Ca. Rāmāmirutam, Janani*,
Cennai, 1952
- P., K. — *Pāraṭiyār Kavitaikaḷ*, Cennai, 1958
- P., Ka. — *Pāraṭiyār Kāṭaikaḷ*, Cennai, 1957

- P., P. — Putumaippittan. *Paḷiṅkuc cilai*,
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- P.Tñ., U.P. — P. Tūran, *Urimaip Peṇ*, Cennai, 1956
- Ti.Jā., Ko.Mē. — Ti Jānakirāman *Koṭṭu Mēlam*,
Cennai, 1954
- T.R. — G. U. Pope, *Tamil Prose Reader*,
Oxford, 1906
- V. — Putiya Murait *Tamiḷaka Vācakam*,
Cennai, 1952.

Growth of Temples Under the Colas

(A. D. 880—1280)

M. RAJAMANIKKAM

Āditya Cōla and his successors turned their attention to converting the earlier temples of bricks into those of stone. If it is borne in mind that many of the temples sung by the Nāyanmārs were situated in the districts of Tanjore and Tiruccirāppalli—the delta area of the Kāviri, where granite was so scarce to get, their great efforts at reconstruction will be better appreciated. It was almost impossible to transport large granite pieces and slabs of stones from the neighbouring hilly districts, so as to reconstruct, within a specified time, all the brick temples into stone. If every part of the temple was to be reconstructed with stone, a still larger quantity of granite would be required. Hence the Cōla Kings, their feudatories and others began to reconstruct at first the Mūlasthāna (கருவறை) and the Vimāna of the older temples in stone.

Their first attention was also centred mostly on such of those temples as had been celebrated in the hymns of the Nāyanmārs. Those existed at Tiruviḍaimarudūr, Āmāttūr, S'endurāi, Āvaḍuturāi, Visayamangai, Alandurāi, Ariśīrkaraipputtūr, Maḷapāḍi, Oṟṟiyūr, Vaigāvūr, Niḍūr, Paluvūr, Perundurāi, Aṟaiyaṇinallūr, Vakkarai, Tiruppālai-vaṇam, Mākaral and Vēlvikkuḍi.¹

One inscription (Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1931-32) "commences with the introduction Puyalvāyppa etc. of Kulōthunga Chōla III. Damaged and incomplete. Purports to be

¹ 189 of 1907, 413 of 1903, 316 of 1903, 126 & 143 of 1925, 165 of 1929, 358 of 1903, 282 of 1908, 92 of 1895, 126 of 1912, 51 of 1914, 534 of 1921, 393 of 1924, 134 of 1932, 387 of 1902, 200 of 1904, 313 of 1929, 224 of 1901, and 139 of 1926.

the copy of an inscription engraved on stone when the original *brick temple* of Tirupperuntuṟai Uḍaiyār was converted into a *stone temple* in the reign of Karikāla-chōla, on which occasion the inscriptions previously engraved on the door Jambs and the eaves of stone were copied on the temple walls." (134 of 1932).

Having completed these they turned their attention to the other temples which yet required their benefactions. Caṇḍēśvara Nāyaṇār was considered the Chief supervising authority of every śiva temple. The receipts and charges and the purchase and sale of temple properties were entered in his name. And it became customary also to build a separate shrine for him alone in the very first prākāra adjoining the main shrine of the Lord. That shrine also underwent renovation in stone in the days of the cōlas.²

An inscription at the Umāmahēśvara Temple at Kōnerirājapuram records that the *stone temple of Chandēśvara* was built by Tiṭṭai-Viḷumiyān alias Pillai-aḍiyār. This was built in the 15th year of Kulōthunga-chōla-dēva I (658 of 1909).

Before such renovation was taken up, all stone inscriptions found on the foundation stone or on the walls of the old temple, were copied down in a book, and after the reconstruction they were carved and inscribed afresh on the walls. Thus it was that the registry of endowments of the ancients were preserved. This system was followed strictly by royal orders in the Cōla period.³

An inscription on the beams of the maṇḍapa in front of the central shrine in the Trilōkanāthaswami Temple at Tirupparutikkunṟam (near Kānchi), is a copy of an inscription belonging to the 13th year of Vikrama Chōla-dēva *re-engraved* when the maṇḍapa was *re-built*. (98 of 1923).

Generally, every temple had first the Mūlasthāna and the Naḍu maṇḍapa (central maṇḍapa), then the mukha

² 658 of 1909.

³ 199 of 1907; A.R.E. 1911, p. 72; 1913, p. III and 1922-23 p. 106.

maṇṭapa or the front maṇṭapa; and next the first compound and the wall around it.⁴

An inscription (224 of 1901) of the Vaikunṭa Perumal temple at Māgaral (Chingleput Dt.) records the building of the Central Shrine, the Arthamandapa, another mandapa, and a flight of steps.

As mentioned before, in the first prākāra there was the shrine for Caṇḍīśar. In that same prākāra proceeding from the right, places were assigned for the Sun in the south-east, for Ganēśa and the Sapta Kānnikās in the south-west, for Subrahmanya in the west, for Jēštā in the north-west, for Caṇḍīśar in the north and for the Moon in the north-east. These subsidiary shrines existed separately and in the pillared corridor (திருச்சுற்றலை) adjoining the compound wall in some temples. There were from one to four gateways in the compound wall according to the size of the temple. Small gōpuras were built on these gateways until the days of Rājarāja and Rājēndra, the Vimāna over the Mūlsthāna assumed all prominence and it was built very high. After Rājēndra, with the exception of Tirubuvana temple of Kulōttunga III, the height of Vimānas came to be reduced and gōpuras were raised to greater heights. Flower gardens came to be laid out in the open space in the outer compound and in some places inside the temples.⁵

An inscription (135 of 1925) in the Śiva temple at Tiruvāvaduturai registers a sale of land, free of taxes, by the assembly of Sāttanūr to Sankayan Orri, for the maintenance of a coconut and a flower-garden for the temple.

Similarly temple tanks⁶ were dug and the second and the third prākārās were built in such of those temples as received greater attention.⁷

⁴ 357 of 1907, 314, 55 of 1908, 224 of 1901.

⁵ 222 of 1911, 149 of 1928, 144 of 1937, 216 & 260 of 1907, 135 of 1925, 94 of 1925, 319 of 1903, 318 of 1926, 69 of 1897, 249 of 1907, 49 of 1918, 120 of 1926, 18 of 1922, 15 of 1912, 45 of 1925, 128 of 1930, 380 of 1918, 457 & 458 of 1902, 254 of 1926, 120 & 125 of 1922.

⁶ 475 of 1912 & 393 of 1926.

⁷ 516 of 1920 & 72 of 1918.

An inscription in the Marundiśwarar temple at Tirutturaippūṇḍi (Tanjore Dt.) records sale of land at Chōlanmarutinnallūr, a hamlet of Suttamalli-Chaturvēdimangalam, by the members of the samvatsara-grama-karya of that village, for digging a sacred tank, for the temple of Tirutturaippūṇḍi Uḍaiyār.

In course of time, smaller shrines raised by the Kings, feudatories and others found places in these prākāras.⁸

An inscription (516 of 1920) in the Āpatsahāyar temple at Ālangudi (Tanjore Dt.) records gift of land by Vānadaraya alias Rājendra Koṟramangalam Nāḍālvān for construction with stone the second prākāra of the temple and for offering to the God.

There is a small ruined temple within the Chandra-mauliśvara temple at Tiruvakkarai (South Arcot Dt.). An inscription on the south base of the ruined—Śiva temple records a gift to the stone temple of Sīvalōkhamuḍiya—Paramaśwāmin built by Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār Sembian Mādē-viyyār queen of Gaṇḍarātitta dēvar, who gave birth to Sri—Uttama—chōḷa dēva.

Inscription No. 40 of 1906 mentions that the smaller shrines of Kālakāladēvar, Kuttāḍundēvar, Kulōttunga Cōḷiśvaram-Uḍaiyār and Vikrama Cōḷiśvaram-Uḍaiyār existed in the temple of Tiru-vīraṭṭānam-Uḍaiyār at Tiruk-kaḍavūr.

A separate shrine for the Goddess did not exist in the Śiva-temple in the age of the Pallavas and the early Cōḷas. The Goddess had been assigned a separate place in the Lord's shrine itself, with the name of 'Bhōga-S'akti Amman' (பொகசுத்தி அம்மன்). Rājārāja I refers to this Bhōgo-S'akti-Amman as Umā Paramēśvari. It is in the Enṇāyiram inscription of Rājendra-I that we find the first mention of a shrine for the goddess in the Tiruccurṟalai of

⁸ Tamil Polil, 23, p. 155 ; 325 & 335 of 1902, 200 of 1904 & A.R.E. 1913, p. 86.

the temple. Only after that, separate shrines came to be built for Amman.⁹ Many inscriptions reveal, that by the end of the Cōla reign, shrines for Amman were newly constructed in many temples.¹⁰

An inscription (429 of 1912) in the Virāṭṭānēśvara temple at Valuvūr registers the construction of the shrine of the goddess in the north-west corner of the north Verandha by Ekavāchakan Ulagukanviḍutta-Perumāl alias Vānakōvaraiyar, Chief of Tundā-nāḍu in Muḍigonḍasōla-valanadu.

As the influence of the temples increased, several maṇṭapas also were constructed in their spacious compounds. The S'iruttonḍa Nambi Maṇṭapa at Sengāṭṭaṇḍuḍi, Vakkāṇikkum Maṇṭapa at Tiruvorriyūr, the maṇṭapas with the names of 'Mannaikoṇḍa-Cōlan', 'Rājārājān', 'Rājēndran' and Vyākarnadāna Vyākhyāna Maṇṭapa need mention. The last-mentioned one was intended for the teaching of grammar. In some temples there were Naṭana Maṇṭapa¹¹ and Naṭaka maṇṭapas.¹²

An inscription in the Śiva Temple at Tiruvāḍuturai (152 of 1925) registers a sale of land to the temple at Tiruvāḍuturai by the Assembly of Kāṭṭūr and a grant of 70 Kāśu, by Rājādhirājan towards the taxes on the land, for the maintenance of a theatre called 'Nānāvida-naṭasālai' in the temple.

There was also Tirukkaikkōṭṭi Maṇṭapa¹³ in some temples, where the Tirumuraṭis were preserved and recited. In some temples there were the hundred-pillared maṇṭapas¹⁴ and yāyaśālai.¹⁵ Many also were the temples which had ordinary maṇṭapas.¹⁶ There was a thousand-pillared

⁹ Colar Koyirpanigal, pp. 13-14.

¹⁰ 429 of 1912, 701 of 1909, 225 of 1901, 28 of 1914, 400 of 1913, 182 of 1926, 504 of 1912, 184 of 1928 & 351 of 1911.

¹¹ 152 of 1925 & 154 of 1895.

¹² 199 of 1907, 157 of 1905, 398 of 1921, 152 of 1925, 253 & 254 of 1914.

¹³ 203 of 1908, 414 & 454 of 1909, 10 & 381 of 1918, 350 of 1929.

¹⁴ S.I.I. 4; 225 & 369 of 1921.

¹⁵ 369 of 1921.

¹⁶ 400 of 1913, 254 of 1922, 119 of 1906, 429 of 1922 & 645 of 1902.

maṇṭapa at Tiruvakkarai.¹⁷ In the construction of a maṇṭapa at Tiruvakkarai there arose certain obstacles and to circumvent them an individual beheaded himself as a sacrifice.¹⁸

An inscription (119 of 1906) in the śiva temple at Tiruvakkarai registers a gift of land to the younger brother of a person who cut off his own head in order that a maṇṭapa which was being constructed might be completed.

There were Māligais (palatial buildings) in some temples.¹⁹ The Māligai that existed in the Niḍūr temple was called the 'Puriśai Māligai' intended for expounding the Purāṇas.²⁰

An inscription (276 of 1913) in the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram clearly mentions Vikramasōḷaṇ—Tirumāligai.

Since we find names like, 'Tirumāligaittēvar', 'Māligai Maḍattu Mudaliyar', we might presume that these Māligais served as residences and teaching halls for the S'aiva religious teachers. There were maṭhas in many big temples. In them lived both the āchāryas well-versed in S'aiva Siddhānta S'āstras and the students learning the S'āstras. There existed also in many temples, libraries known as S'arasvatī Bhaṇḍāram.²¹

The development of the śaiva faith was responsible for stone-built and enlarged temples in the age of the Cōlas. They were built of mud to begin with and they were of small dimensions in the days of the Pallavas. The bhakti

¹⁷ 190 of 1904.

¹⁸ 119 of 1906.

¹⁹ 429 of 1922 & 535 of 1921.

²⁰ 535 of 1921.

²¹ 276 of 1913; Since there were colleges at Tirumukkudal, Ennayiram, Tiribuvanai, Tiruvorriyur, Vembarrur and Tiruvavaduturai, there might have been in existence libraries containing many kinds of works of Sastras.

and the workmanship of the architects who took such enormous pains to convert them into stone temples demand our praise. The Cōlas held those masons in esteem and granted them lands.²²

An inscription (70 of 1913) in the Śiva Temple at Tirucheri-gāṭtanguḍi records the grant of landed property to Rajēndra-sōla-Āchāriyan, who was perhaps the temple architect.

There was sculptured in the temple of Tiruvāvaḍuturai the image of Kaṛṇalippiccan who was responsible for the renovation of that temple.²³

An inscription is engraved near a figure standing in front of a linga (in the Śiva temple at Tiruvāvaḍuturai) with hands placed close to the chest in a worshipping attitude. The inscription states that this is the figure of Śri Kaṛṇalippiccan.

²² 357 of 1804, 70 of 1913, 403 of 1908 and S.I.I. 2.66.

²³ 132 of 1925.

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The Indian Synthesis, and Racial and Cultural Inter-Mixture in India *

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

The General President of the All-India Oriental Conference may be expected to give his considered opinion on *some broad aspect of Indian history and civilisation* in which he is specially interested. My own subject has been Linguistics, and this, as a human science, is intimately linked up with the other human sciences like Anthropology, Ethnology, Sociology, Religiology etc. dealing with the various aspects and expressions of human life and culture. Language is intimately connected with Culture. What may be described as the "Language-Culture" background or basis of a people is more apparent and on the surface than its race; yet it is no less deep in the mental and spiritual consciousness of the people. This is true especially when the original race has lost its basic character through interbreeding with other races. From the linguistic and cultural approaches, we may delve deeper into the fundamental racial beings and their pre-historic and historic modifications, leading to the evolution of new mixed types.

I propose as the Theme of my Discourse as President of this Conference the Subject of—"The Indian Synthesis, and Racial and Cultural Inter-mixture in India".

The word *Indian* is used in its most comprehensive sense, embracing all the various peoples or groups which go to make up the population of India. Within their formal religious or cultural affiliations, there is a basic mixed character which embraces all the peoples of India. This basic character is, consciously or unconsciously, shared by

* Presidential Address delivered at the All-India Oriental Conference, Ahmedabad, in October 1953, reproduced here through the courtesy of Dr. Chatterji.

all, and it has kept its lien with the attitude towards life and being which developed in ancient India, after the Indian people, as we find them now, became first characterised by miscegenation—the attitude which we might label as *Hindu* in its widest application. This embraces not only the world of the Brāhman, Buddhist and Jaina, but also later specialised expressions of the same attitude—including some aspects of Islam and Christianity as they developed within the Indian *milieu*.

The people and culture of India form a composite, a mixture, of at least four distinct types of humanity, which may loosely be called “race”. With their various ramifications presenting distinct anthropological groupings, all may be brought under one or the other of the four kinds of “Language-Culture” which we find in India from very ancient times. **The Indian people is a mixed people, in blood, in speech, and in culture.**

At the outset, I think it would be necessary to make a few general observations. The fundamental Unity of Man is a proposition which, if properly realised and not merely theoretically admitted, will enable us to think of racial and cultural miscegenation without repugnance, as a most natural thing in human relations. In India, this Unity of Man came to be regarded as part of the All-comprehensive Reality, the Supreme Self or the Over-Soul: as the *Īśā Upanishad* says—

*yas tu sarvāṇi bhūtāni ātmany evānupas'yati,
sarva-bhūtēṣu cātmanam, tatō na vijugupsatē :*

“He who sees all creatures in the Self, and the Self in all creatures, because of that does not wish to hide himself away from (or hate) any one.”

It was in India, too, that this sentiment was expressed in her greatest book, the Sanskrit epic of the *Mahābhārata*—

*guhyam brahma tad idam bhō bravīmi,
na mānūṣāc chrēṣṭhataram hi kiñcit :*

"This is the secret doctrine, I announce to you :
There is nothing higher than Man."

The division of mankind into *Ārya* and *Mlēccha*, *Hellēnes* and *Barbaroi*, *Israel* and *Goyyim* (or Jew and Gentile), White and Coloured, Christian and Pagan, *Muslim* and *Kāfir*, Communist and Capitalist, as implying an inherent or divinely ordained racial or cultural superiority of the one over the other, is something which cannot be admitted by any rationally thinking person. Yet we find overt or covert feelings of this kind of separatism operating in the minds of men in most lands. The desire for power and pelf, which dominates and underlies all organised movements for economic and political, religious and cultural expansion — movements which are generally blind to other deeper factors in life — makes an easy alliance with this sense of separatism. Just as no man is an island unto himself, so is no race or people or country basically separated or isolated from the others : we are linked with each other inextricably.

It has generally been accepted by competent scholars, both in India and abroad, who have been investigating into **Indian civilisation**, that the fundamental trait of this civilisation may be described as a **Harmony of Contrasts**, or as a **Synthesis creating a Unity out of Diversity**. Perhaps more than any other system of civilisation, it is broad and expansive and all-comprehensive, like life itself, and it has created an attitude of acceptance and understanding which will not confine itself to a single type of experience only. to the exclusion of all others.

The Indian Synthesis, apart from a most remarkable intermingling of material cultures and religious and social cults and customs, as well as doctrines and notions, is based on the higher intellectual and idealistic plane on the following : a Sense of the Unity of All Life as an expression of an Unseen Reality which is both transcendant and imma-

nent (*kata-v-ul*, as an old Tamil name for the Divinity puts it) ; a Desire for Synthesis, seeking to combine apparently disconnected or discordant fragments in life as well as experience in their proper place in an Essential Unity ; a rigid Adherence to the Intellect, while seeking to harmonise it in the higher plane with Emotion, with Intuition, and with mystic Perception ; a Recognition of the Sufferings and Sorrows of Life, and an Attempt to remove them by going to the root cause of these Sorrows and Sufferings ; a Feeling for the Sacredness of all Life ; and above all, a great Tolerance for all other Beliefs and Points of View. The realisation of this Ultimate Reality is the *summum bonum* in life, and the paths for this realisation are recognised to be various according to individual training, temperament or predilection — whether of Knowledge, or Love (with the background of Grace), or Self-discipline, or Good Deeds, even as the Ultimate Reality manifests itself in innumerable ways before the ken and cognisance of man. Its conception of the material world transcends time and space, and Matter and Energy are just different forms of the same physical stuff which is but an outward manifestation of this Unseen Reality.

All this synthesising tendency has been induced and made easy of development by the great fact of the presence in the Indian scene, from very ancient times, of different peoples with their diverse languages and cultures, and modes of living and thinking. These were all inevitably drawn together and were accommodated in a composite civilisation, in which there was no scope for the establishment of racialism, as from the very beginning, race-fusion started as a permanent feature. The name of one dominant race, *Ārya*, very soon lost its narrow ethnic significance or application and became rather a word to denote nobility and aristocracy of character and temperament. With the general acceptance of the Aryan language in North India, and with the admission of its prestige in the South as well, the fact that this language was pro-

foundly modified within India by taking shape in a non-Aryan environment reconciled the Dravidians and others to come under the tutelage of Sanskrit as the sacred language of Hinduism and as the general vehicle of Indian culture.

India received all her human inhabitants, who came in successive waves, from abroad. These represent six main races in their nine ramifications, and speaking among them, languages belonging to at least four different speech-families which are still current—and there might have been other ones also which are now extinct. The speakers of these languages which are living till today, whatever their race or anthropological type, thus pertained to four "Language-Culture" groups.

The oldest people to come into India belonged to the Negrito or Negroid race, who arrived in the eolith stage of their culture from Africa along the coast lands of Arabia and Iran and settled in Western and Southern India and spread over to Northern India, and passed on to Malaya and the islands of Indonesia (Philippines and New Guinea). They were mostly killed off or absorbed by subsequent arrivals in India. They survive in a few tribes in South India where they now speak dialects of Tamil, and traces of them are found among the Mongoloid Nagas in Assam. A small number still retaining their language is isolated in the Andaman Islands, which they reached in pre-historic times, in their dug-outs from the south-western tip of Burma, namely, Cape Negrais. The Negroids evidently passed away, leaving hardly any trace in Indian civilisation and among the Indian people.

After the Negroids there came to India from the West, from Palestine, the medium-sized long-headed, snub-nosed and rather dark-skinned proto-Australoids. Some of these passed out of India and found themselves as far as Australia, where their descendants still live as the Australian

aborigines ("Black Fellows"). Those who stayed on in India evidently became characterised into the Austric people, and developed their language and culture on the soil of India. The Austric people spread outside India in the East, and we note two main divisions of them: (1) Austro-Asiatics, represented by the Kol or Munda people of Central India, the Khasis of Assam, the Mons of Burma and Siam, the Khmers of Cambodia, the Chams of Cochin-China, and some other allied tribes in Burma and Viet-Nam, besides the Nicobarese; and (2) the Austronesians, comprising the Indonesians or "Malay people", the Melanesians and Micronesians, and the Polynesians. Everywhere there has been mixture of the Austric people with those of other races — Negroids and Caucasoids. The Austrics of India were known in ancient India as *Niṣādas*, and possibly also as *Nāgas* (as well as *Kollas* and *Bhīllas* in post-Christian times). They were a dark-skinned people, speaking languages and dialects allied to Santali, Mundari, Kurku, Gadaba and Savara, and to Khasi and Mon-Khmer dialects, as well as other speeches of the two branches of the family. These Austrics were spread all over India, and they form the most important element among the lower classes or castes throughout the country. In the great plains of North India, they have merged into an Aryan-speaking people and have lost their name and their language. They gave some basic things in the material and spiritual domains to Indian civilisation, like the stick or hoe cultivation of rice, of some plants and vegetables, the domestication of the fowl, the taming of the elephant, the weaving of cotton, and some notions about future life which later were sublimated with the help of other elements into the doctrine of transmigration and *samsāra*.

The Mongoloid peoples, with a number of different racial elements possessing certain common physical characteristics (yellow or yellow-brown skin, narrow or slant eyes, high cheek-bones, flat noses and paucity of hair on face), came into India probably before the Aryans, who

knew them as *Kirātas*. Evidence of their presence as far down as Mohenjo-Daro has been found. They entered into India from the East, along the course of the Brahmaputra river and its eastern tributaries, and also by way of Tibet, crossing the eastern Himalayas. They formed wide settlements throughout Assam, Bhotan and Nepal (which are *Kirāta* lands in India *par excellence*), and also in East and North Bengal, North Bihar and the regions to the south of the Himalayas in North India right up to Kashmir. Some of them appear to have penetrated even further to the South — into Orissa and Central India (Bastar in Madhya Pradesh). The participation of the *Kirātas* in the common civilisation of India has been confined to the north and north-east only. But nevertheless, we have to take note of them as an important element in the formation of the Indian people in the extreme north, east and north-east, and in their participation in the development of Indian civilisation.

The next "Language-Culture" group which came to India is believed to be the Dravidian. There is strong reason to think that the original Dravidian speakers came to India from the East Mediterranean region, from Asia Minor, and they were mainly a people of the Mediterranean race, mingled with other racial elements like the Armenoid which came with them — all of these apparently united by a common speech. Elements of religion and civilisation these Primitive Dravidian speakers of Mediterranean origin brought with them into India probably before 3500 B.C.; and groups of them were settled in Mesopotamia and Persia — Iraq and Iran — before they became established in India. They were a highly advanced people, and the city civilisation of India, as opposed to the village culture which was the creation of the Austrics (*Kols*, *Mon-Khmers*), was their great contribution. The pre-Aryan people of the Panjab and Sindh, known to the Aryan invaders as *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* and later as *S'ūdra*, who are believed to have built up the great city cultures like those of Harappa and Mohen-

jo-Daro, are now generally regarded as having been Dravidian in speech, religion, and social and political organisation. The Brahuis of Balochistan appear to be just a remnant of a Dravidian-speaking bloc in Sindh, South Panjab and Eastern Iran.

The Czechoslovak scholar B. Hrozny' has recently (*Histoire de l'Asie Anterieure, de l'Inde, et de la Crête*, Paris, 1947: English translation, Prague, 1953) offered quite a new theory about the origin and early history of the people of Panjab and Sindh, who built up the recently discovered centres of culture like what we see at Mohen-jo-Daro, Harappa and other sites. He calls the builders of the Panjab and Sindh culture "Proto-Indians", and he thinks that they were a branch of the Indo-European speaking "Hittites" of Asia Minor with admixture of local Asianic (non-Indo-European) elements, like the Caspian Subaræo-Hurrites. This mixed "Proto-Indian" people, with its Indo-European language allied to Hittite, brought its religion and culture and elements of a hieroglyphical writing from Asia Minor, and built up the great pre-historic culture of Panjab and Sindh. The "Proto-Indians" flourished through trade with the Near East, but between 2000 to 1500 B.C., Dravidian-speakers from the north-west of India came down upon them and destroyed their culture and their towns. These Dravidian barbarians of unknown provenance, who had absorbed remnants of the "Proto-Indians", were in possession of the country when between 1500-1200 B.C. equally rude semi-nomad Vedic Aryans came into the field and established themselves as conquerors over all the pre-Aryan populations. Hronzy's conclusions are based on the assumption that the Sindh-Panjab script and its language can be explained by the hieroglyphic Hittite script of Asia Minor and the Indo-European speech of the "Nesian" Hittites. All these assumptions are highly speculative, and some of the linguistic and cultural interpretations of Hronzy' (his greatness as an investigator in having deciphered successfully the ancient Hittite script

and read the language correctly being always admitted) seem not to be warranted by the actual facts, linguistic and otherwise. The question of the "Proto-Indian" script, language, religion and culture, in spite of some very clever suggestions of Hrozný', in which he has intimately linked it up with the Asianic linguistic, epigraphical and cultural background, still remains an open one.

Dravidian-speakers spread all over India, and they appear to have lived side by side with the Austric speakers in the great river-valleys of North India from Panjab to East Bengal and Assam, and with the Mongoloids also in the sub-Himalayan tracts. But they were able to make their language and culture paramount throughout the whole of Central India and India to the South of the Vindhya mountains, many centuries before the Christian era — although the Dravidian speech retreated here also before the Aryan in post-Christian times. Place-names of non-Aryan origin all over Northern India, where they are capable of analysis, suggest Dravidian and Austric as well as Sino-Tibetan elements, which are indicative of the presence of speakers of these languages in the land. But the *Dravidian is the most important of the non-Aryan elements in the civilisation of India; and the basic culture of India is certainly over 50% Dravidian, although expressed in the main through the Aryan language.*—(Italics ours —Ed.)

Finally, we have the Indo-Aryans. The Indo-Aryans — *Āryas*, as they called themselves — were a section of the great Indo-Iranian (or *Aryan*, in this specialised sense) branch of the Indo-European speakers who became a powerful force and leaven in the civilisation of the Middle and the Near East and of Europe from about 2000 B.C. The original Indo-Europeans, according to W. Brandenstein, the most significant recent investigator on the subject (1936), were characterised in the dry highlands to the south of the Ural mountains, probably before 3000 B.C.

Groups of them went west, and in the moist lands of what is now Poland, developed the second phase of their culture which was the one which passed on further west into Eastern and Central, Northern and Western, and also Southern Europe. In all those lands the original Indo-European speech and civilisation were transformed into those of the Balts and the Slavs, the Celts and the Germans, and the Italians, Illyrians and Hellenes. There were earlier or older branches of Indo-Europeans, like the Hittites (Nesian-Hittites) of Asia Minor, who are now believed by the most recent linguistic scholars, like the American E. H. Sturtevant and others, to have parted company with the main body of the Indo-European people, long before the full characterisation of the Indo-European speech had taken place, as the immediate ancestor of Vedic Sanskrit, Old Iranian, Homeric Greek and other ancient Indo-European languages. This separation of the Hittites took place at a time when we can talk of a pre-Indo-European stage—a stage which has been named “Indo-Hittite”, which was the source of primitive Indo-European on the one hand, and of the ancient Hittite on the other. Then there were the Tokharians, who were linguistically closely related to the Celts, the Germans, the Italians and the Hellenes of Europe, but who somehow found their way into Central Asia where they were in evidence from an unknown antiquity throughout the greater part of the first millennium A.D.

The Aryans (Indo-Iranians) are believed to have left the original Indo-Iranian homeland to the south of the Ural Mountains and to have come down, according to the two schools of opinion, either to Central Asia, or to the Caucasus regions and from there to Northern Mesopotamia. According to the former view, Central Asia to the north-east of Iran was the place where the primitive Indo-European language and culture were modified to Aryan or Indo-Iranian; and from this *nidus*, the Iranians spread to the south-west, and the Indo-Aryans to the south-east into

India. According to the second view, Indo-European tribes which were being modified into Aryan or proto-Indo-Iranian, were first noticed in Northern Mesopotamia, and there they sojourned for some centuries before they trekked further south into Mesopotamia proper. There they took part in local affairs and formed ruling aristocracies in some states, developing their religion and culture by contact with local peoples (particularly the Asianic races to their west, and the Assyrio-Babylonians) and modifying their language to a stage when it became the immediate source-speech for both Iranian and Indo-Aryan. The Aryans left traces of their presence in the records of the local peoples in Mesopotamia and Eastern Asia Minor which have now been unearthed and read, and these records give names and words in the Aryan language representing a pre-Vedic and pre-Avestan form of the speech. Some of their tribes pushed on to the east and settled in Iran, and others went further to the east, and through Eastern Iran they found themselves into India; and here we meet with them first, as Vedic Aryans.

The Aryan-speakers from the lands of the Middle East represented in the main a tall, fair, blond, blue-eyed, straight-nosed, wavy-haired and long-headed people — the Nordics; but scholars have also expressed the view that they included a shorter and round-headed people among them — the Alpines, whom they appear to have absorbed linguistically rather than by blood-fusion. Two distinct ethnic groups are thus noticed among the Aryan-speakers who came into India after 1500 B.C. The language they brought became an instrument of the greatest power in the setting up of Indian civilisation. It was the Vedic language, the Old Indo-Aryan speech, which later on as Sanskrit was transformed into one of the greatest languages of civilisation in which the composite culture of ancient India found its most natural vehicle.

We have thus (not taking note of the all but extinct Negroid elements, and other possible languages with their

connected cultures now long extinct) these four great speeches and the culture-worlds of which they were the expressions, which came into contact, conflict and compromise with each other in ancient India, when the ancient Indian or Hindu people was being formed, between about 1500 to 1000 B.C. According to F. W. Thomas (*Indianism and its Expansion*, University of Calcutta, 1942, p. 7), it was "the Vedic or Aryan period, which witnessed the creation of the Indian Man."

The Indian Man was created out of a fusion of these four chief elements of ingredients which were operative in Northern India—the Austric or Austro-Asiatic, the Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan, the Dravidian, and the Aryan: to give their Indian names, names ancient as well as modern, respectively, the *Niṣādas* (or *Nāga-Bhilla-Kollas*), the *Kirātas*, the *Drāviḍas* (earlier the *Dāsa-Dasyus* and the *Sūdras*), and the *Āryas*.

So far, we know only of these four "language-culture" groups—loosely speaking, four "races". As it has been stated before, and as this might be reiterated once again, there might have been other similar "language-culture" groups as well. In fact, some scholars are suspecting the existence of one such—a fifth—group, of unknown linguistic affiliation, the influence of which as a substratum is dimly perceived below the surface of Dravidian and Austric as well as Aryan. We have to note the presence of the problem language spoken in the north-west of Kashmir, in the state of Hunza-Nagyr, viz. *Burushaski* or *Khajuna*, current among some 26,000 people. This language has been sought to be connected with Austric (*Kol*) on one hand, and with the Caucasian speech family on the other. It will be quite in the nature of things to imagine that three or four thousand years ago, the area of the source-speech of *Burushaski*, whatever it was, did actually include Kashmir, North-western Frontier Province, Panjab and Sindh; the unexplained element in the present day Indian languages

may then be linked up with some speeches allied to Burushaski. But future research alone will be able to establish it, and to give clear explanations to certain unsolved problems in the linguistics of Aryan, Dravidian as well as Austric.

A reference may incidentally be made to the theory put forward by the late P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar (in his *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, Madras 1912) that there was no Aryan invasion of India at all with an appreciable disturbance of the original population which consisted of the Dravidians and other non-Aryans, and that the Aryan language and the Aryan fire-cult came into India from Iran as a culture-drift as the result of culture contacts between the Indians, essentially of Dravidian origin, and Aryans in Iran. According to this view, "the Aryan invasion of India is a theory invented to account for the existence of an Indo-Germanic language in North India." But there are other facts and evidences direct and indirect to show that there was actually a considerable movement of people in ancient times, and the invasions by the Dravidian and Aryan speakers were just some of the most far-reaching among these movements.

The Indian Synthesis now presents a remarkable consistence, in which diverse elements have been combined to give the general impression of a remarkable homogeneity. A certain unique cohesion has been given to it by a Philosophy which rises above the contradictory elements which have been sought to be accommodated to each other. The persistent efforts of the best intellects of the country for all these 3000 years, from the time of "the creation of the Indian Man" at the end of the Vedic period, i.e., by 1000 B.C., to harmonise everything with this synthesis, has been most remarkably successful. All this has been within a certain theory or ideology regarding its component racial elements and its characteristic social and ethical adjustments which has been framed, bit by bit,

through generations of experience. This may not bear the scrutiny of a historical examination, any more than the cosmogony or "sacred history" of Judaism and Christianity and Islam, but this nevertheless has so far shown itself to be eminently logical as a philosophy and serviceable as an attitude, and to keep pace with the findings of modern science at the same time.

Comparison can be made of the formation of the people and its civilisation in India with that in Mexico, as it has been taking place there during the last four centuries. There are certain other countries which also show a similar mixture of peoples and cultures. Ancient Greece shows a most remarkable racial and cultural fusion between the pre-Indo-European and Mediterranean Aegean people (who created the great Pelasgian or Mycenaean-Cretan-Trojan civilisation) and the incoming Hellenes (who brought their Indo-European Greek speech). This situation in Greece presents a most noteworthy parallel to the union of *Drāviḍa* and *Ārya* in India; only, in India, there were at least three non-Aryan (or non-Indo-European) elements to the one of Greece. This parallel is particularly instructive and explanatory for the Indian racial and cultural miscegenation and synthesis too. Britain saw a fusion of the Mediterranean Iberian with the Indo-European Celt, and then this mixed population, Celtic-speaking, was overlaid by Germanic tribes, also of Indo-European speech. France is similarly Iberian, particularly in the south, Celtic, and Germanic (in the north), overlaid by mixed Italians (Romans)—the last three all speaking different forms of Indo-European. In Russia we have a Finno-Ugrian, an Altaic (Tartar) and a Slav (Indo-European) mixture, with Baltic and Scandanavian elements, the tone being given by the Russian language and social organisation. China shows admixture of only different branches of the same Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan people, but South-East Asia (Further India, i.e., Burma, Siam and Viet-Nam, Kambuja and the Cham country) shows a com-

mingling of South Chinese, Thai and Tibeto-Burman as well as Karen and Miao-tzu and Man Mongoloids with Austro-Asiatics (Mons, Khmers, Chams and others). The Polynesians,* according to the most recent opinion of the Norwegian explorer Thor Heyerdahl, are a conglomeration of a white Caucasoid people from Peru, a yellow-brown Mongoloid people from the West Coast of British Columbia in Canada (who originally came from Eastern Asia by sailing along the coast of Japan and the Aleutian Islands), and a black Melanesian element from the west of Polynesia. The Japanese are mainly a mixture of Mongoloids (of the type of the Ainus and the Koreans) and Indonesians (Malays). In the northern tracts of West Africa a new people, the Fulbe or Pöl, has come into being through the mixture of the Hamitic tribes like the Tuaregs from the Sahara and the True Negroes of West Africa. These are all cases of racial miscegenation with attendant cultural and linguistic fusion which took place during periods of unrecorded history. Just before our eyes at the present day, a fusion of peoples on a large scale is taking place in America. In the United States through a comingling of elements from among the various groups of peoples in Europe, a new type of a Caucasoid pan-European Man is evolving, with a dash of the Mongoloid in him, both from Mongoloid elements from Europe and small assimilated Amerindian and Chinese and Japanese elements accepted in America. But this racial fusion in America is not comprehensive enough, because it totally eschews other races than the "white race"—Caucasoids of various types (whether Nordic or Alpine, Mediterranean or Dinaric, long-headed or middle-headed or short-headed) alone participating in this mixture.

The racial fusion that started in India with great vigour some 3500 years ago, after the advent of the Aryans, was wider in scope than anywhere else in the world, with the white, brown, black and yellow peoples, Aryas, Drāviḍas, Nishādas and Kirātas, all being included in it.

This kind of miscegenation, together with the admission into India of various other types of culture and religious outlook, has perhaps made the average Indian more cosmopolitan in his physical and mental composition than a representative of any other nation. Thus, our great heritage, the Aryan speech, together with the Nordic and other Western elements in our population, particularly the mentality that is behind our Aryan speech, is our great link with Indo-European-speaking Europe and America. Our Dravidian elements are another link with the basic culture and people of the Near East and the Mediterranean area ; and the Austric bases of our people and culture have intimate connexions with South-Eastern Asia, Indonesia and beyond. Through our Kirāta or Mongoloid background in Northern and North-Eastern India, we are not only neighbours but also kinsmen of the peoples of the Far East and of Central Asia. Finally, through Indian Islam, which has been a potent leaven in our civilisation for the last 750 years, we have more than a mere contact with the Arab and other Islamic lands ; and during the last 300 years we have absorbed racial and cultural elements from modern Europe as well : the Luso-Indians, Anglo-Indians and other Indians of Eurasian origin, with the different forms of Christianity which they profess, represent this latest phase of the Indian people.

I shall now discuss in brief the character and result of this racial and cultural miscegenation, under the three heads of (I) Blood, (II) Speech, and (III) Culture, including Religion.

The subject is very vast, and whole books can be written on each of the three aspects of it. I propose to give some of the main arguments under each head. The position is generally being admitted, but a formal statement appears to me to be needed at this juncture, if only to take stock of the situation.

I. BLOOD OR RACIAL FUSION AMONG ARYAN AND NON-ARYAN

Taking certain extreme Indian types (where there has not been much mixing with other peoples) apart, like pure-blooded Kashmiri Brāhmans, Mongoloids like the Garos and Nagas, and Austriacs like Santals, we may say that **a Common Indian type, a Common Indian Man, has evolved on the soil of India through intermixture of the races, particularly on the vast plains of the country.** Dressed in the same kind of garb and bereft of distinguishing marks like special ways of doing the hair, beard, moustache etc., and special distinctive paraphernalia like caste-marks, etc., the average Indian type, whether in the upper classes or in the middle or lower, will be ordinarily difficult to locate in a particular area. A typical Mongoloid like a Naga from Assam, or a Gurung or Lepcha from the Himalayan areas, is different from a Panjab, Rajput or a South Indian tribesman like a Chenchu or a Kadir. But an ordinary middle-class Indian, whether Brāhman or Sūdra, Hindu or Muslim, may be from any province, and there is no mistake about his Indianness. Representation in art from the third century B.C. shows the presence of this Indian type as an accomplished fact on the soil of India for the last 2500 years : and doubtless this type goes back 500 or over 1000 years earlier. The Common Indian Man is ordinarily a brown man, pale or dark, either individually or in groups ; he is not pure white as the Aryan was, or pure yellow like the Kirāta or black like the Nishāda. Although broadly he can be classified as long or middle or short-headed, straight or broad or flat-nosed, a general family likeness which marks him off from neighbouring peoples—Iranians or Burmese, Malays or Arabs—is discernible among the ordinary run of Indians, if he does not in his physical make-up go to any of the extremes.

This is largely the result of racial mixture which was most thorough in Northern India ever since the Aryans

came into the country, and even before that. No part of India, however, was free from this racial admixture. Constant streams of North Indian Hindus, after the formation of the Hindu people, were going to the extreme east, to the Brahmaputra Valley, and Manipur, and even beyond, carrying Brahmanical civilisation with them. They were going to the Deccan and South India, as Brāhmans and Kshatriyas, as merchants and settlers, as soldiers and adventurers, and were merging into the Dravidian-speaking peoples in the more advanced areas. We may note the Nambudri Brāhman leaven among the Nayars of Malabar as typical. In this way North and South, and East and West in India were brought together by racial fusion. The "Indian Man" also pushed beyond the frontiers of India, by both land and sea—into Burma, and Siam, and Cambodia and Champa, into Malaya and Indonesia in the east and south-east, into Ceylon in the south, into Afghanistan (Ariana) in the west, and into Khotan (Kustana) in the north, carrying his composite culture and his language, Sanskrit and the Prakrits, and some times Telugu and Tamil, with him. But that is a different story.

• The Aryans were a fair-skinned people, and judging from the description of the physical features of the Brāhmans as the representative Aryans by even so late an author as Patanjali of the second century B.C., they were a tall, fair, blond people approximating to, if not identical with, the Nordic type. Colour prejudice was not so strong in those days, although it did exist; and after the Aryans found that they had to stay among the dark-skinned non-Aryans, a great deal of the edge of the feeling against colour wore off, particularly when it was found that the sedentary agricultural non-Aryans boasted of a higher material culture than the semi-nomad Aryans.

As a pre-requisite to racial fusion, there must be first, linguistic assimilation: mingling of blood by marriage can only take place on a large scale when people of diverse

origin accept one common language and conform to the culture-type of which that language is the expression. The Aryan's language supplied this need for a common speech to the Drāviḍa, Nishāda and Kirāta; and the want of linguistic unity or cohesion among the non-Aryan peoples of ancient India gave to the language of the Aryan its great opportunity, apart from its prestige as the language of a puissant *Conquistador* and from the inherent strength, expressiveness and beauty of the language itself.

The names of the non-Aryan tribes, *Dāsa*, *Dasyu* and *S'ūdra*, who were all of them Dravidian in speech, and their semantic developments in Sanskrit indicate the hostile and contemptuous sentiments of the first Aryans towards them. The word *S'ūdra*, as we can see from the *Mahābhārata* and other works, became synonymous with *Dāsa* and *Dāsyu* in the Aryan's language, in post-Vedic times. The word *Dāsa*, originally a tribal name, corresponding to the related or exactly the same tribe in Iran, latterly known there as the *Dahai* (in Greek writings), came to signify "slave" in Sanskrit: we can note a similar change in meaning of the tribal name *Slav* (< "slave") in Europe. *Dasyu*, similarly, took up the meaning of a "robber"; the same tribe evidently was present in Iran, known to the Iranians as *Dahyu*, and this name later appears to have given a common Iranian word to mean "country, land, country-side" (Old Persian *dahyu*, New Persian *deh* or *dih*). And *S'ūdra*, originally the name of a tribe living in Southern Panjab, who were observed by the Greeks and whose name was recorded by them, came to indicate the lower orders of an Aryan-dominated society—men and women of the *S'ūdra caste*. From the prescriptions in the later *Dharma-Sāstras* or *Smṛiti* works in Sanskrit, and from statements as well as references to incidents in the post-Vedic *Brāhmaṇa* literature and the *Mahābhārata* and the older *Purāṇas*, which either describe contemporary conditions or reflect the state of things for some centuries from

the late Vedic period onwards (roughly, during the first half of the first millennium B.C.), it would appear that inter-racial, that is, Aryan-non-Aryan marriages and connexions were far too common to be ignored. Of course Aryan orthodoxy, as an expression of the zeal for preserving their blood pure, which we find in a conquering people, with pride of race and sense of physical beauty, did not approve of these inter-racial marriages and connexions.

In an uncritical age, people were not very careful about tribal names, and the name of a particular tribe or small group could be extended to an entire "language-culture" group, or even loosely to all peoples of a different race or language who were contacted. Thus in Sanskrit and Prakrit *Yavana* and *Yona* (coming ultimately from the seventh century B.C. Greek form *Iavones*, later *Iaones* and then contracted to *Iones*, through Semitic and Old Persian forms like *Yawan* and *Yauna*-) first meant in India just the Greek people, and then within a few centuries the name was extended to mean any Western Foreigner. and finally, any non-Indian or non-Hindu Outsider, latterly even Indian Musalmans.

It would appear that all non-Aryans within the framework of the Aryan (Brāhman)-dominated society which was being developed, a society in which the Aryans, as the masterful, though materially not so much advanced *Conquistadores*, assumed special privileges, were at first given the general name of *S'ūdras*, and were relegated to an inferior position with considerable disabilities. But wealthy *S'ūdras* and those of them who were artisans and craftsmen, and not merely tillers of the soil or followers of unclean trades, when they became Aryan-speakers, frequently got access within the group or caste of the *Vaiśyas*, or were given at least equality of status with them. Naturally, in a situation like this when the more ardent Aryans would try to preserve their racial purity, they could not

support or tolerate mixed unions. When such unions took place, the "superior" people might allow the creation of a *Mestizo* class by men of their own group taking to wife women of the inferior group; and this was thought natural and proper (what was known in ancient India as *anuloma* marriage), but would resent if it happened the other way (*pratiloma* marriage).

But judging from direct and indirect references in early Sanskrit literature, although frowned upon or glossed over by the later writers including the writers on Dharma-Sāstras or Hindu social codes, these mixed marriages, both *anuloma* and *pratiloma*, appear to have been exceedingly common, e.g., during the late Vedic and pre-Buddhic times, as depicted, for instance, in the Mahābhārata. I need not mention marriages, both *anuloma* and *pratiloma*, among the three avowedly *Dvija*, i.e. "twice-born" or Aryan castes: these were quite permissible. But even a Sūdra marrying an Aryan woman, Brāhman or Kshatriya or Vaiśya, was evidently no uncommon thing. The offspring of all such unions were recognised in both the earlier and the later law-books, the *Dharma-sūtras* and *Dharma-Sāstras*, in an Aryanising society, although different degrees of high or low position was allotted to them.

We have a whole host of names of such "mixed castes" in the Mahābhārata and the Dharma-Sāstras and other works, noted with varying degrees of toleration or condemnation. These names have been classified and enumerated by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane (in his *History of Dharma-Sastra*, Vol. II, Part I, Poona 1941, pp. 69-103) and by Sailendra Nath Sen Gupta ("The Caste System in Bengal" in *Census 1951: West Bengal: the Tribes and Castes of West Bengal*, edited by Asok Mitra, I.C.S., and published by the West Bengal Government, Calcutta 1953, pp. 47-58). In the slightly longer list given in the West Bengal Report for the 1951 Census, Sen Gupta enumerates as many as 209 names of mixed castes, and of non-Aryan

groups which at one time or other came to be connected with the Hindu body-politic and were looked upon either as castes due to miscegenation or as degraded Hindus—and of Aryan origin too, as they were considered to be outcasted from Aryan society in many cases. We may mention certain castes of mixed origin which were interracial (unlike, for example, mixed castes resulting from *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages among Brāhman, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, who were all thought to be of Aryan origin) : *Ugra* (Brāhman, Kshatriya or Vaiśya father+ S'ūdra mother) ; *Nāpita* or *Pāras'ava* (Brāhman or Kshatriya+S'ūdra mother) ; *Dāsa*, *Niṣāda* (Brāhman+S'ūdra) ; *Dauṣyaṇṭa*, *Mleccha*, *Gopāla* (Kshatriya+S'ūdra) ; *Karana*, *Rathakāra*, *Kaṭakāra*, *Sūcaka*, *Āyogava* (also=offspring of Vaiśya+Kshatriya, and S'ūdra+Vaiśya), *Taksan* (Vaiśya+S'ūdra) ; *Caṇḍāla*, *Sūlika* (S'ūdra+Brāhman) ; *Kṣattr*, *Carmakāra*, *Māgadha*, *Pulkasa*, *Yavana* (=Greek!), *Vaina*, *Vaidehaka*, *Tantuvāya*, *Raṇjaka*, *Sūlika* or *Sūṇika*, *Niṣāda*, *Vrātya* (S'ūdra+Kshatriya) ; *Antyāvasāyin*, *Āyogava*, *Māgadha*, *Pulkasa*, *Vaidehaka*, *Vaidya*, *Cakrin*, *Cākrika* (S'ūdra+Vaiśya). It would be seen that there is no unanimity and uniformity among ancient writers about these names. Doubtless, many of these names were confined to a part of the country only, and these were confused later by compilers of Dharma-S'āstras and other works in other parts of the country. Names were given to other groups which originated by further admixture among the mixed castes noted above : for example, *Āpita* (Brāhman+*Dauṣyanta* < Kshatriya+S'ūdra), *Āvrta* (Brāhman+*Ugra* < Brāhman, Kshatriya, or Vaiśya+S'ūdra) ; *Khanaka* (Āyogava+Kshatriya) ; *Udbandhaka* (*Khanaka* or *S'ūlika*+Kshatriya) ; *Kārāvara* (Vaidehaka+Nishāda, or Nishāda+Vaidehaka) ; *Kāndāra* (Kaivarta, a S'ūdra, possibly Austric+Koca, North Bengal Tibeto-Burman Boḍo) ; *Kukunda* (Māgadha+S'ūdra) ; etc. etc. The list need not be increased, as full lists will be found in the works cited above.

We are at once presented with a parallel in post-Spanish Mexico, where there has been this kind of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages among the three races found in America—the Amerindian Mongoloids (Aztec, Mixtec-Zapotec, Totonac, Otomi, Maya etc. etc.), the Spaniards or Hispanic Caucasoids, and the Negroes brought as slaves from Africa. Here are some characteristic names for these various mixed groups in Mexico and Latin America: thus, *Mestizo* (cross between Spanish father and Amerindian mother—*anuloma* caste most common); *Castizo* (*Mestizo*+Spanish woman); *Españolo* (*Castizo*+Spanish woman); *Mulatto* (Spanish+Negro woman); *Moro* or *Moor* (*Mulatto*+Spanish woman); *Albino* (Spaniard+Moor or Moorish woman); *Salta Atras* or 'Throwback' (Spaniard+Albino woman); *Lobo* or 'Wolf' (*Salta Atras*+Amerindian woman); *Zambiago* (*Lobo*+Indian woman); *Cambujo* (*Zambiago*+Amerindian woman); *Alvarazado* (*Cambujo*+*Mulatto* woman); *Barquino* (*Alvarazado*+*Mulatto* woman); *Coyote* (*Barquino*+*Mulatto* woman); *Chamizo* (*Coyote*+*Mulatto*); *Coyote-Mestizo* (*Chamizo*+*Mestizo* woman); *Ahi-te-etās* or "There-thou-art" (*Coyote-Mestizo*+*Mulatto* woman). (From Addison Burbank, "Mexican Frieze," New York 1940, p. 21). However, the common name for all with a dash of Spanish blood is *Mestizo*, i.e., Mixed (=French *métis*), and among the Amerindian peoples in Mexico, the word *Ladino* is also employed. In English, following Spanish we have the words *Half-caste*, *Quadroon* (with one-fourth of a particular racial element, after inter-marriage in the second generation between a half-caste and a pure-blooded person of either race), then *Octroon* (with one-eighth blood, so to say, of one of the component races, when the individual is the offspring of a *Quadroon* and a pure-blooded person); and after an *Octroon*, the next generation virtually merges into the basic race.

In the Aryan society, the wife had the right of performing religious sacrifices with her husband: she was

his *sahadharminī*, his peer and helpmate in sacred tasks. She could recite the Vedas. This was quite in order, so long as she was of the same Aryan race. Later on, when women of non-Aryan origin and of mixed origin came to be taken to wife by Brāhmins and others of pure Aryan blood, this right was then taken away from women. In later Dharma-śāstra prescriptions, we find that women in general as well as S'ūdras were not to utter the mystic syllable Om, and were not allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices. They could however, as a matter of right, perform the *pūjā* ceremonial excepting that of Viṣṇu through the *S'ālagrāma* stone. Even when non-Aryan women came to have a place in the Aryans' social structure, they were thus debarred by orthodox opinion from the privileges of the Aryans; and their Aryan sisters also shared their disability.

The Aryan, including the Brāhman, was losing, as the result of the climate, of altered ways of life and of miscegenation, his fair complexion. The Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad knows Aryans or Aryan-speakers, who were white (*s'ukla*), brown or tawny (*kapila*) and dark or black (*s'yāma*) and who studied the Vedas, and the last was the cleverest of the three, knowing all the three Vedas, while the others know only one or two. Although mixed unions were held in theoretical disfavour, under the lead of the priestly classes, no stigma was attached to them in practical life. In fact, inter-caste marriages, particularly after the formation of the mixed castes, were very common within the same economic or social group throughout Hindu history, right down to pre-British times. The *Sonātana* or "eternal", immutable nature of caste in Hindudom became an object of historic faith among Hindu *intelligentsia*, only during the last few hundred years.

Satyavati or Matsya-gandhā, the mother of Vyāsa (who may be described as the official founder of Hinduism by compiling for it its scriptures, the Vedas and the pri-

mitive Purānas) was a Dāsa woman, although this was attempted to be explained away in the Mahābhārata itself by bringing in the wild story of Satyawatī having been really the daughter of Vasu Uparicara, born within the womb of a fish. Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva of the Vṛishṇi sect of the Yadu clan was a younger contemporary of Vyāsa, and he was himself a dark complexioned half-caste, his mother Devakī being a princess of an Asura or non-Aryan house and his father Vasudeva was an Aryan Kshatriya. It was Kṛishṇa who, among other things, helped to form a synthesis of the Aryan and non-Aryan thought-worlds, religion and ritualism. (Following F. E. Pargiter, Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri and L. D. Barnett, who based their datation respectively on Purāṇa traditions, on genealogical data in the Brāhmaṇa texts and on Jaina tradition exclusively, I accept the middle of the 10th century B.C., during the late Vedic age, as the time for the Kurukshetra battle forming the historical kernel of the Mahābhārata epic, and consequently as the period for the *floruit* of Vyāsa and Kṛishṇa).

It has also been suggested that Buddha himself, like most of the Gorkhas and other present-day peoples of Nepal, was of mixed Aryan-Mongoloid, or it may be Aryanised Mongoloid origin. Certain social usages among the branch of the S'ākya clan, to which Buddha belonged, would suggest non-Aryan (Kirāta) origins, affinities or connexions.

The process of Aryanising non-Aryan ruling houses by the extension of Kshatriya-hood upon them by the Brāhmans as the leaders of society, has been an age-old device in India, which enabled not only the militarily and culturally advanced aristocracy of non-Aryan origin, but also powerful foreign groups like the Greeks, the S'akas and other Iranians and the Hūns, settled in India, to be absorbed within the fold of the Hindu society. This has been noted by other scholars before. We have the ancient

Indian solar and lunar dynasties — the Children of the Sun and the Children of the Moon (*Sūrya-Vams'a* and *Candra-Vams'a*). It is exceedingly likely that here basically we have a pre-Aryan, possibly Dravidian notion, which became a part of the inherited and re-edited Purāṇa tradition that developed among the Aryan-speaking people of mixed origin during the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. Later, when some powerful Hinduised aristocracies of Turki and Iranian origin were to be absorbed during the second half of the first millennium A.D., we have the new Kshatriya clans of the Children of the Fire (*Agni-kula*). The Ahoms, a Thai or Sino-Siamese people who came to Assam in 1228 and gradually extended their power over the Hinduised Tibeto-Burhman Boḍos of the Brahmaputra valley, were adopted within the Brahmanical fold, and their rulers were described as the Children of Indra (*Indra-Vams'a*). The Boḍo royal house of Dimāpur and Kachar were made into descendents of Bhīma, the Pāṇḍava hero, through his Rākshasī or non-Aryan wife Hidimbā; and the Meithei kings and upper classes of Manipur, as well as the Boḍo (Tipra) rulers of Tripurā, at some unknown mediaeval period, obtained the status of *Candra-Vams'a* Kshatriyas. Even the native priesthood of the non-Aryan tribes, on their Hinduisation came to acquire the sobriquet of *Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas*, i.e., Brāhmins attached to the particular Hindu caste into which the tribe was transformed. With the exaltation of the general status of the tribe, the recognition of these *Varṇa-Brahmins* as proper Brāhmins was a matter of course.

It was not that there was an absolute wholesale or all-embracing miscegenation. Doubtless a great many Aryan groups jealously guarded their purity of blood and they have succeeded through the endogamous caste system in preserving in many cases some sort of racial purity. But once the terms *Ārya* and *Brāhmaṇa* modified their old racial connotation, and became words indicative of an aristocracy of moral or intellectual superiority without the

old sense of racialism, such as we find in the Rig-Vedic terms *Ārya Varṇa* and *Dāsa Varṇa*, admission as Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas of the intellectual and aristocratic classes of mixed groups and of pure non-Aryans was facilitated, and objection to their union with pure-blooded Aryans within the same area, when the economic and cultural background was the same, became weaker and weaker.

The new Aryan-speaking society could no longer remain compartmental, vertically or horizontally or in both ways. With a wide gamut or range of colours in the people, ranging from the white of the Aryan blond to the black colour of the pure Nishāda, or the yellow of the pure Kirāta, like the merging colours in the solar prism, passing on imperceptibly from violet through indigo, blue, green, yellow and orange to red, *apartheid* was not possible in practical life, howsoever the *theory* might have appealed to the Aryanising snobdom which was exalted in certain groups to an orthodoxy of faith. We find almost an identical situation in Mestizo Mexico. From the pure Spanish descendents of the conquerors and subsequent settlers who are known as Creols (*los Criollos*), which continued to be reinforced by fresh arrivals from Spain (latterly known as the *Gachupines*), during the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule (1521-1820), we have, through different shadings of white and yellow and brown resulting from all kinds and degrees of intermixture, the brown or yellow Amerindian masses at the other end of the scale, the pure 'Indians' (*los Indios*). An ever-expanding mixed group is perpetually encroaching upon the purity of the pure whites at the top and the yellow or brown 'Indians' at the bottom. Already the mixed group, with Spanish as their language, forms nearly 60 p.c. of the people of Mexico, with some 30 p.c. pure Amerindians and less than 10 p.c. pure whites. Ultimately the purer groups will be absorbed into the Mestizos, leaving a single type of man, generally speaking, master of the field—the

Modern Mexican Man who is already in the predominance. In 1805, the pure Spanish or white element in Mexico's population was estimated at 18 p.c., Mestizos at 30 p.c. and pure Amerindians at 44 p.c., and other groups 2 p.c. ; in 1910, the percentages were respectively, 7.5, 53 and 39. These figures disclose how the pure Amerindian element and pure white are both merging into the Mestizo.

Varṇa or skin-colour — white or yellow or brown or black — was the basis of the division of the diverse types of humanity in the first period when Ārya and Dāsa, Kirāta and Nishāda, stood face to face with each other. Later, it became unmeaning with the invasion of the coloured elements into Aryandom, although tradition harking back to these very early times is still suspicious in present-day India of a black Brāhman and a fair S'ūdra. The skin-colour became irrelevant with racial mixture, and there was a new theory of caste in which the original realistic notion of the Vedic Aryan was lost ; and it was only birth within a recognised profession or industry or trade group, within a guild, so to say, that formed the essential argument for caste. The economic aspect rose superior to the racial, the social to the biological. Caste has been supported or tolerated by the Indian people as it generally helped the stability of their economic existence, all racial implications being lost.

Caste began to crystallise and become rigid with the establishment of a Muslim state by the Turks, and then by the adoption of the Turki-Muslim traditions by Indian Muslims either of pure Indian or mixed Indian origin (respectively through conversion and miscegenation). The Hindu States were destroyed and the Hindu social order under Brāhman domination lost its natural patrons in the Hindu aristocracy. Yet Hindu culture was too strongly ingrained in the people to permit their being swept away by the flood of Muslim aggression. With its inherent force of inertia and its spirit of bowing before the storm, and with the innate spirit of harmony among the various castes each with its recognised place, its rights and duties

within the Hindu society which was evolved as the direct result of the Indian synthesis under the leadership of the Brāhman, the Hindu body-politic resisted the threatened disintegration of itself through this Muslim impact by its method of a general non-co-operation. This non-co-operation was of a passive sort, and it meant having nothing to do socially with that unappreciative and unsympathetic foreign ruler, the Turki Muslim, and sometimes his client the *renoncant* Indian Muslim, and each caste unit in Hindu society offered opposition in a piecemeal fashion by stiffening itself up in self-defence and by becoming more rigid within itself. This stiffening up and rigidity, and this non-co-operation, became a force not only against the foreigner, but also *vis-à-vis* the other groups or castes within its own world. With the passing of centuries this rigidity grew stronger and stronger; and during the last two centuries, certain other new factors came in — which strengthened the present-day caste ideology which would regard miscegenation to be pernicious and reprehensible in a divinely ordained social order — the *Varṇās'rama Dharma* — which existed from the beginning of the golden age. The new factors which were operative in this direction were the growth of individualism in the place of collectivism; the tendency to a new type of economic exploitation; a new sense of aloofness taking its root from imperfect or incomplete miscegenation fortified by the imported European "Aryanism"; and a revival of orthodox notions and attendant snobbery with fantastic or extravagant ideas of personal purity and caste pride, the exaggerations of which would be patent in any sensible society.

Ancient Indians have been reproached with the absence of the historical sense. They had certainly a conception of life as a static thing, not as a process of dynamic or historical development. The racial and national aspect can never be dissociated from the history of the political vicissitudes of any people, and if in ancient India

the writing of the history of a particular people, as a distinct element of the population, had developed, then the tendency towards the fusion and harmonisation of the traditions of the diverse peoples, not on a basis of a separatist political consciousness, but on an appreciation of the universal human values, would not have characterised the Indian Synthesis. Thus the Muslim historians of India in general are conscious only of a two-fold division of the people of India, by religion — Muslims and Hindus, and this religious cleavage was always perpetuated, without any attempt at bringing them together as members of the same people. In the earliest Indian literature we have just echoes of an Ārya *versus* Dāsa (or S'ūdra or Nāga or Nishāda) complex, on a racial or colour basis. But the racial aspect of it grew dimmer and dimmer as the inevitable result of a mutual assimilation, and these tribal names were translated into the region of mythology. The intransigence of racialism was totally lost, and a crude pride of birth through race gave place to a sense of humility through philosophy when the idea of *samsāra* as an eternal moral law determining a man's place in life came to be universally accepted. After the strands of diverse racial origins have been inextricably woven into the finished stuff of a composite Indian society, it is now at least 2500 years too late to try to revive them once again now, as an engineered upsurge, e.g., of a suppressed Ādi-Drāviḍa or primitive Dravidian in the extreme south of India against the so-called Aryan from the north. It would be as futile as to try to separate the Saxon from the Norman or the Celt from the German or the basic Iberian from the Indo-European in the composition of the present-day British people.

There is no caste in *sannyāsa* or the path of renunciation — in Indian monasticism, so to say. This is another expression of the racial synthesis in Indian ideology. The Upanishadic *Jñāna* or knowledge, and later the post-Vedic mysticism of love and faith — *Bhakti*, both moving

with the self-discipline of *Yoga* or path for union with the Ultimate Reality, *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* as the philosophical and emotional obverse and reverse of the quest for God, both transcended racial implications.

Racial and Cultural Fusion, profound or on the surface, sublimated by a broad spirit of Synthesis through **Philosophy** which transcended or modified, although it could not wholly eradicate, the memory of race and colour (the weaknesses and prejudices of human nature being what they are), thus has given the basic character or tone to **Indian Civilisation**. As Rabindranath Tagore, with his poet's vision colouring the scholar's reading of the predominant trait of his people's history and culture, has expressed in his great poem in Bengali, the *Bhārata-tīrtha* —

*hethāy Āryya, hethā Anāryya, hethāy Drāviḍa, Cīn,
S'aka-Hūṇa-dal, Pāthān-Mogāl, ek dehe ha'la līn :*

"Here the Aryan, here the Non-Aryan, here the Dravidian and the Chinese (the Mongoloids), the tribes of the Scythians and the Huns, the Afghans and the Moguls, have all merged into one body."

II. LINGUISTIC INTERACTION AND THE EVOLUTION OF AN "INDIAN CHARACTER" IN THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA

At the present moment, as has been mentioned before, we see four distinct speech-families represented in India, languages belonging to which have all evolved or developed on the soil of India for the last 3000 years and more. These are (i) Indo-European, (ii) Dravidian, (iii) Austric, and (iv) Sino-Tibetan. The language of the first inhabitants of India, the **Negroids**, has not survived on the soil of India—it is found in the Andamans, and it is not fully known. There is no possibility of finding out if elements from the speech of the Negroids has, in any way, survived

in the speeches of the later peoples who came to India. I have suggested that among a possible small vocabulary from the Negroid speech which may have been continued in Indian languages, we may reckon the Bengali word for the "bat", *bāduḍ*, which is based on a form like *wat*, *waul* etc. (with the pleonastic affix *-uḍ* from early Bengali *-a-ḍi—bāduḍ < bād-a-ḍi*), found in Andamanese and the dialects of Austro-Asiatic current among the Negroid Semang and the Austric Sakai in Malaya.

The Austric languages as we have seen, fall into two groups—(i) Austro-Asiatic, and (ii) Austronesian. The Austric languages of India, which come under (i), are distinct in their structure from Dravidian: they are prefix, suffix and infix adding languages, and have an elaborate process of word-formation. Austric-speaking tribes had in pre-historic times spread throughout India, and in the great river-valleys of North India they appear to have been transformed into the present-day Aryan-speaking masses of Indians, both Hindu and Muslim, with admixture with other ethnic groups, the Mongoloids and the Dravidians and the Aryans. Some Austric speakers in India, who continued to live from very ancient times in a primitive state in the hills and forests of Central and Eastern India, or who had retired there through pressure of the later peoples, live in their descendents as the various Kol peoples, Santals and others, as mentioned above, still retaining their language. Others in the sub-Himalayan tracts were absorbed by the later Mongoloid settlers, but the language of the Austro-Asiatic Kols has modified that of the newcomers, giving rise to what are known as "Pronominalised Tibeto-Burman Speeches," of the sub-Himalayan areas in Nepal and to its west. In Assam, the Khasis appear to be a Tibeto-Burman people who have accepted an Austric language.

In the development of the Aryan language in India, Austric (Kol or Munda, and Mon-Khmer) languages have

exerted a considerable influence, particularly in vocabulary and idiom. The study of mutual Aryan and Austric influencing in language has become an important branch of Indian linguistics, with repercussions on the history of the development of culture in India. The French orientalist Jean Przyluski made valuable investigations into the question of an Austric substratum in Indo-Aryan, and he has shown how a number of common words in Sanskrit like *kārpāsa*, *tāmbula*, *kadalī*, *kambala*, *bāṇa*, *lāṅgala*, *lakuṣa* etc. etc. are of Austric origin. Others have followed Przyluski along the line of research virtually opened up by him, and a notable work in this field is F.B.J. Kuiper's "Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit" (Amsterdam, 1948, pp. 178 ; the author gives an additional seventy words from Sanskrit as being Austric in origin).

In the evolution of at least two modern Indo-Aryan sister-speeches in Bihar, the Maithili and the Magahi, there has been a very likely influence of the Austric (Kol) languages, which evidently were suppressed by the Aryan Māgadhī Prakrit and Apabhramsa, in the peculiar device of pronoun-incorporation in the verb, which is so foreign to the nature of both Aryan and Dravidian.

In the matter of a richness in onomatopoeic jingles and expressions which Indo-Aryan is found to develop gradually in the course of its evolution (such onomatopoeic terms are too few in Sanskrit, but they are on the increase in the Prakrits, and still more so in the New Indo-Aryan languages), and in that of doubling of words, full or partial, for various purposes, noted partly in Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali and the Prakrits) and very largely in New Indo-Aryan, we are certainly to see a Kol or Austric substratum in Indo-Aryan : and this substratum is very vital, too, for New Indo-Aryan.

The Sino-Tibetan languages and dialects present in their number the largest groups of speeches in India, but from the point of view of the numerical strength of the

peoples speaking them, their cultural significance as well as the extent of their terrain. they are the least important. But of course they have their great value in the historical and comparative study of the great languages of the family, like Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese and Siamese. These Sino-Tibetan speeches current among the Kirātas, or Indian Mongoloid tribes, are now confined to Assam, and East and North Bengal, and the south Himalayan slopes from Bhotan to Panjab, including of course Nepal. But in early times there is evidence that the Kirāta peoples had penetrated into Central India and Sindh also, though numerically they were not so strong in the plains of Northern India and the hills and jungles of Central India.

Kirāta peoples in India are certainly as old as, if not older than, the Vedic Aryans : we find them already mentioned in the Yajur and Atharva Vedas. (Their antecedents and their participation in the development of Indian history and culture I have discussed in my "*Kirāta-Jana-Kṛti* : the Indo Mongoloids and their Contribution to the History and Culture of India", Asiatic Society, Calcutta 1951, pp. 94.) They could not exert such a widespread influence in the development of Indian culture, and their contribution to the formation of the Indian people was restricted by their geographical position or the lands which they occupied. Kirāta predominance is the most noteworthy thing in the people and culture of the greater part of Himalayan India, of Assam, and of East and North Bengal and North Bihar.

The subject of the modification of the Aryan speech by the Kirāta dialects has not been taken up properly, but it is very likely that a respectable Kirāta vocabulary exists in Indo-Aryan place-names, and ordinary words, and there are Kirāta influences in some present-day Aryan speech-habits also. The toponymy of Eastern and Himalayan India is largely Sino-Tibetan in origin. Assamese and Nepali (Parbatiya, or Khaskura) show Tibeto-Burman

elements in their vocabulary. The habit of using too frequently the verbal conjunctive participle may very well be due to Sino-Tibetan influence on Indo-Aryan, although a similar syntactical character is found in Dravidian. The dental pronunciation of *c*, *j*, *ch*, *jh*, as *ts*, *dz*, *s*, *z*, etc. in the Himalayan Aryan speeches, in East Bengali and in Assamese, also is, in all likelihood, the result of the influence of a Sino-Tibetan substratum; and the substitution of the dentals and the cerebrals by alveolar stops and aspirates in Assamese and in a number of other Aryan speeches in the Himalayan regions can also be connected with Tibeto-Burman.

We now come to the Dravidian speech family in India, and its interaction with Indo-Aryan. Anthropological, ethnological and cultural as well as religious considerations have all suggested that the proto-Dravidians of India were an Asianic and East Mediterranean people. We may regard the pre-Aryan builders of the Sindh and Panjab culture as being of Dravidian speech. The proximity of the Dravidian-speaking Brahuis to Sindh and Panjab lends some support to the view that Dravidian was the speech of the entire North-West, when the Aryans first entered India round about 1500 B.C.

There are also unsolved problems in connexion with the etymology of quite a number of Indo-Aryan words and locutions which may be connected with substrata of other lost pre-Aryan origin. But in the broad lines of the development of Indo-Aryan in the course of over two millennia, we see a tremendous influence of Dravidian, and partly of Austric (Kol). The nature of this influence is not superficial or just literary, but it is that of a substratum, profound and at the same time wide in scope. There has been through some 3,000 years a gradual approximation of the Aryan speech towards the Dravidian, in its system of sounds, in its trend in morphology, in vocabulary, and above all, in its syntax or order of words.

The original character of the Indo-European language has been very largely preserved in Vedic Sanskrit, in Avestan and Old Persian, and in Homeric Greek; and some aspects of it can also be deduced from the other forms of Old Indo-European, like Latin and the Italic speeches, Old Irish, Gothic and other Old Germanic, Old Armenian, Baltic and Old Church Slav, as well as from Tokharian; and Nesian Hittite of Asia Minor has thrown unexpected light into the character of pre-historic Indo-European. Yet already in Vedic there are plentiful evidences of Indian non-Aryan influences, particularly in phonetics and in vocabulary: influences in syntax and morphology are as yet not so clear.

In Phonetics, the paucity of vowels in Vedic and Old Iranian (Indo-European *a, e, o* being all reduced to *a*) as contrasted with Greek, is a noteworthy thing. The Dravidian vowel system is also very simple: it has five simple vowels *a i u e o*, both long and short (*ē ō*, of course, originated in Indo-Aryan at a later post-Vedic stage from earlier *ai au*, and in Middle Indo-Aryan short *e o* also developed). The quantity of vowels in Indo-Aryan, originally based on individual etymology, now became subservient to speech-rhythm. New way of emphasis e.g. by consonantal doubling also came in.

The Indo-European aspirated stops, voiced and unvoiced, were retained in Vedic. It is quite conceivable, as Jules Bloch thought, that Primitive Dravidian possessed aspirated stops; and some at least of the modern Kol speeches like Santali also show aspirates. Consequently, their retention in Indo-Aryan was helped by the non-Aryan background. In India, whatever spirant sounds the Aryan language, the immediate source of Vedic, possessed, were virtually all lost, excepting for three unvoiced sibilants *s' ṣ s*, and the voiced aspirate *h*.

The most important change in the phonetic system of Indo-Aryan was its adoption of the retroflex or cerebral

sounds, $t\ th\ d\ dh\ n\ l\ s$, beside the tongue-tip dentals $t\ th\ d\ dh\ (n\ l\ s)$. Indo-European and Aryan did not have these, although the Scandinavian languages, Swedish and Norwegian, have developed them independently from earlier $r+t$, $r+d$, $r+n$ in recent years. The Aryan speech in India may have similarly developed them independently. But the retroflex sounds are so very characteristic of the Dravidian languages that their admission and establishment in Indo-Aryan in the first instance might have been due to Dravidian speakers accepting the Aryan language. As the centuries pass, the retroflex pronunciation, either through the influence of r (and l), or spontaneously, is on the increase. These retroflex sounds are a point of remarkable agreement among the languages of the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric (Kol) families in India: it is not known whether Austric had them independently, or took them up from Dravidian equally with Indo-Aryan. The distinction between the pure dentals and the retroflex sounds is a very prominent thing in the sound-system of the Indian languages—only the Sino-Tibetan languages do not have this distinction: they have a single set of alveolar sounds in place of the two sets of pure dentals and cerebrals.

Jules Bloch in a significant paper (English translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, pp. 191 ff.) suggested that Indo-Aryan and Dravidian showed a somewhat parallel phonological history, with consonant clusters both initially and medially, but initially these were simplified, and medially they were assimilated (e.g. *dr-* *pr-* became *d-* *p-*, *-rk-* *-tr-* became *-kk-* *-tt-*, both in Indo-Aryan Prakrit and in Old Dravidian languages as these developed out of their more ancient forms). Approximation to Dravidian tendencies or habits in sound-change may have been induced in Indo-Aryan by Dravidian. The widespread habit of anaptyxis (*svara-bhakti* or *vipra-karṣa*) in the treatment of Sanskrit loan-words in Prakrits presents a parallel to what we see in the cultivated Dravidian languages also.

In certain other matters relating to Morphology, Syntax and Vocabulary, Vedic Sanskrit stands apart from Classical Sanskrit, from Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit), and from New Indo-Aryan. The last three show a community of spirit which is not shared by Vedic. In Morphology, a matter of capital importance is the loss of the Old Indo-European *prepositions* in Indo-Aryan. In Vedic they still have their separate existence, retaining a good deal of their old function in governing nouns put in various cases (as much as in Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Irish, Old Slav, etc.); the prepositions are movable, and have not yet become wholly *preverbials* (*upasargas*) glued to verb roots. The total loss took place of these prepositions when their original force was gone, and they became *preverbials* in Classical Sanskrit, and in Middle Indo-Aryan; the prepositions becoming *preverbials* only survive in mutilated forms as integral parts of some verb roots in New Indo-Aryan, e.g. *pra* in *pra-vis'* > New Indo-Aryan *pais*, *ā* in *ā-vis'* > New Indo-Aryan *āis*, *upa-vis'* > *bais*, *upa-viṣṭa* > *baith*, *ut-pāṭayati* > *upāḍe*, *ut-taraṭi* > *utare*, *ud-eti* > *ue*, *nir-vā* > *nibā*, *pari-ikṣ* > *parakh*, *sam-arp* > *saump*, *samp*, *vi-kri* > *bik*, *abhi-añj* - *bhij*; etc., etc.

In place of the prepositions, for a time the case-inflexions sufficed to indicate the various case-relations, but as these began to change phonetically, a new device was taken recourse to. In this matter, the habits of both Dravidian and Austric (Kol) and also of Sino-Tibetan invaded Aryan. These languages indicate case-relations by means of *help-words* which are joined to the noun and pronoun at the end. These help-words, as they became established in Middle Indo-Aryan and in Classical Sanskrit, became through phonetic decay the *inflexions* and *post-positions* of New Indo-Aryan. Some verb-forms and full nouns are also found as post-positions in New Indo-Aryan. The Aryan language in this matter has completely been transformed according to the spirit of Dravidian.

The formation of the plural of the noun and the pronoun by agglutinating or adding a noun of multitude is another principle which has been naturalised in Indo-Aryan from the late Middle Indo-Aryan stage: e.g. the use of words like *sakala*, *kula*, *gaṇa*, *loka*, *sabhā*, *sarva*, *mānava*, etc. in their Old, Middle and New Indo-Aryan forms, which through phonetic decay have in some cases been transformed into what are virtually new affixes in New Indo-Aryan. Herein we see the work of an inherent principle of formation from Dravidian.

In most of the New Indo-Aryan languages we note, as in Dravidian, the absence of the affix for the dative-accusative case for neuter or inanimate nouns. -

The use of the genitive case for the adjective is another Dravidian aspect in syntactical extension of the declension of the noun. The Indo-European speech indicated a comparison of the adjective by affixation: e.g. *-iyyas*, *-lṣtha*; *-tara*, *-tama*, in Sanskrit. This habit is still preserved in English, e.g. *wiser*, *wisest*, from *wise*, and in Persian, *bih-tar*, *bih-tarin*, from *bih* "good". But New Indo-Aryan has completely abandoned this practice and follows Dravidian (and Austric Kol) in having a new syntactical device with the ordinary (and the only) form of the adjective standing for both the comparative and superlative. This device is already seen in Pali, which would show that the Dravidian and Austric leaven is operative in pre-Christian times in this direction.

In the case of the Verb, too, there were far-reaching changes. An almost wholesale disuse of moods and tenses reducing the verb-system of Aryan to an indicative present form (and in some cases an indicative future), a past participle giving the basis for the past tense, a present participle supplying similarly the basis for some other tenses, a conjunctive or absolutive, some verbal nouns, and a passive indicative present, characterised the development of the Indo-Aryan verb. The whole principle of phrase-

building tended to become nominal or adjectival from verbal: in place of Old Indo-Aryan inflected forms like *sa agamat*, *sa agacchat* or *sa jagāma*, Classical Sanskrit as well as Middle Indo-Aryan preferred a participial expression like *sa gatah*, Prakrit *so gato*, or *gado* or *gao*, whence we have New Indo-Aryan (Braj-Bhakha) *so gayau*, Bengali *se gela* (where the participle form has been reinforced by an *l*-affix). Herein there is a very likely influence of Dravidian, for in Dravidian, the verb has an adjectival force, being really a noun of agency with reference to the subject. The Dravidian tenses developed out of participles; and in the development of Aryan we find a gradually increasing employment of the participle forms to the exclusion of the Indo-European finite verbal forms. The periphrastic future of Sanskrit *kartā* = "a doer" to mean, "he will do", *kartā+asmi=kartāsmi* = "I am a doer", to mean "I shall do", is Dravidian in principle. The structure of the past and future verb in modern Magadhan languages (Bengali, Oriya, Maithili, Bhojpuri, etc.), in showing the root + past or future base derived from the participle affix + personal pro-nominal affix, affords a remarkable parallel to Dravidian. The importance attached to the conjunctive with the sense of "having performed or finished an act", and its lavish use, are common to both Dravidian and New Indo-Aryan, and is undoubtedly an idiom borrowed by Aryan from Dravidian, very early in the history of Aryan, with possible influence from Sino-Tibetan.

The inflected passive of Old Indo-Aryan is lost to or considerably restricted in New Indo-Aryan, which, like Dravidian, forms passives by means of compound verb constructions, in which the roots meaning "to go, to fall, to suffer, to eat", etc. function as passive-forming auxiliaries. Herein the idiom is probably Dravidian.

With the want of prepositions (or preverbials) to modify meanings of verb roots, both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian have developed the use, in a most curious and idio-

matic way, of conjunctives and participles with an adverbial function, giving rise to what is known as the "Compound Verb". Thus, in Sanskrit we have *ni-*, preverbal, + root *sad* = English "sit down", but Bengali *basiyā paḍa* "sit down", beside *basā* = "to sit"; so Hindi *baith jānā*, beside *baithnā*. In Dravidian languages, like the Indo-Aryan modifying roots, certain roots like Tamil *koḷḷu* "to take", *varu* "to come", *vidu* "to live", *pō* "to go", *uru* "to come", *adi* "to strike", *paḍu* "to suffer", Telugu *konu* "to buy or take", *vesenu* "to throw", *iccu* "to give", etc. are used. For example, Tamil *cey viṭṭān* = "has finished", Bengali *kariyā diyāche*; Telugu *vrāsi vēyu* = "to finish writing, to write off", Bengali *likhiyā phelā*, etc. This kind of adverbial or prepositional use of an auxiliary verb goes back to Middle Indo-Aryan: e.g. Pali *sampādetvā adamsu* = "completed", literary "having finished, gave", compare Bengali *kariyā diyāchāla*; *patitvā gatam* = "fell down", Bengali *paḍiyā gela*; *maccu ādāya gacchati* = "death takes away", literally "having taken, goes", cf. Bengali *laiyā jāy*. Evidently, this novel device characterising also the Dravidian was becoming adopted in Indo-Aryan from pre-Christian times, as in Pali.

Another principle which we note in New Indo-Aryan is the employment of a root meaning "to do" + a noun to express the simple idea of a verb root, e.g. Bengali *jijñāsā karā* = "to make a query", for the simple root *puch* "to ask". We have in Tamil *muṭṭāñ ceydan* = "made a kiss", for "kissed", *pāvañ ceydan* = "made a sin", for "sinned", Telugu *pāḍu cesenu* = "waste-made", for "wasted", *vrayamu cesina* = "expending having-made", for "having spent". This has become a characteristic thing in modern Indian languages, Aryan or Dravidian, so much so, that this principle of compounding a noun or adjective with the verb "to do or make" has been taken over from Hindustani in the formation of Basic English. Already in Pali we have this device, e.g. *āhāram karoṭi*, *kalaham karoṭi*, *sañnam karoṭi*, etc., etc., and it is

found in the earlier phrases of Modern Indo-Aryan and Dravidian also.

In Syntax, which is regarded as being of greater importance as an inherited peculiarity than Phonetics or Morphology which is easily acquired or modified, we find that Indian Dravidianism and Aryandom are one. (Italics ours—Ed.) A sentence in a Dravidian language like Tamil or Kannada ordinarily becomes good Bengali or Hindi by substituting Bengali or Hindi equivalents for the Dravidian words and forms, without modifying the word-order : but the same thing is not possible in rendering a Persian or an English sentence into a New Indo-Aryan language. The most fundamental agreements are thus found between New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, and all this began from early Middle Indo-Aryan, as would be seen from a comparison of the syntax of Pali and the Prakrits with that of the modern Aryan languages. "*The syntactical arrangement of a Tamil sentence is in many respects similar to that of an ordinary Sanskrit sentence.*" (Italics ours—Ed.) As a rule, first comes the subject with its attributes, second the object with its enlargements, third the extension of the predicate, and lastly the verb. As in Classical Sanskrit, so in Tamil, there is the usual predominance of gerunds and the clauses formed by them, of the relative participles which take the place of relative clauses, and of the *oratio recta* instead of the *oratio obliqua* ". The omission of the copula is preferred by both Indo-Aryan, generally, and Dravidian.

The most remarkable similarity in idioms is found in both. Thus, we have the use of a conjunctive meaning "having said", in the sense of "as, because", recapitulating and introducing a conditional clause ; employment of the infinitive for the polite imperative ; use of the verb "to give" in forming the imperative, or permissive mood ; etc. In some of the above points there is also agreement with Sino-Tibetan ; but on the whole, generally Indo-

Aryan possesses common traits of syntactical expression with Dravidian rather than with languages of other families.

The use of Onomatopoeic Formations and of what are known as "Echo Words" form other great points of agreement between Aryan and Dravidian in India. Through these "Echo Words", the idea of "et cetera, and things similar to, or associated with that" is expressed: e.g. Bengali *ghoḍā-ṭoḍā*, Maithili *ghorā-torā*, Hindi *ghoḍā-udā*, Gujarati *ghoḍo-boḍo*, Marathi *ghoḍā-biḍā*, Sinhalese *as'vaya-bas'vaya* = "horses etc., horses and other animals, horses and equipage"; cf. Tamil *kudirai-gidirai*, Kannada *kudure-gidure*, Telugu *gurramu-girramu*.

Finally, we find that the Aryan speech has been borrowing words from the Dravidian, ever since the former made its advent into India. The study of the nature and extent of the Dravidian loan-words in Indo-Aryan now forms an important subject of Indian linguistics. A great many of the *desī* words in Sanskrit and Prakrit and Modern Indo-Aryan, of which counterparts are not found in other Indo-European languages, are very probably of Dravidian origin — in some cases, of course, they might be even pre-Dravidian and pre-Austrian. R. Caldwell, H. Cundert, F. Kittel and T. Burrow and others have made notable contributions in appraising the Dravidian loan-element in Indo-Aryan. It is remarkable how significant a Dravidian element we have in the Indo-Aryan languages from Vedic Sanskrit onwards: some of the commonest words of Indo-Aryan are from this source, showing the very deep and intimate influence exerted by Dravidian in transforming Indo-Aryan. (*Italics ours*—Ed.).

All this would indicate to what an extent the Aryan language has changed its character in its non-Aryan (Dravidian, Austrian and Sino-Tibetan) environments in India. This type of change, as has been suggested before,

is due primarily to the Aryan language being adopted by large numbers of original non-Aryan speakers, modifying it according to their own speech-habits, and then by sheer weight of numbers swamping, so to say, the native speakers of Aryan, and forcing them, through influence of new environment, to accept these modifications and innovations. Little by little the approximation became complete. (Italics ours—Ed.) The situation during the forgotten epochs of the linguistic absorption of non-Aryan speakers in Northern India was one which can be visualised through what we actually see in those areas of India where the non-Aryan languages as speeches of backward "Aboriginals" (*Ādi-bāsīs*) are slowly receding before the continuous and unabated pressure of Aryan : e.g. in the Kol-speaking areas of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, in the Tibeto-Burman tracts in Nepal, Bengal and Assam, and in the Kurku-speaking and Gondi and other aboriginal tracts in Madhya Pradesh. In the late Vedic period, there were just scattered islands of Aryan speech in the Panjab and Gangetic India, in a land of *Dāsas*, *Dasyus* and *Sūdras*, of *Nishādas* and *Nāgas*, and of *Kirātas*. By the middle of the first millennium B.C., the tables were turned, and in the time of Buddha, the country from Gandhara to Magadha was mainly Aryan-speaking, with islands of *Dāsa* or *Sūdra* (i.e. Dravidian) and *Nishāda* or *Nāga* (or Austric) speech in the countryside and beside the virgin forests of Northern India. We hear in the Pali *Jātaka*, for instance, of *Caṇḍāla* villages in Northern India, where only the non-Aryan *Caṇḍāla* speech, whatever it was, was spoken.

Evidently this was the time when Aryan-speakers, of pure or mixed Aryan origin, understood, some of them at least, the local (native) languages : witness the case of Vidura warning Yudhishṭhira through *pralāpa* or "gibberish", i.e. some non-Aryan speech not understood by others, as we find in the *Mahābhārata*. The non-Aryan languages gradually died out in Northern India probably for these reasons : (i) the prestige of the Aryan speech as

that of a *Herrenvolk* which had established itself in the country, and to which the allegiance of the conquered peoples was a matter of course; (ii) absence of cohesion among the polyglot non-Aryans of Dravidian, Austric and Kirāta origin, living side by side, with the Aryan speech coming to the forefront as a very convenient *lingua franca*; (iii) the spirit of *laissez faire* and an evident policy of non-intervention with reference to the non-Aryan languages — nobody ever seems to have tried to put a stop to or restrict their use; and this policy of letting the non-Aryan speeches have their own way while ignoring them in all domains of serious study (there could not be the question of setting up a single Austric or Dravidian dialect before others) was most effective; (iv) the liberal policy shown, doubtless as a matter of convenience, by Brāhmans and other custodians of the Aryan's language towards non-Aryan vocables and idioms, — the gradual and unrestricted entry, mostly by the back-door, of a large non-Aryan vocabulary first in Vedic and in the Prakrits and then in the Classical Sanskrit, took away the edge of opposition to Sanskrit and other forms of Aryan, if there was any such opposition at all: the gradual approximation of Sanskrit and the Prakrits to the spirit of both Dravidian and Austric made the Aryan's language easily acceptable to non-Aryan speakers; (v) the fact that Sanskrit and other Aryan became the vehicle of a great composite culture, all-inclusive in scope, that was being built up through the combined efforts of Ārya, Drāviḍa, Nishāda and Kirāta, helped to maintain its supreme position in a new Indian population of mixed origin, directed more or less by groups like the Brāhmans boasting of a pure Aryan tradition; (vi) the early development of a literature in Sanskrit through the collection of Vedic Hymns and sacrificial texts, and through the redaction of masses of national legendary and semi-historical tales and traditions as in the Purāṇas, gave to Sanskrit an immense advantage over other languages. We do not know what literature the Sindh-Panjab "Proto-Indians" (as Hrozny' calls them) — whether Dra-

vidian-speakers or not — had: probably what little literature the pre-Aryan peoples had was confined to an exclusive priestly class; and with the first writing down of Sanskrit in a form of proto-Brahmi script (derived, as it would seem, from the latest linear phase of the Mohen-jodaro writing, probably sometime in the 10th century B.C.), intelligent Mestizo thought-leaders like Vyāsa started to gather whatever was available of the extant oral literature of religious hymns as well as tales and legends and genealogies, and this quick action gave a start to the Aryan speech which assured its future for ever; (Italics ours — Ed.) (vii) it is exceedingly likely that there was no effective linguistic or cultural patriotism (if there was any at all) among the leaders of the various non-Aryan groups in Northern India: particularly when the Brāhman through their intelligence and prestige were able to give a theory of society which ignored the racial and linguistic aspects and included the whole of Indian humanity within a single scheme. Finally, we have to consider (viii) the inherent beauty and force of the Aryan language, which was something which fulfilled the intellectual requirements of the Indian Man, satisfied his aesthetic sense, and at the same time was not foreign to his mental atmosphere if he still spoke or lived in the atmosphere of a non-Aryan tongue. As time passed, what was originally just "the language of poetry" (*chāndasa*) and "the current language" (*laukika*) became a veritable "language of the Gods" (*Deva-bhāṣā*) with the general acceptance of the ideology of the Brāhman's world.

The Aryan speech spread in this way, and the entire country became Aryanised in language. The non-Aryan languages in the Northern Indian plains went to the wall. But while dying out, they left their undying impress upon Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan, particularly the New Indo-Aryan languages as they evolved out of Prakrit. It was Prakrit which largely supplanted the non-Aryan speeches.

But "Greece captured her captor". *The Aryan language with its Sprachgut of basic elements inherited from Indo-European, became reinforced by non-Aryan words and roots, and was reshaped according to the thought-processes of Dravidian and other non-Aryan.* (Italics ours—Ed.) The waters from the original Aryan stream now found a new channel—the dried up one, of the non-Aryan languages. And thus a composite people got a modified speech—the classical Aryan speech of ancient India, Sanskrit, and the spoken Prakrits of ancient and mediaeval India, and the modern *Bhāṣās*—all falling in line with Dravidian and Austric, and to some extent with Sino-Tibetan as well.

III. ARYAN AND NON-ARYAN CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS FUSION

The economic background due to the geographical environment determines material culture. The Aryans, while living in the drier and colder lands of Iran and Northern Mesopotamia, were, as a people, partly nomadic (depending upon stock-raising and horse-breeding) and partly agricultural (doing some cultivation of barley by ploughing with oxen), and they had built up a way of life which they had perforce to change profoundly in the country of India which in those days was much more wooded, even in Panjab and in Sindh, and much moister than Iran. Their food, dress and habitation, everything had to be altered according to the requirements of their new home and the new climate.

The food of the Aryans as of their kinsmen the Greeks of Hellas consisted mostly of meat (beef, mutton and goat-meat, and pork to some extent, possibly also horse-flesh, though the slaughter of the horse was later confined to a religious ritual of an exceptional type which evidently went back to a hoary antiquity in Aryandom), and barley (as roasted grain or meal or bread) and milk preparations

of various kinds (including butter, ordinary or clarified, curds and some kind of cheese), and honey was a great delicacy with them. They partook freely of, and offered to their Gods as well, a kind of spirituous drink called *soma* (from Indo-Iranian **sauma* whence also Iranian *haoma*) made from some plant which grew in the hills, which was pounded between two stones and mixed with milk. They had also another strong drink made from honey. Barley they knew in their primitive homeland to the south of the Ural mountains, and wheat they would appear to have found in Mesopotamia; and either in Eastern Iran or in India they found the rice, and various kinds of lentils, which quickly became popular with the Aryans in India, more than wheat. The typical Indian food at the present day is rice (or wheaten bread in the Panjab and in the Upper Ganges Valley, or some kind of inferior grain like the millet in the poorer areas) eaten with lentils of various sorts, seasoned with butter or oil and with spices, and with some milk product, if that can be afforded. In the coast lands and in the predominantly Mongoloid eastern tracts, however, the main diet consists of rice and fish. This kind of food, rice and *dāl* or lentils, came to be adopted by the Aryans too; and the old Aryan habit of eating meat regularly and plentifully, which we find discussed in the *Mahābhārata*, gradually became restricted or abandoned, through milk as well as vegetarian food being plentiful in the land and more suited to the warmer climate of India, and through ideas of non-injury to life (*Ahimsā*) which came to dominate the life of the mixed Indian people from after 1000 B.C. In the 4th century B.C., to which date the original redaction of the *Arthashastra* of Kaṭilya can reasonably be taken, *ārya-bhakta* or the food generally eaten by "an Aryan person of the middle class", consisted of a measure of rice, one fourth measure of *sūpa*, i.e. prepared *dāl*, with ghee or oil of one fourth of the quantity of the *sūpa* and salt measuring one-sixteenth of the portion of the *dāl*. For inferior (*avara*) persons, probably *Sūdras* and others, the food was of the same kind. So rice, *dāl* and ghee

or oil formed the basic Indian food in the 4th century B.C. (*Artha-sāstra*, II, xv, 61, 62, 63 : it must however be noted that, as in Asoka's inscriptions, *sūpa* might mean some kind of meat-curry as well). It was so also in the early centuries of the Muslim conquest, when Persian-using Iranian, Turki and Afghan invaders, accustomed to eating wheat bread with mutton at home, observed with wonder that Hindus "ate grain with grain" (*ghulla-rā ba-ghulla mī-khurdand*). The Dutchman F. Pelsaert (early 17th century) also noted that the food of the masses in India was rice and pulses with a lump of butter. Similarly, the basic food of pre-Columbian Mexico—flat cakes (like Indian *chapatis*) made from maize dough, with a kind of beans or lentils (*tortillas* and *frijoles* in Mexican Spanish)—still forms the staple food of the Amerindian and the Mestizo population of the country, bread and meat of course being covetable additions to the diet but never complete substitutes for the native alimentation.

The dress of the Vedic Aryans consisted of garments of wool, linen and skin, with some prominent kind of head-dress for men, and wimples for women, as well as sandals of leather, and the whole body was fully covered. The dress of Persian men and women in Achæmenian sculpture may reasonably be taken to be representative of the old Aryan dress. It is likely that coming as they did from a cold climate, some sewn garments at least were in use among the Aryans : the verbal root *sīṇ* in Aryan indicates a knowledge of sewing. In India, although some very elaborate types of head-dress and ornaments (often made with cowrie shells) for both men and women are noticed in the art of pre-Christian times, the basic dress consisted of two (or three) pieces of unsewn cotton cloth, one being used as the loin-cloth, one as a covering for the upper body and the third as a turban for the head. Women's dress had only two pieces—one for the lower limbs from the waist to the ankle, more or less in the style of the Indonesian *sarong*, and another as a covering for

the upper part, but the breasts were generally left exposed, as in Malabar until recently and in the island of Bali, easternmost outpost of Hindu civilisation. This kind of dress also came to be adopted in Aryan society, only the wimple or veil was retained as a distinctive mark of a married woman among the upper classes of people.

The Vedic Aryan wore a beard and had long hair, and the hair for convenience was made into a knot at the top of the head. This is the old Brāhman way, as we find in the representations of Brāhmans in the most ancient classical art of India, as at Sanchi and Gandhara, and in the pictures of the *rishis* and Brāhmans which we find in the Buddhist and Brahmanical art of Central Asia, China, Japan, Indo-China and Indonesia. The Buddhist and Jaina, indicating a reaction against the Aryanism of the Brāhmans, enjoined complete shaving of the head and face, and this, with the addition of a top-knot, became later on the accepted custom among Brāhman householders also.

The Aryans, as in Vedic literature, lived in houses made wholly of wood, and building timber was quite easily obtainable in North India which was not as yet denuded of its forests. The style of architecture was influenced by that of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Later, stone and brick were substituted for wood. Pre-Aryan Indian architecture was in brick as in the cities of Panjab and Sindh, and the poorer people had frail dwellings of bamboo or wattle smeared with mud and thatched with grass or reeds or palm leaves. All that became the rule in India, with the exception of the cities where wooden architecture, particularly as facings for houses, balconies, etc. continued side by side with brick buildings and stone palaces. Use of stone for building purposes came into India rather late, from the 4th century B.C., and through Persian influence too; and the first stone structures in India imitated in every way the earlier wooden architecture.

The house-hold furniture — pots, cups, receptacles and vessels, spoons and ladles, were at first mainly of wood among the Indian Aryans, as among their kinsmen like the Slavs, the Germans and Greeks of ancient times. Skins were also used for storing food and drink. The pre-Aryan people seem to have preferred earthenware, and for temporary use earthenware became generally adopted in Aryan-speaking Indian society as well. Bronze and copper vessels were known to the Aryans, and these also came to have a greater vogue in India when vessels of enduring character were required. In Vedic sacrifices the old custom of having vessels, cups, goblets, spoons, ladles, etc. of wood, and not of metal or terracotta, was continued as an antique practice and therefore sacrosanct.

Food and drink, dress, houses and furniture — all these of the local pre-Aryan Indian types had to be adopted by the Aryans, after they realised that they were staying in the country, and after miscegenation was well under way.

The Aryan system of computation was a decimal one, and the ten fingers of the two hands formed the basis of this computation. Two other systems were in vogue in pre-Aryan India, among the Austrics, whose highest number of computation was twenty, and among the Dravidians, who counted by eights. The Sino-Tibetans, however, seem to have had the decimal system like the Aryans. The Austric habit of counting by twenties has been preserved by village folk in North India, together with an original Kol word, Bengali *kuḍi*, Hindi *koḍī* "score", as it would appear. Computing by eights and divisibles or multiples of eight (four, sixteen, thirty-two, sixty-four) was adopted by the Aryans also; and as a combination, $10+8=18$ became a favourite number in India.

There are too many big or little matters with regard to social usage and way of living, and personal habits in which it would be found that it is the pre-Aryan manner which has triumphed. But all this might appear to be a

little too speculative. I shall now pass on to certain fundamental things in religious beliefs and practices, and myths and legends where the Aryan-non-Aryan synthesis appears to be quite clear.

Indian tradition has all along admitted two strands in Indian religion, philosophy and ritual — the Vedic, and the non-Vedic traditions — the *Nigama* and the *Āgama*, respectively, to give the Sanskrit names. The non-Vedic *Āgama* tradition is “that which has come down” from the time immemorial : it embodies the special teaching of S’iva imparted to Umā, and the Tantric doctrines and ritual and Yoga ideas and practices come under it. The *Āgama* tradition is *non-Aryan in origin, and it is exceedingly likely that it is very largely Dravidian, although Austric and Sino-Tibetan elements were in course of time engrafted on it.* (Italics ours—Ed.) The *Nigama* tradition is “that which has come inside”, evidently as a later cultural imposition, like the Vedic fire ritual (*homa*), from outside. One would suspect that the names *Āgama* and *Nigama* were first given by a supporter of the *Āgama* or Tantric system who believed in this doctrine to be the one earlier for the people and the country. However, Vedic ritual and Vedic ideas formed the national heritage of the Aryan settlers, particularly the Aryan aristocrats ; and the pre-Vedic, that is the pre-Aryan ritual and ideology were ignored, naturally enough, by the Vedic priests. But among the masses, specially the growing masses of Mestizos, the offspring of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages, the older ideas and ritual can only be expected to persist, openly or surreptitiously, according to the predominance or power of the protagonists of Aryanism or Dravidianism.

To unite the Aryan and non-Aryan into one people, it was necessary that the *Nigama* should be combined with the *Āgama*, that the thirty-three Vedic gods, forces of nature with a slight amount of anthropomorphism or humanisation, should form members of the same Pantheon as the great

non-Aryan divinities of a cosmic significance, who represented the stupendous physical as well as the subtle moral forces operating in the universe, and were at the same time very human in their personified conceptions. These divinities later became S'iva and Umā and Vishṇu and S'rī, among others, in a combined Aryan-non-Aryan Brahmanical *Sudharmā* or "Assembly of the Gods". It was necessary also that the Vedic ritual of the fire sacrifice, the *homa*, was to concede some place at least to the non-Aryan (both Dravidian and Austric) rituals of the flower offering and blood offering.

Homa or the Fire Ritual, and Pūjā or the Flower Ritual, represent two distinct worlds of religious thought or conception. The Flower Ritual of the pūjā is unknown to the Vedic religion: there the ritual is everywhere homa. (Italics ours—Ed.) The idea behind the *homa* is this. The gods are 33 in number. They are in the sky. Agni or Fire is the messenger. The worshipper is not very keenly conscious of any divine *Mana* or Force pervading the Universe: he knows only some individual gods and goddesses who are humanized forms of natural forces, like Fire, Wind, Sun, Dawn, Thunder, Rain, the Sky-Vault, Earth, etc., who are potent in giving or withholding their bounty in the shape of riches (cattle, horses, flocks and harvest in plenty), sons, and victory over enemies. They are approached in a spirit of friendly reliance; his attitude in worship is that of *do, ut des* (*dadāmi, uta dadāsi*), "I give, so that you may give in return." He gives as offerings the food he himself eats—meat and fat of a sheep or goat or cow or horse which he kills, barley bread, milk and butter, and an intoxicant (the *soma*), which he burns in the fire kindled on an altar. The gods feel the savour of the burnt offering, and are pleased, and give in return what is prayed for: the worship is done. The idea is simple and very primitive. It is the old Indo-European ritual of worship. It was the ritual current among the extra-Indian kinsmen of the Indo-Aryans—the Iranians,

the Slavs, the Hellenes, the Italians, the Celts and the Germans. The Germanic word for the Divinity, God (as in English) meant only the libation to be poured into the fire itself personified (Indo-European * *ghutóm* = Sanskrit *huta'm*). Where they got this ritual from is not known. The Sumerians, and following them the Semites, had a similar ritual of burnt offerings, but not the Egyptians, nor again the Aegeans who simply made offerings of food before the images or symbols of the gods, offerings which were placed on raised stands or altars. The Indo-Europeans knew no images or symbols.

The *pūjā* ritual stands on quite a different footing. For the worshipper, the whole universe is filled with a Cosmic Force or Divine Spirit, and the worshipper wants to have a personal communion or touch with it. For this purpose, he is taught that a magic rite calling the Divine Spirit is potent enough to make it (or a portion of it) come and be installed within some symbol prepared to represent it—an image, a pot, a pebble, a tree or a branch of a tree, a picture, a design. Called through this rite, the spirit comes into the symbol, and then it at once becomes a Living Presence for the worshipper endowed with faith; and it is after that treated as an honoured guest, like a king on a visit to a subject of his. Water is poured over the symbol; flowers, leaves and fruit, and grains of rice or other corn as produce of the earth are offered to it; and cooked food, delicacies of all sorts, are placed before it and offered, to become consecrated food with special sanctity. Dress and ornaments and jewellery are used to bedeck the symbol, particularly if it is an image. The divinity present in the symbol is regaled with incense and with music and dance. Lights are waved before it during worship, in token of homage. When the divinity is worshipped under a terrible aspect, animals are sacrificed before it by decapitating (the Vedic or Aryan method of sacrifice was mostly by strangulation), and the blood of the victim is either placed before the image or symbol in a flat cup, or it is smeared over the image. Red

sandal paste and vermillion were sometimes used, and these are doubtless substitutes for the red blood of the victim. Sandal paste as something cooling and fragrant is applied to the image or other symbol. Then, after this ritual, the worshipper is at liberty to come to a personal relationship with his god by prayer and appeal and meditation. The image or symbol may be made, according to the wishes of the worshipper, a permanent or a temporary abode of the divine spirit, so to say. When the latter idea is in view, another magical ritual may be performed, and the spirit releases itself from the symbol, which becomes forthwith a useless material object with no further spiritual or religious potency.

The ideas of *homa* and *pūjā*, as it is apparent, had their birth in different *milieus*. The mixed Hindu people, and the Brahmanical faith of mixed origin, inherited both. The *homa* was exclusively Aryan, to which non-Aryans had no right as it was the special privilege of the Aryan. But everybody was welcome to the *pūjā* ritual. *Homa* was a rite in which ordinarily animal sacrifice was a necessary part: it was known also as *pas'u-karma*. In *pūjā*, flowers are essential: it was, so to say, a *puṣpa-karma*. Now, on this basis, the word *pūjā* of Sanskrit has been explained by Mark Collins as a Dravidian word—*pū* meaning "flower", and the Dravidian root *cey*, *gey* meaning "to do" giving a compound form, in Primitive Dravidian of Vedic times, "*pū-gey*=*puṣpa-karma* "the flower ritual", whence Sanskrit *pūjā*. (Jarl Charpentier suggested another derivation, from a Dravidian root *pusu* or *pucu* "to smear", anointing with sandal-paste or vermillion or blood being according to this view the basic element in the *pūjā* rite.)

In the Mahābhārata itself, there are passages discussing worship with flowers, and the ritual there is supported as something which is beautiful and acceptable to the gods. In the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, Krishna is recommending the value of religious worship in realising God, and various modes of

this worship are accepted there, and in verse 26, Chapter IX, the *pūjā* ritual is specially mentioned as one which is equally acceptable to God with the Brahmanical or Aryan fire ritual, if it is offered in a spirit of sincerity. Here we have a virtual admission of a ritual which is essentially ūn-Vedic and non-Aryan.

The racial intermixture which had set in loosened the foundations of the idea of a *Herrenvolk* — the *Conquistador* spirit — which the Aryans had brought. Men of Aryan origin, pure or mixed, were already questioning the use of the elaborate Vedic sacrifices to the gods: nay, they were even questioning the very existence of the Vedic gods. According to the Puranic tradition, Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, while he was living among the (possibly non-Aryan) cowherd people, refused to give honour to Indra, the Aryan god *par excellence*, and lent his support to a cult of the Govardhana hill which was more in accordance with non-Aryan mentality.

In ancient Greece, the legends of the gods and heroes, which we find in early Greek literature were believed by Sir Arthur Evans and other scholars as being largely of pre-Hellenic Aegean origin. It was even suggested that the Iliad and Odyssey were renderings of a pre-Hellenic Mycenaean epos into the Indo-European Greek language, after it became established in the land of Hellas. This view has been, to some extent at least, vindicated by the finding of a number of small artefacts giving plastic representations on gems of certain legends of ancient Greece,—e.g. that of the Return of Persephone, of Artemis the Huntress, and of Oedipus. A similar thing doubtless also happened in ancient India, as in many other countries. It is exceedingly likely that a great many legends of the Purāṇas, which seem to antedate the middle of the second millennium B.C., when the Aryans are believed to have first come into India, go back really to pre-Aryan antiquity. With the Aryanisation in language of the Dravidian and other peoples of pre-

Aryan India, their legends also were re-told in their new language.

Like S'iva (cf. Old Tamil *Civan'*, later *S'ivan'*, which may be based on a Primitive Dravidian **Kiwa-*) who was identified with the Aryan Rudra and Vishṇu whose attributes mainly came from a Dravidian Sky-god (cf. Tamil *vin* "Sky"), other lesser gods of non-Aryan origin were adopted as a matter of course in the new Pantheon. One such god is Hanumān. As F. E. Pargiter suggested long ago, in 1913, Hanumān was probably a primeval Monkey-god of Dravidians dwelling by forests—the *Male Monkey*, whose Dravidian name (cf. Tamil *aṇ-manti*) was first translated into Vedic as *Vṛṣā-kapi*, and then Sanskritised as *Hanumant-*. From Rigveda X 86 we can see that there was at first opposition from some Aryans (represented by the goddess *Indrāṇī*) to the admission of this "native" god into the Aryan Pantheon, but this opposition was evidently overruled. (Other arguments will be found in my contribution to the "History and Culture of the Indian People : Vol. I, the Vedic Age," edited by R. C. Majumdar and D. Pusalker, London, 1951 : pp. 141-168, Chapter VIII, (*Pre-historic Races and Race-movements.*)

Some of the deepest things in Hindu religious culture, like the practice of Yoga, certainly go back to the pre-Aryan period. (Italics ours—Ed.) The remarkable find of the Mohen-jo-Daro amulet or seal depicting the prototype of *Yogīs'vara*, *Ūrdhva-līṅga* (*Lakules'a*), *Virūpākṣa*, *Pas'upati S'iva*, with all the attributes suggested by the Sanskrit words, and various other symbols and ritualistic poses of later Puranic Hinduism, is exceedingly important for tracing the history of Indian religion, back to pre-Aryan times, in some of its basic elements.

The Vedic as well as extra-Indian Indo-European notions about future life were very vague, and not at all highly philosophical. The Indo-Europeans* believed that after death, a good man, i.e., a proper warrior, joined his ancestors, which was in the nether regions of the world, or

in some special abode of the Gods, where they lived in perpetuity, more or less re-enacting their previous life on earth. In India this Vedic eschatology was sublimated in other ways to a philosophical conception which is based on some of its elements at least on non-Aryan ideas. The belief in the transmigration of souls and in the moral law behind the conception of the *samsāra* originated on the soil of India in the post-Vedic period through a commingling of the deeper notions regarding life and being and the future world which were current among the thinking sections not only of the Aryans but also of the Dravidians and the Austriacs. The ideology behind the Vedic Hymn of Creation (Rigveda, X 129) may be Austric. The extra-ordinary elaboration of the sacrificial ritual in the *Brāhmaṇa* period may also, in certain respects, be a reflex of pre-Aryan conceptions and usage in the matter of religious ceremonial.

All these things can be posed by an objective and a purely anthropological approach to the question of the racial background, cultural origins and social evolution in India. We know that in the history of religious evolution certain ideas come within human experience with the enlargement of man's vision and the unfoldment of his mental and spiritual powers. It was a far cry from primitive faith to the philosophical conceptions of a more enlightened age. A primitive religion which made a mere bargain with the unseen powers would take centuries to evolve ideas of *Jñāna* and *Bhakti*, of *Karma* and *Yoga*, and of the concepts of *Ahimsā* and *Maitrī* and *Karūṇā* in human relations. This development appears to have been rather quick in India, and a finished philosophy seems to have come into being and suffused the entire Indian Synthesis with its spirit during the great days of the period 1200 to 500 B.C., in the later part of the Vedic age and the age of the Upanishads. And this was the period when the Indian Man with the great Synthesis of diverse races and cultures in his being came to be established, as one of the most remarkable phenomena in the evolution of Humanity.

கம்பரும் சமய வளர்ச்சியும்

ஜி. எதிராஜுலு நாயுடு

கவிச் சக்கரவர்த்தி கம்பர் தமிழ்ப் பெருங்காப்பியமான 'இராமாவதாரம்' என்னும் இராமாயணம் இயற்றியதன் குறிக் கோள்களுள் ஒன்று ச்மய வளர்ச்சியாகும். சமயம் என்பது, கடவுளை அடையப் பின்பற்றப்படும் மதம். விஷ்ணுவைக் கடவுளாக வணங்குபவர் வைணவர்; சிவனைக் கடவுளாக வணங்குபவர் சைவர். கம்பர் பிறப்பால் சைவ சமயத்தவரென்றும், இராமபிரானிடமிருந்த அளவற்ற பத்திப் பெருக்கால் வைணவர் என்றும் சொல்லலாம்.

கம்பர் பரம ஞானியார். உண்மையில் அவர் எச்சமயத்தவராயினும், கல்வி அறிவாலும் ஆராய்ச்சி ஞானத்தாலும் ஆழ்ந்த அனுபவத்தாலும், 'கடவுள் எல்லாவற்றையும் கடந்த பரம்பொருள். அப்பரம்பொருளின் ஒவ்வோர் அமிச பூதரே ஒவ்வொரு சமயக் கடவுளும்,' என்னும் கொள்கையை உடையவர். இமயமலையில் தோன்றிக் கடலில் கலக்கும் சரயு நதியின் நீர், பல நிலைகளில், ஆற்றுத் தண்ணீர், குளத்துத் தண்ணீர், ஏரித் தண்ணீர், வாய்க் கால் தண்ணீர் என்று வழங்கப்படுவது போல, ஒரு பரம்பொருள் பற்பல சமயத்தாரால் அவரவர் உகந்த வழிபடு தெய்வமாகப் போற்றப்படுகிறார் என்பது கம்பர் கொள்கை.

‘கல்விடைப் பிறந்து போந்து கடலிடைக் கலந்த நீத்தம்
எல்லையில் மறைக ளாலும் இயம்பரும் பொருள் தென்னத்
தொல்லையில் ஒன்றே யாகித் துறைதொறும் பரந்த சூழ்ச்சிப்
பல்பெருஞ் சமயம் சொல்லும் பொருளும்போற் பரந்த தன்றே’

பரம்பொருளை ஒவ்வொரு வடிவத்தில் கண்டவரே ஒவ்வொரு சமயத்தவர். மிதிலையில் உலா வரும் இராமனைக் காண வந்த மகளிர் அவரவர் கண்களுக்கு முதலில் தென்பட்ட அவயவத்தின் அழகிலே ஒன்றிப்போய், பரம்பொருளை முற்றும் காணாமல் ஒவ்

வோர் அவயவத்தை மாத்திரம் கண்ட சமயத்தவர் போலாயினராம். இதனைக் கம்பர்,

‘வாள் கொண்ட கண்ணூர் யாரே வடிவினை முடியக் கண்டார்?

ஊழ்கொண்ட சமயத்து அன்னான் உருவுகண் டாரை ஒத்தார்.’

என்கிறார். இன்னும் ‘பேரை ஒரு பொருட்கே பல்வகையால் பேர்த்தெண்ணும் தாரை நிலை’யைக் கடவுள் நிலைக்கு ஒப்பிடுகிறார். வானத்திலிருக்கும்போது மேகம்; கீழே விழும்போது மழைத் தாரை; நிலத்தில் விழுந்த பின் தண்ணீர். அதைப்போலப் பரம் பொருளான ஒரே கடவுள் படைத்தல், காத்தல், அழித்தல் என்னும் முத்தொழில்களைச் செய்யும்போது பிரமன், திருமால், சிவன் எனப் பெயர் பெறுகின்றார். எல்லாச் சமயங்களும் முழுமுதற் கடவுளான இறைவரை அடையும் வெவ்வேறு வழிகளே என்பது அவர் சித்தாந்தம்.

சமரச நோக்கு

கம்பர் காலத்தில் சைவ வைணவ சமயப் பூசல்கள் விஞ்சியிருந்தன. அச்சமயச் சண்டையை ஒழிக்க விரும்பினார் கம்பர். ‘சமரச நோக்கில்லாமல், திருமாலே உயர்ந்தவர், சிவபிரானே உயர்ந்தவர் என்று சொல்லுகிறவர்கள் தத்துவ ஞானமில்லாதவர்கள்; அவர்களுக்கு நற்கதி கிடைப்பது அருமை,’ என்கிறார்.

‘அன்அதிகன் உலகளந்த அரிஅதிகன்

என்றுரைக்கும் அறிவி லோர்க்குப்

பரகதிசென் றடைவரிய பரிசு’

என்பது அவர் வாக்கு.

கம்பர் போற்றும் இறைவர்,

‘உலகம் யாவையும் தாண்டி ஆக்கலும்

நிலைபெ றுத்தலும் நீக்கலும் நீங்கலா

அலகிலா வினையாட்டுடை யார்.’

உலகம் யாவற்றையும் படைத்துக் காத்து அழிக்கும் பரம் பொருள்,

‘மேலொரு பொருளு மில்லா மெய்ப்பொருள்;’

‘தோய்ந்தும் பொருளனைத்தும் தோயாது நின்றகடர்;’

‘தொடக்கறுத்தோர் சுற்றம்;’

‘நீந்த வரிய நெடுங்கருணைக் கெல்லாம் நிலையம்.’

எல்லாவற்றினும் உயர்ந்த உண்மைத் தத்துவம்; எல்லாப் பொருள்களிலும் கலந்திருந்தும் அவற்றின் குணங்களில் சம்பந்தப்படாத சோதி; பற்றுக்களைத் துறந்தவரின் உறவு; அருள் எல்லாம் சுரக்கும் இருப்பிடம்;

‘..... தொல்வினை தன்னை நீக்கித்

தென்புலத் தன்றி மீளா நெறியுக்கும் தேவர்;’

கருமத்தையும் அதனால் ஏற்படும் பிறவித் துன்பங்களையும் ஒழித்து மோட்சம் அளிப்பவர்; இத்தகைய இறைவரே கம்பராமாயணத்தில்,

‘அறம்தலை நிறுத்தி வேதம் அருள்சுரந்து அறைந்த நீதித்

திறம்தெரிந்து உலகம் பூணச் செந்நெறி செலுத்தித் தீயோர்

இறந்துக நூறித் தக்கோர் இடர் துடைத்து ஏக ஈண்டுப் பிறந்த’

இராமன், ஆதி காவியத்தில் அறம் காத்த உத்தம வீரன், இங்குத் தனிப் பரம்பொருளாகப் போற்றப்படுகிறான். திரிமூர்த்திகளும் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து அயோத்தியில் இராமனாய் அவதாரம் செய்தார்கள் என்பது சுந்தர காண்டத்தில் கம்பர் கூறும் இராமாவதாரத் தத்துவம் :

‘மூலமும் நடுவும் ஈறும் இல்லதோர் மும்மைத் தாய

காலமும் கணக்கும் நீத்த காரணன் கைவில் ஏந்திச்

குலமும் திகிரி சங்கும் கரகமும் துறந்து தொல்லை

ஆலமும் மலரும் வெள்ளிப் பொருப்பும்விட்டு அயோத்தி வந்தான்’

பத்தி உணர்ச்சி

கம்பர் காவியம் முழுவதிலும் பத்தி உணர்ச்சி ஊறியிருக்கிறது. ஆற்றின் சிறப்பைக் கூறும் முதற்படலத்திலேயே வெண்ணிற மேகம் கடலிற்படிந்து நீரை முகந்து கருநிறத்துடன் திரும்பியது என்று சொல்ல வந்த கம்பர், வெண்மேகம் சிவபெருமான் நிறத்தையும் கருமேகம் திருமால் நிறத்தையும் ஒத்திருந்தன என்கிறார் :

‘நீறு அணிந்த கடவுள் நிறத்தவான்
ஆறு அணிந்துசென்று ஆர்கவி மேய்ந்து அகிற்
சேறு அணிந்த முலைத்திரு மங்கைதன்
வீறு அணிந்தவன் மேனியின் மீண்டதே.’

மிதிலைக் காட்சிப் படலத்தில், சூரியோதயத்தின் அழகை வருணிக்கும் கம்பர், ‘அந்தணர் வேதம் முழங்கவும், கின்னரர்கள் இசை பாடவும், தேவர் கைகூப்பி வணங்கவும், கடலோசை மத்தளம் போல ஒலிக்கவும், பளபளக்கும் கிரணங்களைப் பரப்பிக் கொண்டு சூரியன் உதயமாகும் காட்சி சிவபெருமான் செஞ்சடை விரித்து நடனமாடுவது போன்றிருந்தது,’ என்கிறார்:

‘எண்அரிய மறையினொடு கின்னரர்கள் இசைபாட உலக மேத்த
விண்ணவரும் முனிவர்களும் வேதியரும் கரம்குவிப்ப வேலை
[யென்னும்
மண்ணுமணி முழுவதிர வானரங்கி னடம்புரிவாள் இரவி யான
கண்ணுதல்வா னவன்கனகச் சடைவிரிந்தா லெனவிரிந்த கதிர்க்
[ளெல்லாம்.]’

பூக்கொய் படலத்தில், சூரியோதய வருணனை செய்யும் கம்பர், ‘இருளை அகற்றச் சூரியன் தன் ஆயிரம் கிரணங்களைப் பரப்பிக்கொண்டு உதயகிரியினின்று புறப்பட்டது, இரணியனைக் கொல்ல நரசிங்கமூர்த்தி பல கைகளை நீட்டிக்கொண்டு பொற்றாணிணின்று தோன்றியதுபோன்றிருந்தது,’ என்கிறார் :

‘மீன்உடை எயிற்றுக் கங்குல் கனகனை வெகுண்டு வெய்ய
கான்உடைக் கதிர்கள் என்னும் ஆயிரம் கரங்கள் ஒச்சித்
தான்உடை உதய மென்னும் தமனியத் தறியி னின்று
மானுட மடங்கல் என்னத் தோன்றினன் வயங்கு வெய்யோன்.’

இவ்வாறு காவியப் போக்கில் அங்கங்கே கடவுட்சிந்தனையையும் பத்தி உணர்ச்சியையும் ஊட்டிக்கொண்டே போகிறார். பத்தர்கள் பரவசத்துடன் படிக்கும் விராதன் தோத்திரமும் கவந்தன் தோத்திரமும் கம்ப ராமாயணத்தில் தத்துவ ஞானப் பெருநிதியெனப் போற்றப்பட்டு வருகின்றன.

கம்பர் சித்தாந்தம்

சமயகோடிகள் எல்லாம் தம்தம் இஷ்ட தெய்வமென்று செய்யும் வழிபாடுகளை யெல்லாம் பரம்பொருள் ஒருவரே அவரவர் வழிபடு தெய்வமாய் இருந்து ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளுகிறார் என்பது கம்பர் சித்தாந்தம்.

‘நனிநின்ற சமயத்தோர் எல்லோரும் நன்றென்னத்
தனிநின்ற தத்துவத்தின் தகைமூர்த்தி’

என்றும்,

‘ஆயாத சமயமும்நின் அடியவே; அயலில்லை.’

என்றும் பாடுகிறார்.

கடவுளை அடையப் பின்பற்ற வேண்டிய சாதனங்கள் எல்லா மதங்களுக்கும் பொதுவானவை. செய்யும் சடங்குகளிலும் உச்சரிக்கும் நாமங்களிலுமே வேற்றுமையுண்டு. இவ்வடிப்படைத் தத்துவங்களைக் கம்பர் காவியப் பாத்திரங்கள் மூலமாக விளக்கிக் காண்பிப்பதில் சமய வளர்ச்சியை—பத்தி மதத்தை—பரவச் செய்வதைத் தம் நூலின் முக்கிய இலட்சியமாகக் கொண்டார் என்பது இதனால் புலனாகும். பத்தி வளர்ச்சிக்குரிய முக்கியத் தத்துவங்களை ஆராய்வோம் :

இராமபிரானிடமும் சீதாபிராட்டியிடமும் தெய்விகக் காதல் கொண்டவரே உய்ந்தார்; மேனி அழகில் காமவசப் பட்டவர், வீரனது சுடுசுரத்தாலும் பிராட்டியின் கற்புத்தீயாலும் அழிந்தார். இதற்குச் சான்று குர்ப்பணகையும் இராவணனும்,

பரதன்

மெய்யன்பர்களிடம் மாசற்ற பத்திக் காதல் மிவிரும். இராமன் காடேகியதால் அரியணைக்கு அருகான பரதன் அரசேற்க மறுத்து,

‘மூன்றுல கினுக்குஒரு முதல்வ னாய்முதல்
தோன்றினன் இருக்கயான் மகுடம் குடுதல்
சான்றவர் உரைசெயத் தரும மாயதே!’

என்று சொல்லிச் சித்திரகூடம் சென்று இராமனிடமிருந்து பாதுகை பெற்று, அயோத்தி புகாமல், இராமன் அனுபவியாத இன்பங்களை நுகராமல், அண்ணலைப் போலத் தவவேடம் தாங்கி, நந்தியம்பதியில், துவண்ட மேனியனாய், அமுத கண்ணனாய், இராமன் சிந்தனையில் பாதுகையைப் பூசை செய்து வந்தான். பத்தனது குறிக்கோள் பகவானுடன் ஐக்கியமாக முயலுவதே என்பதைக் கம்பர் பரதன் மூலம் காட்டுகிறார்.

இலக்குமணன்

பத்தன் ஆண்டவனுக்கு அடிமை என்னும் கொள்கையைக் கம்பர் இலக்குமணன் மூலம் போதிக்கிறார். இலக்குமணன் இராமனுடன் வனம் சென்றதும், 'துயிலெனும் அணங்கு வந்து தோன்றலும் அவனை நாமே எயிலுடை அயோத்தி மூதார் எய்துநாள் எய்து,' என்று சொல்லித் தூக்கத்தை அறவே நீத்து, 'பச்சிலை கிழங்கு காய் பரமன் நுங்கிய மிச்சிலே நுகர்ந்து', 'இந் நெடுஞ்சிலை வலானுக்கு ஏவல் செய் அடியன் யானே' என்று தன்னை அறிமுகப்படுத்திக்கொண்டு, அல்லும் பகலும் இணை பிரியாது பெருமானுக்கும் பிராட்டிக்கும் தொண்டாற்றுவதே கருமமாயிருந்தனன். பத்தன் பகவானுக்கு அடிமைத் தொழில் செய்வதில் இமைப்பொழுதும் அயரான். ஆண்டான் அடிமை இலட்சணம் இலக்குமணன்பால் புலனாகிறது.

குகன்

இறைவனுக்கு எக்காலமும் திரிகரணங்களாலும் சேவை செய்வது பத்தி மதத்தின் மற்றொரு குறிக்கோள். இதற்குச் சான்று வேடர் குலத்துதித்த குகன். இவன், 'அற்றம் நீத்த மனத்தினன், அன்பினன்' "தேவா, நின்கழல் சேவிக்க வந்தனன், நாவாய் வேட்டுவன், நாய் அடியேன்," என்று தன்னைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறான்; அருத்தியின் மீனும் தேனும் அமுதினுக் கமைவதாகத் திருத்திக் கொணர்ந்தான்.

"அரியதாம் உவப்ப உள்ளத்து அன்பினால் அமைந்த காதல் தெரிதரக் கொணர்ந்த வென்றால் அமிழ்தினும் சீர்த்த அன்றே? பரிவினில் தழீஇய என்னில் பவித்திரம்"

'அன்பினாலும் இரக்கத்தாலும் கொடுக்கப்பட்ட பொருள் எதுவா னாலும் பரிசுத்தமானது,' என்று இராமன் குகனது அன்புக் காணிக்கையை அங்கீகாரம் செய்கிறான். தன் இருப்பிடம் போகக் குகனுக்கு விடை கொடுக்கப்பட்டும்,

"தீர்கிலேன் ஆனது ஐய செய்குவேன் அடிமை யென்றான்"

".....தீராக்

காதலனாகு மென்று கருணையின் மலர்ந்த கண்ணன்,

'யாதினு மினிய நண்ப! இருத்திசண்டு எம்மோ டென்றான்.'

சக்கரவர்த்தி திருமகனும் ஜனககுல சுந்தரியான சீதையும் வெறுந்தரையில் படுத்துறங்குவதையும் இலக்குமணன் வில் ஏற்

திக் காவல் செய்வதையும் பார்த்த குகன், தானும் தொடுத்த வில்லனாய், 'வெம்பி வெந்து அழியாநின்ற நெஞ்சினனாய், விழித்த கண்ணனாய்க் கண்ணீர் அருவிசோர் குன்றில் நின்றான்.' மறுநாள் இராமன் சித்திரசூடம் போகப் புறப்பட்டதும் குகன் பிரிகிலன்; உடன் வந்து உதவி புரிய நியமனம் கோருகிறான்.

“மருவலர் எனின்முன்னே மாய்குவென் வசையில்வேன் ;
பொருவரு மணிமார்பா ! போதுவெ ஹுடனென்றான்.”

உடன் பிறந்த தம்பி, 'முன்னம்மடி' என்று தன் தாய் சுமித்திரையால் ஏவப்பட்டான். இவ்வுடன் பிறவா வேடனும் எதிரிகள் நேர்படில் உயிர்த் தியாகம் செய்ய முன் வருகின்றான். என்னே, இவன் பத்தியின் ஆழம் ! இறைவனைப் பிரிவாற்றாமையும் இறைவனிடம் தன்னை ஒழித்தலுமாகிய முக்கிய இலட்சணங்களைக் குகனிடம் காண்கிறோம்.

வீடணன்

இறைவனைச் சேர் ஆசைப்படும் தொண்டனுக்குப் 'பற்று விடல்' அவசியம்; உறுதி மனப்பான்மையும் இன்றியமையாதது. இவ்வரிய பண்புகள் வீடணனிடம் காணப்படுகின்றன. அவன் அறம் தலை நின்றவர்க்கு அன்பு பூண்டவன்; மறந்தும் தன் புகழால் வாழ்வு வேண்டாதவன். 'சீதையை அபகரித்தது அடாத செயல்; அவளை விட்டுவிடுவதே தகுதி,' என்று எவ்வளவோ அறவுரைகளை வீடணன் இராவணனுக்கு உரைத்தும் பயனில்லை. அதனால், அவனைத் துறப்பதே கருமம் என்று கண்டனன் வீடணன்.

“உடலிடைத் தோன்றிற்று ஒன்றை அறுத்துஅதன் உதிரம் ஊற்றிச்
சுடலுறச் சுட்டு வேறோர் மருந்தினால் துயரம் தீர்வர்.”

'உடம்பில் தோன்றிய கட்டியை அறுத்துத் துர்நீரைப் போக்கி மருந்திட்டு ஆற்றுவார். அது போல, தீச்செயல் இராவணனை வேறுபடுத்தி அறவே ஒழித்தல் தக்கது!' என்று உறுதி கொண்டான்.

“மக்களைக் குரவர் தம்மை மாதரை மற்று ளோரை
ஒக்கும்இன் உயிர்அன் னாரை உதவிசெய் தாரோடு ஒன்றத்
துக்கம்இத் தொடர்ச்சி என்று துறப்பரால் துணிவு பூண்டோர்;
மிக்கது நலனே யாக விடுபே றளிக்கும் அன்றே?”

'உலகப் பற்றினால் பெறுவது துன்பமே. உதவி செய்தவருட்படச் சுற்றம் யாவற்றினுடைய பற்றையும் விடல் வேண்டும். எஞ்சுவது.

தருமமே. அது மோட்சம் தரும்' என்று உணர்ந்து பற்றெல்லாவற்றையும் விட்டவன் வீடணன்.

“துறந்திலேன் மெய்ம்மை எய்தும் பொய்ம்மையே துறப்ப தல்லால்
பிறந்திலேன் இலங்கை வேந்தன் பின்அவன் பிழைத்த போதே”

என்ற மன நிலையில்,

“எல்லையில் பெருங்குணத்து இராமன் தாளினை
புல்லுதும்; புல்லிஇப் பிறவி போக்குவோம்!”

என்று இராமனைச் சரண் அடைகிறான். சரணடைந்தோரைக் காப்பவனான இராமனும், அவன் அரக்கர் கோன் தம்பி என்று பாராமல், அபயமளிக்கிறான். திருவடிச் செல்வம் கோரி வந்த வீடணனுக்கு இராமன் தானே கொடுக்கிறான் இலங்கைச் செல்வத் தையும்.

“ஆழியான் அவனை நோக்கி அருள்சுரந்து உவகை தூண்ட
ஏழிளே டேழாய் நின்ற வுலகும்என் பெயரும் எந்நாள்
வாழுநாள் அன்று காரும் வாளெயிற்று அரக்கர் வைகும்
தாழ்கடல் இலங்கைச் செல்வம் நின்னதே; தந்தேன் என்றான்.”

இராமன் அருளைப் பெற்ற மனமகிழ்ச்சியில் வீடணன், தான் இராவணன் தம்பி என்ற தொடர்பு நீங்கப் பரதனுக்குச் சூட்டிய கிரீடத்தை—பாதுகையை—தனக்குச் சூட்ட வேண்டுமென்று பிரார்த்திக்கிறான். அப்போது அவன் பொன்னான இதயத்தைக் கண்டு இராமன் அவனைக் கடைசித் தம்பியாகச் சேர்த்துக்கொள்கிறான்;

“குகனோடும் ஐவரானேம் முன்பு;பின் குன்று சூழ்வான்
மகனோடும் அறுவ ரானேம்; எம்முழை அன்பின் வந்த
அகனமர் காதல் ஐய! நின்னோடும் எழுவ ரானேம்.”

என்று சொல்லி அவனுக்கு அருள் செய்கிறான்.

‘பற்றுஅவா வேரொடும் பசையறப் பிறவிபோய்’

என்பதற்கேற்ப உலகப் பற்றை விட்டுப் பகவானைப் பற்றிவிட்டால் அவன் பேரருள் சித்திக்கும் என்பதற்கு வீடணன் தக்க சான்று.

கும்பகர்ணன்

தீச்செயல் அரக்கர் உட்பட எல்லாச் சீவர்கள் மாட்டும் இறைவனுக்கிருக்கும் கருணையையும், அவர்கள் உய்யத் தருணம்

வாய்த்த போது அவன் பரிவு காட்டுவதையும் கும்பகருணன் பால் கம்பர் எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறார்.

யுத்தகளத்தில் எதிர்த்து நின்ற கும்பகருணனை அறநெறிக்கு அழைக்குமாறு வீடணன் இராமபிரானால் ஏவப்பட்டு,

“வேதநா யகனே உன்னைக் கருணையால் வேண்டி விட்டான்
காதலால் என்மேல் வைத்த கருணையால்; கரும மீதே;
ஆதலால் அவனைக் காண அறத்தொடும் திறம்பா தைய !
போதுவாய் நீயே’ என்னப் பொன்னடி இரண்டும் பூண்டான்.”

கும்பகர்ணனும் ‘நீர்க்கோல வாழ்வை’யும், ‘வஞ்சமும் பாவமும் பொய்யும் வல்ல நாம் உயஞ்சுமோ!’ என்பதையும் உணர்ந்தவன்; ‘தையலை விட்டு அவன் சரணம் தாழ்வது உய்திறம்,’ என்று இராவணனுக்குப் புத்தி சொன்னவன் ; ஆயினும்,

“... நெடிதுநாள் வளர்த்துப் பின்னைப்
போர்க்கோலம் செய்து விட்டாற் குயிர்கொடாது
அங்குப் போகேன்.”

“புலையுறு மரணம் எய்தல் எனக்குஇது புகழ் தேயால்.”

என்று இராமனுடன் சேர மறுத்துவிடுகின்றான். வீடணன் இராமனிடம் போய்,

“உய்திறம் உடையார்க்கு அன்றோ அறன்வழி ஒழுகும் உள்ளம்?
பெய்திற னெல்லாம் பெய்து பேசினன்; பெயரும் தன்மை
செய்திலன்; குலத்து மானம் தீர்ந்திலன் சிறிதும் என்றான்.”

இதனால் பற்று விட முடியாத கும்பகர்ணன், தத்துவ ஞானியான வீடணனைப்போல, இறைவன் அருளுக்குப் பாத்திரமாகாமல் போர்க் களத்தில் மடிந்து போகின்றான்.

சுக்கிரீவன்

பத்தன் இறைவனை நண்பனைப்போல நேசித்து ஒழுக வேண்டுமென்பதற்குச் சுக்கிரீவன் ஓர் உதாரணம். இவன் இராமனது ‘காமர்க் குண்டலம் துறந்த கோல வதனத்’தையும் ‘குளிர்க்கும் கண்களையும்’ காண்கிறான். கண்டதும் காதல் போல இராம சுக்கிரீவர் நட்பு ஏற்படுகிறது.

“.....இவர்கின்ற காதல் ஒதக்
கனைகடற் கரைநின் றேறுக் கண்ணினை களிப்ப! நோக்கி
அனகனைக் குறுகி ”

“சரணுனைப் புருந்தேன். என்னைத் தாங்குதல் தருமம் என்றான்.”

பரிதாப நிலையிலுள்ள சுக்கிரீவன் அன்புக்குரியவன்,
நட்புக்கேற்றவன் என்று கருதி, இராமன், அவனை

‘நீ என் இன்டயிர்த் துணைவன்’

என்கிறான். சுக்கிரீவனும் இராமனுக்கு ஆவன செய்து,

‘நெய்த்தலைப் பால் அணைய நேயத்தான்’

ஆகிறான்.

“ அண்ணலை அடிதொழ அணையும் அன்பினால்
நண்ணிய கவிக்குலத் தரசன் நாடொறும்
புண்ணியன் தொழுகழல் பரதன் போன்றனன்.”

இராமனது கஷ்டத்திலும் துக்கத்திலும் பங்குகொண்டு, தேறுதல் சொல்லி, அவனுடன் இணைபிரியா நண்பனும் இலங்கை சென்று, இராவணனை முடிக்க உதவி புரிந்து, அயோத்தி வந்து அண்ணலுக்குப் பட்டாபிஷேகம் செய்து வைத்து, அவன் அன்புக்கும் அருளுக்கும் தன்னைப் பாத்திரமாக்கிக்கொண்டான்.

அனுமன்

புலனடக்கம், பகவத்தியானம், திருவடி பற்றல் இவை யெல்லாம் பத்தனுக்குரிய முக்கிய இலட்சணங்கள். இத்தகைய பத்தனுக்குச் சிறந்த எடுத்துக்காட்டு, ‘செவிக்குத் தேன் என இராகவன் புகழினைத் திருத்தும் கவிக்கு நாயகன்’ அனுமன். இவனது அன்புக் காதல் எல்லை கடந்தது. இந்தப்பத்தியே வலிய சத்துருக்களான இந்திரியங்களை வெல்லுவதற்கு இன்றியமையாத ஆக்கம்.

“ வன்ப கைப்புலன் மாசற மாய்ப்பது என்
அன்பின் அல்லது ஓர் ஆக்கம்உண் டாகுமோ?”

அனுமன் ‘நெறி நின்று பொறிகள் ஐந்தும் வென்றவன்’; பஞ்ச சேனாபதிகளை வதைத்தவன்.

“ வஞ்சமும் களவும் வெஃகி வழியலா வழிமேல் ஓடி
நஞ்சினும் கொடிய ராகி நவைசெயற் குரிய நீரார்
வெஞ்சின அரக்கர் ஐவர் ஒருவனே வெல்லப் பட்டார்
அஞ்செனும் புலன்க ளொத்தார்; அவனும்நல் அறிவை
ஒத்தான்.”

கொடிய ஐய்புலன்களை அறிவைக்கொண்டு வெல்லுதல் முடியும் என்பதைக் கம்பர் இங்கு எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறார்.

அனுமன் கடலைக் கடக்கும்போது மைநாகபர்வதம், சுரசை, சிம்மிகை இவர்களால் இடையூறுகள் ஒன்றன் பின் ஒன்றாய்க் குறுக்கிட, அவை அரக்கரால் ஏற்பட்டவை எனக் கருதிய அனுமன், இடையூறுகளைத் தவிர்க்கும் வழி இராமநாம தியானமே என்பதை அறிகிறான்.

“ஊறுகடி தூறுவன ஹ்ரிஹ முன்னாத்
தேறலில ரக்கர்புரி தீமையவை தீர
ஏறுவகை யாண்டைய? இராமன்என எல்லாம்
மாரும்;அதில் மாறுபிறிது இல்’என வலித்தான்.”

உடனே,

“மும்மைசால் உலகுக் கெல்லாம் மூலமந் திரத்தை முற்றும்
தம்மையே தமர்க்கு நல்கும் தனிப்பெரும் பதத்தைத் தானே
இம்மையே எழுமை நோய்க்கும் மருந்தினை இராம வென்னும்
செம்மைசேர் நாமம் தன்னை”

சொன்னதும் இலங்கை தென்பட்டது என்பது கம்பர் காவியம்.

சம்பாதி

சம்பாதி என்னும் கமுகரசனுக்கும் பகவந்நாம உச்சாரணத்தால் சிறகுகள் தழைத்து வளர்ந்தன. பகவத் தியானம் இடர்களைப் போக்கி, வேண்டும் நன்மை பயக்கும் என்பதைக் கம்பர் எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறார்.

“நன்மையும் செல்வமும் நானும் நல்குமே
தின்மையும் பாவமும் சிதைந்து தேயுமே
சென்மமும் மரணமும் இன்றித் தீருமே
இம்மையே ‘ராம’ என்ற இரண்டே முத்தினால்.”

திருவடி பற்றல்

அனுமன் அசோக வனத்தில் சீதா தேவியைக் கண்டு அவளது சேவடி பணிகிறான்; ‘செங்கமலத் திருத்தாயே தேவர் உய்யச் சீதை என இங்கமல உருவமாகி’ இனிதெழுந்தாள். ‘அரவின் நீங்கிய தேவனே அவன் (இராமன்); இவள் கமலச் செல்வியே’ என்று அவளைக் காணத் தன் கண் செய்த பாக்கியத்தைக் கொண்டாடுகிறான். ‘இராமனது கணையாழியை அனுமனிடமிருந்து பெற்ற பிராட்டி, ‘துறந்த உயிர் வந்து’ இடை

தொடர்ந்தது' என மகிழ்ந்து, அவனை என்றும் அன்றுபோலச் சிரஞ்சீவியாக இருக்க வாழ்த்துகிறாள்.

“பாழிய பணைத்தோள் வீர! துணையிலேன் பரிவு தீர்த்த
வாழிய வள்ள லே!யான் மறுவிலா மனத்தே னென்னில்
ஊழியோர் பகலாய் ஒதும் ஆண்டெலாம் உலகம் ஏழும்
ஏழும்வீ வுற்ற ஞான்றும் இன்றென இருத்தி!”

என்றாள். ஐம்புலனடக்கிப் பிராட்டியின்பாலும் பெருமான் திருவடிக்கும் தீரா அன்பு பூண்டொழுகுபவர் பிறவிப் பெருங்கடல் நீந்தி என்றும் அழியாப் பெருவாழ்வு அருளப் பெறுவார் என்பது இதன் உட்பொருள்.

அன்பு

உலகில் சர்திகுல வித்தியாசமின்றிப் பல் உயிர்களையும் இணைக்கும் சத்தி அன்பு ஒன்றே. ‘அன்பகத்தில்லா வாழ்வு’ பசையற்ற வாழ்வு. ‘அன்பின் வழியது உயிர்நிலை,’ என்ற திருவள்ளுவப் பெருந்தகையின் கொள்கையைப் பின்பற்றும் கம்பர், அன்பின் அடிப்படையில் தமது தனிப்பெரும்பத்திக் காவி யத்தைச் சகோதர தர்ம சாஸ்திரமாகவும், சரணாகதி நூலாகவும் செய்து சமய வளர்ச்சியில் ஈடுபடுகிறார்.

தருமம் - அதருமம்

‘காதலித்த உருவாகி அறம் வளர்க்கும் கண்ணாளனான’ இராமனுக்கும், காம வடிவாகி மறம் வளர்க்கும் வல்லாளனான இராவணனுக்கும் நடந்த யுத்தம் தருமத்திற்கும் அதர்மத்திற்கும் நடந்த சண்டையே. ‘அறம் வெல்லும்; பாவம் தோற்கும்’ என்ற பெருநீதியை உலகிற்கு அறிவுறுத்தி, மக்கள் நன்னெறியைக் கடைப்பிடித்து இறைவன்பால் பத்தி செலுத்தி நற்கதியடைய வேண்டுமென்பது கம்பர் இலட்சியம். சமய வளர்ச்சிக்கு— பத்தி மதம் பரவுவதற்கு— பாடு பட்டுப் பாக்கள் பல்லாயிரம் பாடிய பத்தரைத் தெய்வப் புலமைக் கம்ப நாட்டாழ்வார் எனச் சிறப்பித்துக் கூறுவது பொருத்தமேயன்றோ?

Earliest Jain and Buddhist Teaching in the Tamil Country

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

While the *Tirukkural* maintains, to a large extent, the poetic tradition of education and its development along humanistic lines, the *Silappatikāram* and the *Manimēkalai* represent the religious education of the philosophic stage of development. But even in these two books there are indications that there were poets and other scholars who were not monks. The *Manimēkalai* speaks of "teachers of philosophy, politics, logic and religion", of "knowers of tradition", of "those learned in hoary sciences".¹ The word "pulavar", which once meant mostly a poet, now undergoes a semantic expansion to include a philosopher, and the Buddha is apostrophised as the "Great Pulavar" meaning the Great Philosopher, in the same manner Mahāvīra is termed the Great Knower.²

During this period represented by the epics, the education of the ideal man envisaged in the *Tirukkural*, and the education of the men of affairs, ministers, councillors, army chiefs, tax-gatherers, customs' officials, who had to be trained for the Tamil State, was probably undertaken in a secular system of education. Unfortunately our sources for this period are mainly religious, and even the *Tirukkural*, which takes for granted secular education, gives hardly any indication of the methods and the content of the then prevailing system of secular education.

Of the religions which existed in the Tamil country, the religions of North Indian origin were "founded" and

¹ *Mant.*, I, 10-14, 42, 59-60; XXVI, 74-75.

² *Mant.*, V, 68; XXV, 45; *Silap.*, X, 57; XI, 4.

organised religions.³ Even Vedic Brāhminism, though not a founded religion, was an organised and institutionalised one. The traditional Tamil religions like Saivism and Vaishnavism and the cults of Murugan, of Kālī and the numerous other cults were "natural" religions; nor were they organised during this period.⁴ Hence of their systems of religious education, we know only that through worship and through their priests and ascetics they transmitted religious knowledge.⁵ Of Saivism and Vaishnavism the *Silappatikāram* and the *Manimēkalai* do not furnish much data. Both these classics show that a great measure of friendliness existed between the votaries of the Tamil religions and cults and the adherents of Vedism, Jainism, Buddhism and Ājīvikism; that the same family might include adherents of different religions, and that ordinary people often worshipped or paid homage at the numerous shrines of different religions. The encouragement given to religious discussion in public, in the market place and on the occasion of festivals, and the opportunities afforded for learning about other faiths, were many. However, a polemical rancour was beginning to develop among the teachers of the religions of North Indian origin since they were extraneous faiths contending among themselves to win adherents in the Tamil kingdoms. The earliest religious polemics in the Tamil country occur among the Vedic Brāhmins, the Jains, the Buddhists and the Ājīvikas.⁶

VEDIC EDUCATION

Vedic education in the Tamil country followed minutely the pattern which had been evolved in Northern India. It was uncompromising in its caste restrictions and admitted only Brāhmin boys to its teaching. The centre

³ On the distinction between "founded" and "natural" religions see JOACHIM WACH, *Sociology of Religion*.

⁴ See V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, *The Silappatikāram*, op. cit., p. 47 ff.

⁵ See M. RAJAMANIKKAM, *Saivism in the Pre-Pallava Period*, TC, Vol. V (1956) p. 328 ff.

⁶ See *Puram*, 161 and its commentary.

of its development was the sacrifice, the ritual and the recitation of the Vedic texts. Boys were taught the Vedas from their young years, and there is an episode in the *Silappatikāram* which mentions that of a group of boys in a Brāhmin village the one who was best in reciting them faultlessly was given gifts of gold by a Brāhmin who had himself obtained the gifts from a Tamil king as a reward for his dialectical skill. Those who were most learned in the Vedas and had been taught by teachers of repute were those preferred for the performance of sacrifice.⁷

Many of the Brāhmins were distinguished at Tamil courts of this period as officiating priests. Some of them so identified themselves with the culture of the country as to become distinguished poets. The descriptive terms used about the Vedic Brāhmins show that they were held in respect in the Tamil country and that they were distinguished by their sacred thread, by the Sanskrit language which they used, by their recitation of the Vedas, by the sacrifices which they offered, and the exclusive quarters of villages and towns in which they lived.

Asceticism too developed under Vedic sponsorship. It might have been an ascetic movement which first inaugurated the migration of Vedic Brāhmins into the south of India, and the legend of Agastya, shorn of his literary and grammatical parentage of Tamil, may probably be due to some such migration. In a poem on Murugan, the god of the hills, which was composed later than 300 A.D., but is included among the Ten Idylls (*Pattupāttu*), the type of the ascetic as a *type of intellectual and moral ideal* is described thus :

*"They are clad in barks of trees. Their bright,
white locks
Are knotted in the shape of right-whorled shells.
Their figures are radiant with purity.*

⁷ *Silap.*, XXIII, 61 ff; XXVIII, 187 ff. See also *Mani.*, XIII, 23-26; XXVII, 100 ff.

*Many are the days they have known no food.
 Their minds are free from hatred and revenge.
 They know truths unknown to the learned
 And of learning they are themselves the limit.
 They have conquered Passion and Anger".⁸*

As a system striving after human perfection and final deliverance, Vedic education, like the Saivite and Vaishnavite religions and other theistic and animistic cults prevalent in the Tamil country and in Northern India, postulated the dependence of man on preternatural and supernatural beings to attain his perfection and to alter the conditions of his existence and of his moral and spiritual life. This disposition in theistic religions was in sharp opposition to the educational possibilities envisaged by the non-theistic schools of thought, by Jainism, Buddhism, by Ājīvikism and by the materialistic and hedonistic schools. The Jain and Buddhist Tamil classics constantly reiterate that it is not the gods, that it is not sacrifice or recitation of the Vedas which obtain deliverance, but one's own conquest over passion and desire achieved by mortification and ethical conduct. "No one can escape the inexorable result of deeds" is the chief burden of the Jain and Buddhist didactic literature in Tamil.⁹

JAIN TEACHINGS

The Jains during this period had their monasteries (paḷḷi) established in Puhār, Uraiyūr and Maturai. There was one or more Jain nunneries as well in Puhār, and frequent instruction of the laity in doctrine was part of their evangelical work. When we are told of the *Cāranas*, who

⁸ See also *Puram*, 192, 193, 251, 252, 363 on ascetics.

⁹ See VEN. PANDIT DEHIGASPE PANNASARA, *Contribution of Buddhism to Philosophy*, in *Vesak Sirisara*, Panadura (Ceylon), 1957, p. 9: "A Buddhist has to seek his own salvation — 'Attadipa Bhikkhame Viharatha' and 'live like a light unto yourself'. He has no saviour, gifted with miraculous powers of rescuing him from misery and elevating him to a state of bliss. Buddhism has no secret doctrines; rather it sets forth a way of living which leads to happiness in this life and to individual perfection in this world itself, its keynote being that a man can gain individual freedom by his own efforts as exemplified by the Buddha himself".

course through the heavens and who descending to earth at will, instruct human beings, we are probably to understand that there were numerous peripatetic instructors of doctrine who criss-crossed the country with no other purpose than to teach the doctrine as revealed in the life of Mahāvīra and in the Jain sacred books. A public preaching Jain rostrum, probably set up by Jain merchants, was a prominent monument in Puhār.¹⁰

The mode of life of Kavunti, the Jain nun, in the *Silap-patikāram*, illustrates to some extent the exercise of a nun's incidental teaching functions within the Jain Church in the Tamil country. She lives in a nunnery amidst a grove, and accompanies Kōvalan and Kannagi on their journey from Puhār in order to listen to great Jain preachers in Maturai. At Srirangam, she listens with pious awe to the words of the Cāranar and repeats them to the Jain ascetics in Uraiyūr. She worships at the shrine of Mahāvīra whose figure is placed under a triple umbrella of sovereignty. When a Brāhmin on the way expounds Vedic beliefs to her and to her two companions she demonstrates to him and to her companions, how, in her estimation, the Jain doctrines, as contained in the Jain sacred books, are superior to the Vedic beliefs. On the way to Maturai she inculcates the Jain doctrine of *ahimsa* to her lay companions, avoids travel by darkness lest any living being should be hurt and loses no opportunity to instruct her companions in Jain doctrine.¹¹ At an opportune moment, when Kōvalan is distressed and apprehensive, she teaches the Jain view of renunciation saying :

“Because the effect of your good deeds are exhausted, your wife and you experience great distress. Though preachers of the doctrine should proclaim ever so loudly like a drum, ‘Avoid the path of evil for the law of Karma is inexorable’, those who are not on the path of virtue listen not. But when an evil deed brings its own reaction they suffer greatly because

¹⁰ On Jain monasteries, see *Silap.*, X, 15 ff.; XI, 1 ff. On Jain caves see, M. S. VENKATASAMY, *Jainism and Tamil* (Tamil) op. cit.

¹¹ Compare *Silap.*, X, 64 ff, with *Acaranga Sutra*, Book II; Lecture 3; Lesson 1.

of ignorance. On the other hand the learned do not grieve at the inevitable consequences of past *Karma*.

"The sufferings of partings and unions and those created by the god of passion (*Kāma*) affect only those that get involved in the love of curly-haired maidens and not ascetics who live in single blessedness. The ascetics have seen all down the ages the dire distress caused by women and by food and hence have relinquished the desire for both".¹²

And finally, in true Jain style, she undertakes a fast unto death after hearing of the fate which has overtaken *Kōvalan* and *Kannagi* and the *Pāndyan* king and queen.

BUDDHIST DHARMA

The *Manimēkalai* is uncompromisingly Buddhist and offers more data concerning the content and methods of Buddhist religious adult education than does the *Silappatikāram* about Jain education. It is manifestly an epic of the *Hinayāna* doctrine, but it may be disputed as to which of the *Hinayāna* schools it belongs. There is no reference in it to the *Mahāsānghika* school which prevailed in the *Andhra* country north of the *Tamil* border. Nor are there references to *Nāgarjuna's* *Madhyamika* school, or to *Aryadeva* or to any of the *Mahayānist* *Yogacara* teachers like *Dinnaga* and *Dharmapala* who subsequently taught in *Kānchi*. The *Manimēkalai* probably belongs to the *Sautrantika* school of the *Theravāda* and represents the Buddhism prevailing in the *Tamil* country at the time of its composition (circa A.D. 200?).¹³

The Buddhists, according to the two 'epics', had established their monasteries and nunneries in *Puhār*, *Kānchi* and

¹² *Silap.*, XIV, 25-43. The Jainism prevalent in the *Tamil* country was of the *Dighambara* school.

P. B. DESAI, *Jainism in South India and some Jaina epigraphs*, *Sholapur*, 1957.

¹³ S. KRISHNASWAMY AIYENGAR, *Manimekalai in its historical setting*, op. cit.

ID., *The Buddhism of Manimekalai*, in (Ed B C LAW) *Buddhist studies*, op. cit., pp. 1-25. In the same book see,

V R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, *Buddhism in Tamil Literature*, pp. 673-698. The book contains useful essays on other aspects of Buddhist education.

Vanci, and the archaeological evidence shows that Buddhist monks occupied in the pre-Christian era caves in the southern districts of Maturai and Tirunelveli.¹⁴ The Indravihara, consisting of seven pagodas in Puhār, included a sacred bodhi tree and may have had three hundred monks living there;¹⁵ a similar monastic structure existed in Vanci, the capital of the Tamil Cēra kingdom in the western part of Southern India. The monastic system and monastic preaching appear to have been long established in the Tamil country. The Buddhists too seem to have had a great number of teachers traversing the Tamil country. Pilgrimages to Maṇipallavam, an island off the coast of Ceylon, and to Samanoḷi in Ratnadipa (Adam's peak in Ceylon) were frequent as were also pilgrimages to sacred Buddhist places in Northern India.

Two itinerant teachers are prominent in the *Manimēkalai*. One is Manimēkalai herself, a Buddhist novice who before her final entry into the Sisterhood both by precept and example inculcates the basic ethics of Buddhism, and Aravana Adigal, an aged and persevering teacher and philosopher of Buddhism, who retains his clarity of thought and his eloquence in spite of his advanced years, his worn-out body and his grey hairs. The discourses made by these two teachers show that the Vinaya, the Dhamma and the Abidhamma were known and were part of Buddhism in the Tamil country, and that the *Tripitakas* were the sources of the teaching. The *Manimēkalai* itself has drawn from the *Jātakas* for its main narrative and for its concept of karmic casualty and rebirth. The fundamentals taught to those who embrace the path of the Buddha are summarised in the lines :

¹⁴ P. C. ALEXANDER, *Asoka and the spread of Buddhism in Ceylon*, TC, Vol., I (1952), no. 2, pp. 125-131.

K. K. PILLAI, *The Brahmi inscriptions of South India and the Sangam Age*, TC, Vol., V (1956), no. 2, pp. 175-185.

M. S. VENKATASAMY, *Buddhism and Tamil* (Tamil), op. cit., p. 19 ff.

¹⁵ *Śīlap.*, XXVII, 93.

*" Birth is Suffering ;
 The Ending of Birth is Supreme Bliss ;
 Birth is born of Desire ;
 Nirvāna is attained by ending Desire.
 Understand and accept the Panca-sila.
 This is the way to attain Life."*¹⁶

Karmic suffering and casualty due to passion and desire, abstention from aesthetic and emotional pleasures such as are provided by music, dance and the drama, and the philosophy of impermanence are constantly reiterated through direct teaching, and exemplified in the life-stories of the characters of the poem :

*" Youth is fleeting ; Beauty is fleeting ;
 Sky-high wealth is equally fleeting ;
 Nor do children ever confer heaven."*¹⁷

The twenty-ninth canto of *Manimēkalai* shows the study which Buddhist teachers made of the other philosophical and religious systems and of their logical bases, and the thirtieth canto summarises the Four Truths, the Twelve Nidānas and causal nexus.

*" Examine separately and understand that everything is
 impermanent, full of suffering, without a soul and
 unclean, and therefore end Desire
 By listening to Dhamma (śruti), by meditation, by men-
 tal bhāvana and mental darsana, end all Illusion.
 By these four means end the darkness of the mind "*¹⁸

SCRIPTURES IN TAMIL

Both Jainism and Buddhism in their methods of religious teaching inculcated a great reverence for the personality of their founders. They drew lessons from the contemporary scene, from the nature of life and from their sacred books. Did these sacred books exist in Tamil ? And

¹⁶ *Mani.*, II, 64-69.

¹⁷ *Mani.*, XXII, 135-137.

¹⁸ *Mani.*, XXX, 254 ff.

how far was writing an aid to study and teaching in the pre-Pallava age ?

In the Tamil classics, which we have examined here as belonging to the pre-Pallava period of Tamil history, there is no apodictic proof that the anthologies and the "epics" were already written down and that formal education included the study from manuscripts. There is evidence that writing was used and formed part of instruction.¹⁹ Writing was used for detailed sepulchral inscriptions, for commercial purposes and for epistolary communication,²⁰ but did the *ēdu* or leaf-book exist in the pre-Pallava period or was all this literature retained orally and transmitted orally ? In the Sangam period the word *nūl* (sutra) occurs in the sense of a technical treatise and the cumulative evidence would point to the existence of books ;²¹ however, the principal means of conserving and teaching literature, both secular and religious, was oral (*kēlvi*).

Whether the Jain and the Buddhist literature was translated into Tamil from their North-Indian originals in the pre-Pallava period is not known. But the Tamil terminology used in the Jain and Buddhist "epics" and their literary excellence point to a long period of Jain and Buddhist literary culture in the Tamil country as to render Jain and Buddhist works bear little or no traces of foreign origin except the technical terms of their religious philosophy.²²

CONFLICTS AND SYNTHESIS

The sources which describe the philosophic period of Sangam literature are also evidence of the conflicts and the synthesis which ensued as a result of the different schools of religious and philosophic thought achieving

¹⁹ E.g., *Tolkappiyam*, *Elutu*, 6, 14, 15.

²⁰ E.g., *Aham*, 67, 77, 131 ; *Puram*, 260, 264 ; *Silap*, XIII, 82 ff.

²¹ S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI, *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, TC, Vol., III (1954), nos., 3 and 4, p. 332.

²² See *Ibid.*, pp. 348 ff.

maturity of articulation and organisation in urban and city culture. The religions which were founded in the sixth century B.C., in India were probably introduced into the Tamil country during the Mauryan Empire. Chandra-gupta Maurya and Bhadrabahu may have been responsible for the spread of Jainism in Southern India, and Aśoka's patronage may have contributed to the introduction of Buddhism into the Tamil country at about the same time that it was introduced into Ceylon. It may be surmised that the Vedic cults too were introduced into the Tamil country during this period of North Indian migrations into Southern India. There are faint and rare traces of Buddhist and Jain thought in the Sangam anthologies, and very tangible and solid evidence for the influence of Vedic thought.²³ However, it is in the sources of the philosophic period that the religions and philosophies of Northern Indian origin assume full development and maturity in the South making the Tamil scene appear almost as animated from an intellectual and philosophical point of view as the North Indian scene in the sixth century B.C.

The *Silappatikāram* represents the result of a fusion and synthesis of cultures originating in Northern and Southern India. In the Jain epic there is a preponderant and overpowering love for the Tamil country, its language, its literature, its music, and respect for its regional worship and shrines and its hoary institutions. The epic uses all the previous Tamil literary heritage and conventions, and reduces to a basic unity the triple political division of the Tamil kingdoms in the best traditions of the poetic age. The prowess and military exploits of the Tamil kings against Northern India are extolled and the territorial integrity and political "union within division" of the Tamil kingdoms are vehemently defended. The introduction of the Jain doctrines of *ahimsa* and renunciation, and asser-

²³ Some Sangam poets bear Buddhist names — Illambodhiyar, Thera-daran, Siruventheraiyar. Jain mythology is said to be found in *Puram*, 175 and *Aham*, 59. For Vedic thought, the evidence is to be had in nearly all the anthologies

tions of Mahāvīra's supremacy as a teacher of the path of Release and Salvation are made gently and unobtrusively. To a Brāhmin who recommends ablutions in three lakes which procure a knowledge of Indra's grammar, a knowledge of former births and the power to realise one's wishes, Kavunti, the Jain nun, replies that all these and more means of fulfilment are found in the Jain scriptures (Parāgamam) and that Truth and regard for all living beings confer unlimited power. In the third part of the epic, which is rather Vedic in spirit, Mādalan, the Brāhmin, makes a strong plea regarding the value of Vedic sacrifices to a victorious Tamil king who has neglected them for fifty years.²⁴

The territory of ideological, political and military interest too has definitely in the epic period extended further than Vēnkadam hill in the north and Cape Comorin in the south to include the North Indian kingdoms and the Himalayas and the Sinhalese kingdom of Gajabahu.

Similarly the *Tirukkural* is a synthesis of the ideals and precepts recommended to the Perfect and Complete Man outlined in previous poetry. But the precepts of abstention from meat and from alcoholic drink and the ascetic renunciation and life eulogised in certain verses are departures from previous Tamil thought and practice and are best explained as introductions due to the influence of Vedic, Jain and Buddhist thought. The ascetic ideal was probably always cherished in the Tamil country since Siva is its ideal prototype. However, it is in the poetic and especially in the philosophic stage that both Vedic and non-Vedic ascetics are mostly found as solitaries in lonely places and in the midst of forests where elephants are said to fetch the wood for their sacrificial fires. They are also found congregated in large numbers performing the penances of their respective ascetic schools outside the city walls or in cemeteries and groves. But even where the *Tirukkural* speaks of asceticism, or of Brāhminic sacrifice or

²⁴ *Silap*, XI, 150 ff.

caste, it does so often from a humanistic, critical angle demanding rather the spirit of these religious professions than a spiritless following of conventional rules.

The true Brāhmīns are those who observe Aram
(Righteousness)
Because they show benevolence to all life. (30)

It is the life of the Householder which is true Aram. (49)

The Man who lives in the World as he ought
Is fit to be classed among the Gods of Heaven. (50)

A Brāhmin may re-learn the Vedas he forgets
But he can never regain a name lost by bad conduct.
-(134)

More renounced than hermits is the householder
Who forgives the words of the wicked. (159)

Those who perform fasts are great indeed ; but only next
to those (householders) who forgive the evil words
of neighbours. (160)

Better than a thousand Vedic sacrifices
Is the saving of one single (animal) life. (259)

Many are the impure of heart who pose as great ascetics
And seek ritual purity by ablutions. (278)

Neither the shaving of the head nor the growth of long
hair is necessary to ascetics
If in their conduct they be true to their calling. (280)

Throughout these and similar verses there is the sound of either a reformer of present conduct or a defendant of past ideals who resents the introduction of new values. On the one hand these verses seem to insist, as in the Jain and Buddhist books, that self-control is the true asceticism, that purity of heart is greater than ritualistic ablutions, that forgiveness of injuries and non-killing comprise the true sacrifice, that becoming conduct is more meritorious than Vedic recitation. On the other hand verses which profess that family life is the greatest aram (dhamma), hospitality the greatest sacrifice, children the greatest joy,

and altruistic love the Great Commandment, and many other verses entirely humanist in their inspiration justify the view that the *Tirukkural* is by and large a humanist codex.²⁵

The *Manimēkalai* is pre-eminently a book of Buddhist polemics and doctrines woven into a chain of narratives in which the chief character finds her haven in the Three-fold Refuge. The Buddhist "epic" too shows a great love for the Tamil country and its traditions. While it passes no value judgments about the cults of Siva and Vishnu and the worship of Kālī, the *Manimēkalai* is critical of both Jain compassion and the Brāhmin doctrine of sacrifice, as well as of the intercessory power of the gods to avert the consequence of deeds, and of the moral conduct of some of the gods themselves. The story of Sutamati and her discovery of the absence of compassion among Jain ascetics, and the cruelty shown by the Brāhmins to Āputra because of his compassion for a cow destined for sacrifice, and the conversion of these two to Buddhism, is part of the scope of the poem to show the acceptability of the Buddhist religion as superior to the others. Manimēkalai is exhorted by Kaṇṇagi in a vision to interview the teachers of different religions, after which she would realise for herself that the other systems did not contain the truth. Thus she would come to tread the "path of the Piṭakas of the Great One".²⁶ The conversion of a renowned and accomplished danseuse and courtesan as Mātavi, the Tamil Ambapālī, and of her beautiful daughter Manimēkalai, to Buddhism, and ascribing interest in Buddhism to Kōvalan and Kaṇṇagi in a previous birth and predicting their attainment of Nirvāna through Buddhism in a future birth are part of the same plan of the poet to preach Buddhism as superior to Jain and Vedic beliefs.

²⁵ Whether the humanism of the *Tirukkural* is theistic is controverted, particularly because the first verses, among which occur verses of theistic import, are said to be interpolations or are claimed by some scholars to refer to the Buddha or to Mahavira.

²⁶ *Mani.*, XXVI, 66.

The Realms of Love :

Poems from Narrinai, an anthology of the Sangam Age.

Translated by S. NATESAN.

9

As zealous devotees who are in quest
of Life immortal get a vision some day
of God, as they sought Him, so, Dear, today
I have got thee, and my heart is at rest.
Now like a nymph decked on thy speckled breast
with Punku blossoms like rice grains puffed, so gay,
And leaves of lustrous green thou might'st here play
Awhile on the sand, then in the shade we'll rest.
Thus resting where thou see'st sand or shade,
Well could'st thou chase away all weariness,
And slowly walk, beaming thy radiant smile.
There the cuckoos call in the balmy glade,
Pecking at mango buds in happiness,
And yonder hamlets all the way beguile !

153

Like clouds which drinking of the eastern sea
Spread westwards, darkening the sky, and rain
All around, flashing lightning strokes like sparks
That fly from copper pots when shaped by smiths,
And rumbling, southward turn, so has my heart
Gone where my Lover is : my body fed
Stays like a lonely sentinel that guards
A city desolate whence have people fled
Fearing the invading hordes of a vengeful King.

காதல் ஆட்சிகள்

நற்றிணை—சங்க காலத் தொகை நூல்

9

அழிவில முயலு மார்வ மாக்கள்
வழிபடு தெய்வங் கட்கண் டாஅங்
கலமரல் வருத்தந் தீர யாழநின்
னலமென் பணைத்தோ ளெய்தின மாகலின்
பொரிப்பூம் புன்கி னெழில்தகை யொண்முறி
சுணங்கணி வனமுலை யணங்குகொளத் திமிரி
நிழல்காண் தோறு நெடிய வைகி
மணல்காண் தோறும் வண்ட றைஇ
வருந்தா தேகுமதி வாலெயிற் றேயே!
மாநனை கொழுதி மகிழ்குயி லாலும்
நறுந்தண் பொழில் கானங்
குறுப்ப லூரயாஞ் செல்லும் ஆறே.

153

குணகடல் முகந்து குடக்கேர்பு இருளி
மண் திணி ஞாலம் விளங்கக் கம்மியர்
செம்புசொரி பாணையின் மின்னிளவ் வாயும்
தன்தொழில் வாய்த்த இன்குரல் எழிலி
தென்புல மருங்கிற் சென்றற் றுங்கு
நெஞ்சம் அவர்வயின் சென்றன ஈண்டொழிந்து
உண்டல் அளித்தென் உடம்பே விறற்போர்
வெஞ்சின வேந்தன் பகையலைக் கலங்கி
வாழ்வோர் போகிய பேரூர்ப்
பாழ்காத் திருந்த தனிமகன் போன்றே.

154

The forest has become still, and the sky
Is pitch dark like the caves in the rocky heights.
The thundering clouds have not ceased to rumble ;
Frail Girl ! sleep'st thou, not hearing the fearful growl
Of the angry, wide-mouthed tiger, which has slain
And laid aside on its right, an elephant
In the thicket where the rain clouds seem to creep.
If thy lover does not come tonight, it would
Be well indeed ; like water poured on fire
It would becalm our hearts distraught with dread.
My uneasy mind dwells on his difficult path
Where the rains beats, confronted by the hills.

156

Thou in this dark night when one's way is hard
To see hast come, passing our spacious, guarded
Fort : such has been thy great love, chieftain Lord
Of high hills ! We singing about thy mountain
And thee, shall guard our small-grained millet fields
For many days. Hence in the daytime come
To dispel our troubles. For the rustic men
That dwell on these high hills where rushes grow
Are fierce, though drunk. The moving clouds resounding
In clefts have settled on our mountain crests.

166

Darling, like gold and sapphire are your body
And dark redolent tresses ; like blue lilies
And shoots of bamboo are your beauteous
Collyrium-painted eyes and shapely arms ;
Whenever these I see, my heart is full.
And I feel like those who have virtues attained ;
And now our child bedecked in gold has learnt
To play. No work have I elsewhere ; what can
Prompt me to part from you ? My love for you
Is greater far indeed than the ocean wide.

154

கானமுங் கம்மென் றன்றே ; வானமும்
வரைகிழிப்பு அன்ன மையிருள் பரப்பிப்
பல்குரல் எழினி பாடோ வா தே ;
மஞ்சதவழ் இறும்பில் களிறுவலம் படுத்த
வெஞ்சின உழவைப் பேழ்வாய் ஏற்றை
அஞ்சுதக உரறும் ஓசை கேளாது
துஞ்சதி யோஇல தூவி லாட்டி !
பேரஞர் பொருத புகர்படு நெஞ்சம்
நீரடு நெருப்பில் தணிய இன்றவர்
வாரா ராயினோ நன்றே ; சாரல்
விலங்குமலை யாராறு உள்ளுதொறும்
நிலம்பரந்து ஒழுகும்என் நிறையில் நெஞ்சே.

156

நீயே, அடியறிந்து ஒதுங்கா ஆரிருள் வந்தெம்
கடியுடை வியனகர்க் காவல் நீவியும்
பேரன் பிணையே பெருங்கல் நாட !
யாமே, நின்னுநின் மலையும் பாடிப் பன்னாள்
சிறுதினை காக்குவஞ் சேறும் ; அதனால்,
பகல்வந் தீமோ பல்படர் அகல ;
எருவை நீடிய பெருவரைச் சிறுகுடி
அரியல் ஆர்ந்தவ ராயினும் பெரியர்
பாடிமிழ் விடர்முகை முழங்க
ஆடுமழை இறுத்ததெங் கோடுயர் சுன்றே.

166

பொன்னும் மணியும் போலும் யாழநின்
நன்னர் மேனியும் நாறிருங் கதுப்பும் ;
போதும் பணையும் போலும் யாழநின்
மாதர் உண்கணும் வனப்பின் தோளும் ;
இவைகாண் தோறும் அகமலிந்து யானும்
அறநிலை பெற்றோர் அணையேன் ; அதன்தலைப்
பொலந்தொடிப் புதல்வனும் பொய்தல் கற்றனன் ;
வினையும் வேறுபுலத்து இலனே ; நினையின்
யாதணிற் பிரிவாம் ? மடந்தை !
காதல் தானுங் கடலினும் பெரிதே.

"The darling daughter of the mountain chief,
She is well guarded ; access to her is hard.
Thy words of love she cannot understand.
Hence do not think of her " : thus, friend, thou say'st
On Kolli hill whose high and faultless top
The Gods protect and where the jak trees yield
Fruits on their red roots and white cascades fall,
A statue stands whose beauteous form remains
Untarnished, whether gales blow or hail bursts,
Or fiercely thunder rolls or other dangers
Rise or the world itself is wroth. My love,
Fair like that statue, cannot part from my heart.

201

'மலையுறை குறவன் காதல் மடமகள்
 பெறலருங் குரையள் ; அருங்கடிக் காப்பினள் ;
 சொல்லெதிர் கொள்ளாள் ; இனையள் அனையோள்
 உள்ளல் கூடா றென்றேய் ! மற்றுஞ்
 செவ்வேர்ப் பலவின் பயங்கெழு கொல்லித்
 தெய்வங் காக்குந் தீதுதீர் நெடுங்கோட்டு
 அவ்வென் அருவிக் குடவணை அகத்துக்
 கால்பொருது இடிப்பினுங் கதமுறை கடுகினும்
 உருமுடன்று எறியினும் ஊறுபல தோன்றினும்
 பெருநிலங் கிளரினுந் திருநல உருவின்
 மாயா இயற்கைப் பாவையிற்
 போதல் ஒல்லாளென் நெஞ்சத் தானே .

NOTICE

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Book Review

TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF TAMIL LITERATURE :

An anthology with studies and translations by J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, Annamalainagar P.O., South India. Price Rs. 8.25.

Foreign Readers of *Tamil Culture* have often made enquiries regarding the availability of translations of standard Tamil classics, at least in the form of selections or anthologies. It was not possible hitherto to point to single books of translations, though translations of single poems were scattered in Reviews like the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Siddantha Deepika* and other publications. Mr. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, Director of Publications, Annamalai University, has brought an anthology of Tamil poetry of the last two thousand years, together with their English translations. The translations are not of equal merit, since the translators are different persons like G. U. Pope, J. N. Nallaswamy Pillai, K. M. Balasubramaniam and Mr. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai himself. The book includes, among other poems, English translations of several poems of Purananuru by G. U. Pope, the Ten Idylls, and numerous extracts from the Ethical books and from devotional literature. The different sections form a representative collection of the various sections of Tamil poetry. It is an advantage that the Tamil text has been published along with the English translation. We are thankful that Mr. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai took the initiative of publishing this work at his own expense. It is the duty of those who are able to recommend this book for purchase by libraries and individuals to see to its wide diffusion. Here is a book which might be sent as a present to foreign friends and libraries. One would have, however, preferred this book to have been better produced. Copies may be had from the editor at Rs. 8.25 per copy. Editor's address : Mr. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, Director of Publications, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar P.O., South India.

XSTN.

News and Notes

ALL INDIA WRITERS' CONFERENCE,
DECEMBER 1959

UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN NORTH AND
SOUTH INDIA

In his Presidential Address at the All-India Writers' Conference held in Madras on December 16, 1959, Mr. Tara Sankar Banerji said :—

The practice of measuring our own excellence or shortcomings by Western yardsticks has been current for so long that to many of us it is unimaginable that we can have our own standard also, as good as and, in certain spheres, even better than the Western standard. Strangely enough this beggarly mentality — this absolute dependence upon lands beyond the seas and the mountains for our current ideals in art, literature, politics, and strongest of all, religion and philosophy — has been, and still very often is, glorified as progressive outlook.

For geographical reasons, perhaps, or may be, for some reasons still deeper, we of the North have been over-powered many times and later fallen for our victors. But the South has always been more cautious and circumspect. Simple, undemonstrative, never addicted to heroics, South has a happy intellectual balance which resists being hustled into accepting a dogma or a doctrine which has not proved itself as acceptable. South can wait for the spiritual cooking process to render the gifts of a new civilisation suitable for digestion and speedy assimilation. But we of the North are often too impatient to wait for this cooking process, and gorge ideas and fashions whole and raw, with sometimes very tragic results.

I, therefore, hope that the get-together to-day between the North and the South should not end with the present Conference, but should be the beginning of a deeper and more cordial understanding which will temper our impulsiveness by contact with balanced minds and perhaps, give

a little dynamic urge to the excellent intellectual equipment of the South. Given this, India will last against physical and ideological onslaughts from any quarter. Time is out of joint and an occasional re-appraisal of our stand is necessary.

—*The Hindu* (17-12-59).

TAMIL MUSIC

"Tamil language is rich in its heritage and knows no parallel in sweetness. We should strive ceaselessly to make the greatness of our languages understood by others through translations, and also take the best in other languages and have them translated into Tamil, thus establishing inter-cultural understanding," said Dr. P. Subbaroyan, Union Minister for Transport and Communications, inaugurating the 17th Tamil Isai Festival at Raja Anna-malai Hall, Madras.

Dr. Subbaroyan said painting and sculpture, music and drama were the three aspects of the culture of a nation.

The devotional songs of Thevaram, Prabandam, Arutpa and songs sung by Thayumanavar were inspiring and soul-stirring. Music was fostered and nurtured by these saints and also patronised by ancient Tamil kings. Though music transcended linguistic barriers, it was indispensable for the musician, as to the listener, to possess a knowledge of the language of the 'sahityas' for the proper appreciation and enjoyment of musical compositions.

Dr. Subbaroyan suggested simple songs should be composed and operas written towards propagating information and educating the people on various health and welfare schemes. Folk songs of the type of Kavadi Chindu, Nondi*Chindu would considerably reinforce such efforts.

The ancient Tamil kings employed songs and dramas to instil patriotism, bravery and a spirit of sacrifice in their soldiers. The same method could be adopted now to

accelerate the work of the Community Projects and National Extension service. It would lead to greater production, prosperity and happiness.

—*The Mail* (26-12-59).

TAMIL COURSE IN CHICAGO UNIVERSITY

America was to-day doing a very valuable service to make Indian studies popular, said Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, delivering a lecture on "Indic studies in the U.S." on October 16 at the USIS library, Madras.

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, who returned recently from U.S. after a tour as Visiting Professor at the Chicago University, referred in detail to the interest shown by Harvard, California, Columbia, Yale, San Francisco and other American universities in promoting the cause of Indian language and literature. In most of the universities great attention was being paid to the study of various Indian languages like Bengali, Hindi, Sanskrit and Urdu. The Chicago University was planning to start a course in Tamil.

—*The Hindu* (17-10-59)

TAMIL AS MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN COLLEGES

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance and Education Minister, Madras, said in the Legislative Assembly that the standard of English in the University classes would be "maintained and perhaps be upgraded", even though Tamil would be introduced as the medium of instruction in colleges.

—*The Hindu* (11-12-59).

THE COLLEGE TAMIL COMMITTEE

The College Tamil Committee constituted by the Government of Madras to advise them on the measures to be taken for the introduction of the Tamil medium in the 3 year B.A. Degree course of the Pilot College (Govern-

ment Arts College, Coimbatore) met at the P.S.G. College of Technology, Peelamedu, and had a continuous session for 7 days from the 25th to 31st December, 1959.

Mr. G. R. Damodaran, Chairman of the College Tamil Committee, presided.

Technical terms for Politics and Public Administration, History, Economics, Psychology, Philosophy, Geography and Sciences-Minor, viz. Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Biology and Statistics, were compiled by experts. These are expected to cover the syllabuses prescribed by the University of Madras for the B.A. Degree courses. The equivalents in Tamil for these terms were prepared by them in consultation with the various sources now in existence. Copies of these were circulated to all the colleges, Universities, the Press and leading educationists. All the suggestions, alternatives and comments received were tabulated. The Committee, during this session of 7 days, after examining the tabulated equivalents in all the subjects has selected the most suitable among them and finalised them. Every care has been taken by the member of the College Tamil Committee proficient in the subject to see that the equivalent conveys the concept accurately. Transliterations of technical terms, wherever equivalents are not available, have been adopted.

The glossaries, as soon as they are printed, will be made available for the authors who have been commissioned to write books for the colleges and for others.

—*The Hindu*

LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN

Sixteen books in Tamil, written by 12 authors, were released by Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Home Minister, at a function organised by the Children's Writers' Association at Srinivasa Sastri Hall, Mylapore, Madras, on November 14 as part of the Children's Day and Mr. Nehru's birthday celebrations. Mr. K. Santhanam presided.

Mr. Al. Valliappa, President of the Association, welcomed the gathering and announced that Mr. Thambi Srinivasan, one of the members, had just been awarded a prize by the Government of India for his drama "Tanga Kuzhandaigal".

Mr. Poovannan read the list of authors whose books have been released on the occasion and introduced those who were present. Five were written by Mr. N. D. Sundaravadivelu (D.P.I.) and one each by Messrs. Mayilai Sivamuthu, "Raji", N. S. Deivasigamani, N. Jagannathan, S. Y. Subramaniam, Naga Muthiah, A. Rangaswami, V. Narasimhan, Mana Arangaswami, "Vandu Mama" and Thanigai Ulaganathan. The book publishers were also introduced next by Mr. K. A. Chellappan.

—*The Hindu* (18-11-59).

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF CHILDREN'S WRITERS

Inaugurating the first annual conference of children's writers under the auspices of the Children's Writers' Association on October 21, 1959 at Rajaji Hall, Madras, Mr. Bishnuram Medhi, the Governor, emphasised that writers should study carefully the needs of children and produce such books as would attract them, create reading habit in them and stimulate the development of their latent faculties.

The Governor presented on the occasion shields to Mr. Myilai Sivamuthu and Mr. T. R. Ranganathan for their outstanding work in the field of children's literature.

Mr. Bishnuram Medhi congratulated the Association on taking upon itself the task of bringing together writers and popularising children's books. He referred to the progress achieved in foreign countries in specialising in the art of producing children's books and emphasised that the get-up of children's books had to be very beautiful and attractive. They should contain profuse illustrations and

pictorial representations. Only those who had adequate knowledge of the requirements and the necessary training and experience, he said, could produce literature for children. Producers of children's books had an additional responsibility not only in the selection of themes but also in the matter of style of expression and presentation. Children's literature should be wholesome and at the same time entertaining and should have a moral background. It should be useful for the integrated development of the child's body, mind and intellect.

The Governor commended the various activities of the Association to promote suitable literature for children and said that it was the duty of parents and teachers to make available books which would stimulate the latent faculties of children and make them grow into responsible adults with character and ability and lay a foundation on the basis of their culture and tradition.

Mr. Al. Valliappa, President of the Association, in his address, said that children's literature was growing but the pace of progress was not fast enough. The fact that many publishers had come forward to publish children's books would create an atmosphere for the development of children's literature. The reading habit was noticeable among the present-day children and it should be canalised in the right direction. What was important was that the thoughts and desires of children should be well understood by those who produced books suitable for children. He urged that story-poems should be developed in Tamil as in English. It was wrong, he added, to suppress the thirst for knowledge among children in their formative period. They should quench that thirst by bringing out suitable literature for them.

Mr. Valliappa hoped that the Government would help in setting up an organisation on the lines of the Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam to devote attention exclusively to the development of literature for children. He felt that a great future lay ahead if women with whom children came

into greater contact, paid greater attention to the production of children's books. He suggested that there should be a children's library in every place and said that great care should be taken in the selection of books which should not poison knowledge.

—*The Hindu* (23-11-59).

STANDARD OF PUBLICATIONS IN TAMIL

The need for raising the standard of books that were being published now in the Tamil language was emphasised by Dr. S. R. Ranganathan at a meeting held under the auspices of Maraimalai Adigal Library in George Town, Madras. Mr. V. Subbiah Pillai presided.

—*The Hindu*

MADRAS CITY COLLEGE STUDENTS' TAMIL MANRAM

PROPAGATION OF TAMIL LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The need for propagating the greatness of Tamil language and literature was stressed by speakers on the occasion of the inauguration of the activities of the Madras City College Students' Tamil Manram for this year at a function held at Loyola College.

Rev. Fr. Laurence Sundaram, Principal, Loyola College, said that students from 25 colleges had become members of the Manram. The aim of the organisation was to propagate the greatness of Tamil by learning to compose poems and songs in Tamil and to help students speak the language fluently.

Mr. K. Vezhavendan, President of the Manram, said that the organisation would try to foster the growth of Tamil language and encourage the youth to develop a love towards Tamil. He said that *Tirukural* had been recently translated into Russian. But a mistake had crept in in the

preface to the book. It has been mentioned that Tiruvalluvar lived in the 7th or 8th century A.D. But every Tamil lover knew that Tiruvalluvar lived more than 1,500 years ago. The Manram could help in pointing out such mistakes and make the correction.

—*The Hindu* (24-10-59).

CIVIC RECEPTION TO TAMIL SCHOLARS AT MADURAI

The Madurai Municipal Council presented a civic address to Tamil scholars, who had assembled at Madurai for the quarterly meeting of the Tamil Nad Poets Council.

The Council formed last year, aims at "furthering the use of pure Tamil in the administration and day-to-day life".

Among those honoured were: Mr. Somasundara Bharathi, Mr. Ayyamperumal Konar, Mr. Manickavachagar (Dharmapuram Mutt), Mr. A. K. Paranthamanar, Mr. Mayilai Sivamuthu, Mr. G. Subramania Pillai, Tamil Research Section, Annamalai University, Mr. Alalasundaram and Mr. Mascarenhas.

Mr. J. Devasahayam, Municipal Chairman, in the address said that contrary to ancient days when Tamil Kings had patronised poets and scholars, today the representatives of the people in the Council honoured men of letters. The talents of the scholars — in thinking and doing research — were now greatly needed by the people, he said.

—*The Mail* (6-10-59).

THE TAMIL NAD POETS' COUNCIL

The Tamil Nad Poets' Council, an organisation working for furthering the use of chaste Tamil in administration and day-to-day life, has denounced the importation of 'foreign words' into Tamil language in the name of the Constitution.

The Council, which held its quarterly meeting on October 4, 1959 at Madurai, suggested that the original Tamil names of gods in South Indian temples should be revived, and their Sanskrit equivalents discarded. It wanted temple prayers to be conducted in Tamil. Other demands include Government jobs for 'better recognition' and honours for Tamil scholars on occasions like Independence Day celebrations in the State and at Delhi, and a separate Tamil University at Madurai.

—*The Mail* (6-10-59).

TAMIL PUBLICATIONS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNESCO.

Eight Tamil books published with the assistance of UNESCO under the auspices of the Southern Languages Book Trust by various publishers were released at a pleasant function held at Madras on December 7, 1959.

—*The Hindu* (8-12-59).

THE TAMIL DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH COUNCIL

PROMOTION OF FOLK ART

The Madras Government have constituted a committee for the study and promotion of folk-lore and folk dances. The members of the committee are : Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai (Chairman), Dr. A. Chidambaranathan, M.L.C., Mr. K. V. Jagannathan, Editor, *Kalaimagal* and Mr. S. Venkataswami (members). The committee, if necessary, will co-opt one more member. Mr. V. Kannaiyan, Secretary of the Tamil Development and Research Council, is the Secretary.

The Tamil Research Council, it may be recollected, at its meeting in April last, considered this question and decided that an agency for the study and compilation of folk-lore was essential.

—*The Hindu* (23-10-59).

HISTORICAL TAMIL DICTIONARY

The Government have constituted a committee to draw up a scheme for the compilation of a dictionary of Tamil words, with a comparative historical study of the changes in meaning undergone by such words. The committee will consist of Mr. T. P. Meenakshisundaram (Chairman), Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, Dr. M. A. Durairangaswamy, Reader, University of Madras, and Mr. A. S. Gnanasambantham, Assistant Director (Translation), in the Information Department, Government of Madras (members). The committee has been empowered to co-opt two more members, if necessary.

The constitution of this committee has been undertaken on the recommendation of the Tamil Development and Research Council which has suggested that such a historical Tamil dictionary should be prepared and published.

—*The Hindu* (11-12-59).

SEMINAR FOR TAMIL PANDITS

A ten-day Seminar for Tamil Pandits from all over Madras State was inaugurated by Mr. N. D. Sundaravadi-velu, Director of Public Instruction, on December 23, 1959 in the Teachers' College, Saidapet, Madras.

Forty teachers who have put in more than five years' service, are attending this 'Refresher Course'. They will be given an idea of the latest trends in methods of instruction.

—*The Hindu* (24-12-59).

Extract from Letter

FROM A READER IN MALAYA

“ This magazine (*Tamil Culture*) is doing much needed work of discovering to people overseas the fineness of Dravidian Civilization.

“ As a citizen of Malaya I am particularly interested in the contribution that this civilization has made to the development of South-East Asian civilizations. The history books that deal with the Indian period in South-East Asia do not, as a rule, throw much light on whether the bearers of Buddhist and Sanskrit civilizations to these parts were mainly Dravidian peoples. The true picture would seem to be that Sanskrit civilization, whose original inspiration had most likely been, even though to an indeterminate extent, Dravidian, began to exercise a powerful influence on Dravidian peoples towards the latter half of the first millennium after Christ; this has been reflected on the one hand by the development in India of Malayalam, Telugu and other Sanskrit impregnated languages of Dravidian ancestry, and on the other by the predominance of Sanskrit words, customs, etc. in the civilizations carried to the shores of South-East Asia by people who presumably were, by and large, of Dravidian stock. The position was, perhaps, not unlike that in Northern Europe in the Middle Ages when Latin was used for various transactions by people whose native tongues were not of Latin ancestry. I would be very grateful for your advice whether any research has been done into this aspect of the extension of Dravidian civilization overseas.

“ I find your feature on ‘ News and Notes ’ very informative. . . . ”

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(„ calm)
இ	—	i	(„ sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(„ machine)
உ	—	u	(„ full)
ஊ	—	u:	(„ rule)
எ	—	e	(„ fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(„ able)
ஐ	—	ai	(„ aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(„ opinion)
ஔ	—	o:	(„ opium)
ஔ	—	au	(„ now)

CONSONANTS

Hints re: articulation.

<i>Hard¹</i> (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(„ church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(„ card ?).... Retroflex - articulate with blade of tongue.
	த	—	th	(„ threat, this, thick).... dental.
	ப	—	p	(„ pipe, amber)
	஠	—	t	(„ atlas, sunday, arrears).. Retroflex- articulate with tip of tongue.
<i>Soft</i> (Nasal)	ங	—	ng	(„ sing).... velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(„ angel).... palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(„ urn ?).... Retroflex n - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(„ anthem).... dental n
	ம	—	m	(„ mate)
<i>Medium</i> (non-nasal continuant)	ன	—	n	(„ enter).... Retroflex n - articulate with tip of tongue.
	ய	—	y	(„ yard)
	ர	—	r	(„ red)
	ல	—	l	(„ leave).... Alveolar l - articulate with tip of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(„ very)
	ழ	—	l-	(„ ?).... Retroflex l - articulate with blade of tongue.
<i>Auxiliary²</i> (-ஐய்தம்)	ஐ	—	l:	(„ hurl).... Alveolar l - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ஃ	—	x	(„ ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard*, have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

(a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant*.

e.g., பக்கம் - is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

(b) an *unaspirated but voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant*:—

e.g., பங்கம் - is pronounced pangam, not pankam
பஞ்சம் - „ panjam, not pancam,

(c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant*.

e.g., பற்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative—sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of *t*: which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

Later its value became fixed as *h*, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil=Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve:ngkat:am).

- (ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

CORRECTION

We regret that a 'printer's devil' had crept in, in the article headed "THE POET OF REVOLT" published in *Tamil Culture*, Vol VIII, No. 2. The first line of the Tamil poem printed on page 77 in that article should correctly read as "கற்பிளந்து, மலை பிளந்து, கணிகள் வெட்டி."

This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

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[illegible]

Note --(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column.

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel *a* has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top.

(3) All the eighteen vowel components under α (k) are shown as a guide; in other cases only the irregular forms are shown. The rest being exactly similar to those shown under α (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored.

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