

TAMIL CULTURE

A Quarterly Review dedicated to the study of Tamiliana

STATESMEN AND SCHOLARSHIP

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Readers' Forum

FROM GERMANY

I have received two issues of "Tamil Culture" Nos. 1 and 2 and have read the contents with a great deal of interest. For a self-exiled Tamilian the information contained in some of the articles is a source of pride and pleasure. I do hope that you will continue to fulfil the mission of carrying Tamil Culture, through the medium of English, for the benefit of the non-Tamil world.

During the course of my stay in Europe, I have often found that ancient Indian literature means to many only Sanskrit, Pali or Prakrit literature. Very few in Europe have had the opportunity of knowing the ancient Tamil language or the great treasures of its literature. I am sure therefore that your labour of love will bring forth fruits which we all desire.

May I also request you to send a copy of your future issues to the following :—

Prof. Dr. Heine-Geldern, Prof. of Anthropology
Institut für Volkerkunde
Vienna I, Neue Hofburg.

Prof. Heine-Geldern is a very famous anthropologist of this country and has a deep knowledge of Indian culture. He will be very grateful if you will kindly send him your periodical in return for which the publications of the Institute of Volkerkunde will be sent to you.

DR. K. V. RAMASAMY.

36 Hasenauerstrasse,
Vienna XIX.

LADIES HOME JOURNAL

"A young woman from Madras wrote the Ladies Home Journal Magazine praising their information etc., etc., and she told how she translated it all to her friends in Tamil, her spoken tongue. I can honestly say there wasn't one college student here who knew Tamil existed."

Glendale, California.

ANNE E. FIELD.

CULTURAL LIBERALITY

I feel that your periodical should be brought to the notice of not only as many Tamil lovers as possible but also to non-Tamil speaking persons and institutions who are in a position to influence public opinion in our country at the moment. I send herewith a cheque for Rs. 100 which please treat as my anonymous contribution towards Annual Subscription for 1953 for 20 such persons whom you may choose. You may include the following persons if they are not already on your list of subscribers.

BAND OF WRITERS

I was very glad to get the second number of your paper. It contains a good many very useful articles. I greatly enjoyed reading them. The articles on Kamban and on Mohenjo-Daro, and on the Tamil script were very good. I also enjoyed the article on Barathi. It is a good magazine and one that should have wide circulation in the Tamilnad and also all over India. You have got together a band of good contributors.

"Sunbeam",
Coonoor, Nilgris.

H. C. POPLEY.

RESEARCH IN THE GOLDEN STATE

It has been a great pleasure to hear that the journal *Tamil Culture* has been started to publish scholarly studies in the things concerning Tamilnad. I have read through the issue that you sent me, Vol. 1, Nos. 3 and 4; and am greatly impressed by the quality of the articles that it contains. The university library has or will subscribe to this new journal.

I am flattered also to be invited to contribute an article to the journal, but regret that at the moment I have so many commitments for scholarly work that it is impossible to meet your request. The chief work on which I am at present engaged is a collaborative work with Professor T. Burrow of Oxford University, a dictionary of all Dravidian etymologies that we can identify from the published grammars and dictionaries of the dozen or so languages involved. This work has been carried on a small way and will undoubtedly require another four or five years to complete. It engages most of my energies at the moment.

E. W. Tuttle, who was interested in Dravidian languages, died at least fifteen years ago.

I send all best wishes for the future of your valuable journal and hope that it will provide a stimulus to learned studies in South India.

University of California,
Berkeley 4, Calif.

M. B. EMENEAU,
*Professor of Sanskrit and
General Linguistics.*

GOOD IMPRESSION

English is still the most effective medium of intercourse as between the linguistic areas. To acquaint India, therefore, not to speak of the wider world, with Tamil thought, history and achievements, an English journal is appropriate. *Tamil Culture*, now in its fourth issue, has this object.

The subjects discussed are distributed among archaeology, history, anthropology, philology, literary criticism, and philosophy. *The defensive or apologetic note is not too obtrusive.* The papers are not severely learned, but are appropriately serious and in almost all cases informative.

Tamil Culture makes a good impression. It will spread abroad valuable knowledge about this most interesting people, and it ought to stimulate Tamilians to look into their philological, literary, archaeological, epigraphical and historical records for more material wherewith to enlighten the foreigner, and perhaps themselves too.

Mysindia, Bangalore.

INTRINSIC GREATNESS

This is a quarterly which is well-written, finely printed and attractively got-up. The publishers and contributors are convinced that enough justice has not been done to the undoubted greatness of Tamil Culture. The editor in this issue, Volume II, Number one, is full of this sense of injustice and warns against "linguistic chauvinism or regional patriotism or a mythical Aryan superiority". The Editors and publishers, too, would do well to bear in mind that Tamil greatness needs no chauvinism or regional patriotism to bolster it up. Its greatness is intrinsic and will secure recognition by sheer merit. Nor will good be done to the country and the nation by emphasising cultural diversities rather than cultural unity.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler's description of Mohenjo-daro is included in this issue. P. Minakshisundaram writes about Tamil Script reforms and A. A. Varagunapan on Tamil music. F. Morais, S.J., P. Lourdu-swami, S. Gnanaprakasas and E. T. Rajeswari are among the other contributors. Some of the points raised by the contributors offer room for discussion and debate. But all through, this quarterly is always stimulating.

The Hindu, Madras.

SAD NEGLECT

In view of the lead that you have given to the revival of the Tamil Language and Culture, I thought I would write to you about two things, the importance of which the Tamil public have, so far, failed to realise. I am referring to the late Father Gnanaprakasas's Etymological and Comparative Lexicon of the Tamil Language and the late Rev. Father Clossett's Dravidian Origin and Philosophy of Human Speech. Although to our great misfortune, and to the misfortune of the literary world, they are both dead and gone, their unpublished works are still available in some form or other. From enquiries I am told that practically the whole of the remaining portion of the Lexicon is in manuscript form and could be published if finances are available and provided a suitable editor could be found. Out of the original 20 sections intended for publication, only 7 sections have been published.

As regards Father Clossett, what has yet to be published is Part II of his work, which I read in the papers as having been completed just before his death at Kegalle in July 1949. If this work could also be published, along with Father Gnanaprakasas's remaining portion of the Lexicon, both of them will, I am sure, revolutionise the existing theory of the science of linguistics and would give Tamil a pre-eminent position among the languages of the world.

Colombo 6.

M. S. SEEVARATNAM.

SUGGESTIONS

I have great pleasure in expressing my appreciation of your efforts in publishing a Quarterly which is very much interesting and instructive. Students and well-wishers of Tamil are obliged to you for your noble undertaking. I am very much impressed by your Quarterly review and I admire your attempt to draw the attention of Westerners to the study of Tamil and the Tamils.

May I put forth some suggestions.

FIRST. A comprehensive treatise on the Geography of Tamilana be published in your Quarterly. The treatise on Geography should in-

clude portions of Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, South Africa, Fiji Islands, Singapore, Indo-China, etc., where Tamils are in (i) majority (ii) minority. The completion of such a volume may require the services of many scholars but such a publication is a long-felt want.

SECOND. A fluent rendering of modern Tamil Literature into English be undertaken. The novels and short stories of eminent modern writers like Kalki (otherwise known as R. Krishnamoorthy), and Mayavi (மாயாவி), (e.g., Sivakamiyin Sabatham—சிவகாமியின் சபதம்) Parthipan Kanavu — பாத்திபன் கணவு) (Kathaiyum Karpanaiyum — (கதைதயும் கற்பனைதயும்) the series of books by K. V. Jegannathan serving as an exposition to Sangam Classics; the literary works of Dr. M. Varadarajan and the poetical works of Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai, Kavimani Thesikavinayakampillai, Yogi Shudhananda Bharathiar and Bharitidasan are worth translation.

LAST. Lessons on Tamil in English be published in your quarterly enabling Western students and other non-Tamil students to learn Tamil easily.

Also I humbly and earnestly ask you to publish in your Quarterly Review one request:—

The University of London has not approved Tamil as a Classical Language for purposes of examination. It is unfortunate that the scholars and well-wishers of Tamil do not take interest in this important problem. I, therefore, request the scholars and well-wishers of Tamil to answer the challenge to our Classical Language.

Point Pedro, Ceylon.

V. K. SIVAPRAKASAM.

WHERE READERS DISAGREE

Your latest number (Vol. II No. 2) is the most interesting issue you have so far published.

S. R.

Your latest issue (Vol. II No. 2) did not have as much matter as your previous issues.

S. J.

NOSTALGIA

You cannot imagine how much I long for the arts of India, and would give anything to have a glimpse of a Pallava sculpture or a Chola bronze.

Toronto, Canada.

KAY AMBROSE.

TAMIL CULTURE

A Quarterly Review dedicated to the study of Tamiliana

Statesmen and Scholarship

THE EDITOR

THIS YEAR we have had occasion to remember two great personalities who were the embodiments of Tamil Culture. One died in South India four months ago at the age of sixty-one leaving behind a sense of loss and regret that will take many years to diminish. The other died in Ceylon — twenty years ago, and the Tamils in Ceylon are not yet reconciled to the loss they have sustained in his death.

The late Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, and the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam the centenary of whose birth a grateful people celebrate this year, were both statesmen-scholars, both parliamentarians, both patriots and the finest fruits of the ever ancient and ever new culture that is the most precious heritage of the Tamil speaking peoples. Both had by birth, by education, and by circumstance abundant opportunity to serve the cause of the Tamils and to promote their learning and their cultural heritage, and both used their opportunities so well that today they deserve to be the luminous examples that will alter the attitudes of this lethargic and unimpressionable generation. Both considered the causes they represented greater than their own personal interests. Both played their parts in a world context not usually the privilege of those who speak the Tamil tongue. And their understanding of the fundamentals of Tamil Culture was such that both of them, far from being communal, offered their very best to the country and to the common national cause.

The late Dr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, or R. K. S. as he was so affectionately referred to by high and low in the Tamil country, devoted himself unstintedly to the cause of Tamil Culture. Tamil Nad has cause to remember him for many brilliant achievements and for a life dedicated to causes dear to his people. As member of the Madras Legislative Council, as a member of the Central Legislative Assembly, as Secretary of the Swarajya party, as Dewan of Cochin, as first Finance Minister of the Republic of India, he so distinguished himself by his ability as a parliamentarian, speaker and debater that he was the pride of the Tamil South. In his visits to the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia and other countries as member of India's special delegations and missions, he was at the same time an ambassador of Tamil Culture. He gave such leadership and he was so synonymous with everything Tamil that the news of his death threw every lover of Tamil Culture into consternation, for the south had lost its most powerful representative.

There was no branch of Tamil learning or no aspect of the life of the Tamil peoples in which he was not interested. He sought to encourage Tamil studies not only in the universities of the South, but also in the traditional Tamil manner by a patronage of individual poets, writers and journalists. Even during his last days, he was engaged in a prayerful study of the *Periyapuranam* in the company of the veteran scholar and commentator, C. K. Subramaniya Mudaliyar.

He was aware that the Tamil Revival required a renaissance in creative writing, in sound scholarship and in the Fine Arts if it was to be of lasting benefit to the inheritors of Tamil Culture. He was not only a patron of literary enterprise but himself showed the way of a new, easy and fresh interpretation to the classics with his annotated edition of the *Silappadikaram*. One of his greatest desires towards the fulfilment of which he took steps as soon as he accepted the Vice-Chancellorship of the Annamalai University was to see a critical edition of *Kamba Ramayanam*. He identified himself with the Tamil Isai Movement from its very inception, and

his patronage of the Tamil Arts inspired enthusiasm and co-operation among all sections and communities.

He was a great lover of his native city, renowned in Tamil history and Tamil literature, Coimbatore, the present status and dignity of which are not a little due to his civic sense and his local patriotism. Above all as a man, he was known for his interest in all communities and persons of every caste and creed, for his fairness, for his tolerance, and for the serene and unruffled equanimity he brought to bear on all controversial questions. Tamil Nad has bred few men in our generation that deserved the praise and tribute of our people as Dr. Shanmukham Chetty. It has been said that he was the only minister, who like the ideal ministers outlined in our gnostic verses, could stand up to, advise or admonish the uncrowned king that is the present Prime Minister of India. It cannot be regretted enough that men and man-made circumstances did not permit him to serve longer in the interests of the Republic of India. He was the one who with the advent of a Tamil State would have been its undisputed leader. His premature demise is tragic for Tamil Nad.

*

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Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam was one of those few refined scholars of this century to whom it has been given to sound the depths of Tamil wisdom and enjoy the heights of beauty attained by Tamil literature and the Tamil Fine Arts. With the background of his Western education and with the aid of his knowledge of Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, not to mention English and French, Sir Arunachalam had the enviable advantage of appraising the value and place of Tamil Culture in the context of World Culture.

His Tamil learning was not in a little measure responsible for the deep-seated love he had for the progress and prosperity of Ceylon and the Tamil speaking peoples of Ceylon. While his brilliant career as a statesman and patriot is familiar to the people of Ceylon, they are not so familiar with the aspect of his life that represents his scholarship and his devotion to Tamil studies. Many of his speeches reveal a mind steeped

in the traditional Tamil lore, and the classicism of his language and the brevity, precision and unction characteristic of his style, were not a little due to his familiarity with Tamil poets. As President of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) and as President of the Ceylon University Association, he contributed greatly to the cultural life of the island and to creating interest in Tamiliana.

There is no better evidence of his scholarship, of his vast erudition and of his interest in his mother tongue than the volume from his pen modestly entitled "*Studies and Translations, Philosophical and Religious*", (The Colombo Apothecaries Co. Ltd. 1937). The studies unfold a variety of topics but in each one of them the reader will note a thorough and critical examination of the subject matter. Whether he speaks of Eastern ideals in education or finds Hellenic memories in the purity of line and the perfection of proportion in the Siva temple of Polonaruwa or traces the history of the worship of Muruka in Ceylon, Sir. P. Arunachalam is endowed with an erudition and poise that even professional scholars may envy. His translations of poems from the *Purananuru*, of Nakkirar, of Manikka Vachakar, Tayumanavar, are classical renderings of poems that influenced his life and fired his imagination.

For the benefit of readers who may not have an occasion to read Sir P. Arunachalam's book, we give below a few paragraphs of his commentary on the second poem of *Purananuru*, while apologising on behalf of our printers who regret that just now they are unable to reproduce passages in the original Greek. The poem is a panegyric addressed to the munificent Cera king, Utiyancheralatan who is said to have fed the armies of the Pandavas and Kauravas of the Mahabharatha war.

"It is interesting to compare the poem" says Sir Arunachalam, "with similar odes of a nearly contemporary Latin poet, Horace, who, in the opinion of Quintilian, "almost alone of lyrists is worthy to be read", and whose odes, more than

any other of his writings, display, as a later critic has said, the charm of "exquisite aptness of language and a style perfect for fulness of suggestion, combined with brevity and grace." Take, *e.g.*, the panegyrics addressed to the Emperor Augustus (Odes 14 and 15 of Book IV). Compare :-

நின்கடற் பிறந்த ஞாயிறு பெயர்த்துநின்
வெண்டலைப் புணரிக் குடகடற் குளிக்கும்
யாணர் வைப்பி னன்னாட்டுப் பொருந்

"Warrior-king of the good land of wealth ever new in whose western sea of the white-headed ocean the sun born in thy sea laves," with

Latinum nomen et Italae
Crevere vires famaue et imperi
Porrecta majestas ad ortus
Solis ab Hesperio cubili.

"The glory of Latinum and the might of Italy grew and the renown and majesty of the empire was extended to the rising of the sun from his chamber in the west."

"Wealth ever new," an allusion to the wealth yielded by the sea (pearls, fish, salt, &c.) and by commerce with foreign nations whose vessels frequented the king's ports.

"The 'white' headed ocean" flashes on the mind some such scene as described in the *Iliad* (IV, 422 et seq.).

"As when on the echoing beach the sea-wave lifteth up itself in close array before the driving of the west wind, out on the deep does it first raise its head, and then breaketh upon the land and belloweth loud and goeth with arching crest about the promontories and speweth the foaming brine afar."

"அலங்குளைப் புரவி யைவனோடு சினேஇ." "Wroth with the Five (heroes) of the horses of tossing mane", suggests horsemen in battle with a vividness combining that of Homer's—

"Speedeth at the gallop across the plain exulting, and holdeth his head on high and his mane is tossed about his shoulders" (*Iliad* VI, 510), with Horace's

Impiger hostium
Vexare turmas et frementem
Mittere equum medios per ignes.

"Swift to overthrow the enemy's squadrons and drive the neighing charger through the midst of the fires."

The "large-eyed does" with their "wee-headed fawns" slumbering peacefully on the mountains by the light and warmth of the hermit's fires — exquisitely beautiful as a picture — are suggestive of the confidence and security with which the king's subjects live under his rule.

The Tamil poet, moreover, strikes a higher spiritual note than Horace. While the Roman dwells on the glories of Augustus gained in the battle field and by the extension of his empire, and on his achievements as civil administrator and guardian of the public peace and morals, the other poet, touching on these, passes on to nobler graces of character, forgiveness of injuries and steadfastness in the pursuit of high ideals."

* * * *

Every commemoration of such illustrious embodiments of Tamil Culture cannot but remind us of the pitiful state of Tamil leadership of lack of leadership that we experience to-day. Though students and scholars ought to develop an attitude of disinterestedness in politics yet the course of culture is so bound up with political conditions and trends that even a quarterly journal such as ours cannot but regret the poor leadership that is so marked in Tamildom. In the political, educational, economic and social fields, the Tamils seem to show a remarkable aptitude to be camp-followers and opportunists. Our students show a painful disregard for excelling in studies ; and exhibit a want of initiative and courage, two compelling qualities necessary for progress. Statesmanship and scholarship that formed a delightful combination in the two distinguished Tamils about whom we have written seem conspicuously absent in most of those who aspire to leadership among the

Tamils. Our leaders should be endowed with the vision that is the result of travel and a study of history, with the experience that is the gift of a knowledge of men and books, with the outlook that is the result of learning and wisdom. Leadership and mediocrity seem to have joined hands to the great detriment of Tamil culture.

It is necessary at this juncture of our history that our statesmen be scholars as well for it is then that they will realise the greatness of their calling and the role they are expected to play in passing on to the next generation the accumulation of our past cultural achievements. The world of the present does go on changing, the culture of our time progresses ; yet the role played in this evolution by what was accomplished through generations which have gone before, is severely under-estimated. Unless our leaders are aware of the heritage that is theirs and the heritage of which they are the custodians, they will hardly play fair by the people they represent. In Sir Shanmukam Chetty and in Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam they have inspiring examples. May we continue to have such statesmen-scholars. *Exoriare aliquis.*

Your Subscription for 1954

"Tamil Culture" is being published in the interests of everything Tamil.

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You can help us by renewing your subscription for 1954 immediately.

The 1954 January number (Volume III, No. I) will be sent only to those who shall have renewed their subscriptions before the end of December 1953.

Please renew your subscription immediately; else no copy will be printed for you in 1954. Send Rupees Five to either of these addresses :-

The Colombo Book Centre, Colombo, Ceylon.

The Tamil Literature Society, Tuticorin, South India.

Tamil Catholic Literature in Ceylon

FROM THE 16TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY

RT. REV. DR. EDMUND PEIRIS, O.M.I.

IN 1505, eight years after Vasco da Gama had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, a Portuguese fleet under a young nobleman, called Lourenço de Almeida, the son of the first Viceroy of India, cast anchor in the roadstead of Colombo. With the permission of the King of Kotte, then the Western Kingdom of Ceylon, he built near the harbour a trading place or factory and, leaving a few soldiers there, departed to India. In 1518, the Portuguese returned to Colombo, and, this time, they erected a fortress. A Franciscan Friar looked after the spiritual interests of this little colony. Six years later they abandoned the fort, on account of the opposition of the inhabitants; some soldiers however went with their chaplain to live with the friendly king of Kotte. This Friar and a priest, sent by the king of Portugal to minister to the Portuguese who still lived in Colombo, began to speak to the people about Christianity and made the first converts. But organized missionary work did not start until 1543, when four Franciscans under Friar Joao de Villa de Conde came to Ceylon, on the invitation of the Sinhalese King. Such were the beginnings of Christianity on the western coast of Ceylon, where the Sinhalese predominate.

There is, however, evidence to show that Franciscan missionaries had carried the Gospel message to the northern districts of the Island as early as 1520. Here again, the mass movement towards Christianity did not begin till 1543. The

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., literary critic and historian, is Bishop of Chilaw, Ceylon.

people of the island of Mannar embraced Christianity under the influence of St. Francis Xavier and proved their constancy by laying down their lives for the Faith. Their blood spoke and the inhabitants of the Jaffna peninsula listened to the message of Christ. The people of the North of Ceylon are Tamils and belong, both racially and culturally, to the great Dravidian block of South India. Christianity found them adherents of an ancient religious system, sprung from the soil, and deeply rooted in the allegiance of millions, enriched with a literature venerable and vast and well developed, observed in a minute daily ritual and hallowed by every form of art.

The missionary, who came among such a people had to know their language not only to converse with them but also to announce and explain and defend the doctrines of Christianity. It is easy enough nowadays for a new comer to learn the languages of a missionary country ; but in those pioneer days there were no books and he had to learn by the slow and painful direct method. He had also to discover or invent suitable terms to express accurately the ideas, often intricate, of Christian philosophy and theology. Then, there was the problem of harnessing for the service of the Church all that was best and noblest in the existing culture. Among the missionaries, however, there were not a few whose culture and spirit of critical study and scientific research, enabled them to master the vernaculars.

The first European missionary in Ceylon to grasp the intricacies of Tamil grammar was Fr. Anrrique Anrriques, S.J., sometimes called Henry Henriquez. He was born in 1520, entered the Society of Jesus on the 8th of October 1545 and set out for India in 1546. He began the study of Tamil on the recommendation of St. Francis Xavier and the encouragement of St. Ignatius Loyola. From 1561 to 1564, he was in Mannar, and, in 1566 became the head of the Tamil University set up at Punnaikayal, where he had as assistant Brother Pero Luis, a Brahmin convert of his, the first Indian to be received into the Society of Jesus. This Brother had been

with him for a time at Mannar, helping him in his literary work. In the midst of his missionary labours, Fr. Anriquez wrote a Tamil Grammar and Vocabulary for the use of Missionaries and translated into Tamil a Method for Confession, a Life of Saints and the Christian Doctrine of Marcos Jorge adding to it a method of instruction by question and answer. A copy in Tamil of his "*Vitae Christi Domini, Beatissimae Virginis et aliorum Sanctorum*", sent to Rome in 1602, is now in the Bibliotheca Vaticana. (rf. *The Jesuits in Ceylon* by Fr. S. G. Perera, S.J., pp. 18, 19, 156, 157; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Vol. 3, Pt. I, p. 144*). To print his works, a Spanish Jesuit Lay Brother, called Joao Gon-salves, set up at Cochin in 1577 a printing press, which was later perfected by Fr. Joao de Faria, a distinguished name in Indo-Portuguese architecture. (rf. *Missionary Pioneers and Indian Languages* by Dahlmann, S.J., p. 7).

In a letter written from Mannar on the 19th of December 1561, Fr. Anriquez speaks of an attempt made by him to provide his converts with canticles, composed by a Tamil Christian in Colombo under the inspiration of Friar Joao de Villa de Conde. "In Ceylon," he says, "there is a Malabar (i.e., Tamil) singer, a Christian, with whom a Franciscan Friar, named Friar Joao de Vila de Conde, has some dealings with regard to a prose catechism in the manner of canticles, which they are wont to learn in schools, and also other Canticles, in praise of GOD and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which they are accustomed to sing like what our orphans sing. It is some time since this singer had composed them, and knowing that Pearl Fishery is taking place here, he sent to the Pattangâtins and the chief men what he had composed and for which he had already been rewarded by the said Friar Joao. The Christians were very pleased to hear of such a Catechism and Canticles, which are now being sung throughout this place; and they fixed 50 cruzados (gold coins). Moreover, some young men with good voices, who learnt these canticles sing them in certain parts where the Christians assemble . . . The said Friar Joao himself wrote to me to see

whether there were errors and whether they could be printed, for which reason, I think there are errors in the canticles which I cannot find, because of the obscure Malabar, which I do not understand nor is commonly spoken ; and, as there was with the said Friar Joao a Priest of the country who knew Latin well and something of the making of canticles, I wrote to ask him to come here, so that we might amend them together. The Malabar Father wrote to me that, if I sent him a message to this effect, he would see about the Catechism and that, after the corrections, it would be excellent and should be printed." But there is no further information available on this interesting work.

We are, however, more fortunate with regard to two other Tamil poetical works of the Portuguese period ; one is the *Gñānap-Pallu* (ஞானப்பள்ளு) and the other *Santiōgu Māior Ammānai* (சந்தியோகு மாயோர் அம்மானை). They are in print, although the copies are somewhat rare.

The *Santiōgu Māior Ammānai* is perhaps the oldest Catholic vernacular literary work extant in Ceylon. It was composed in 1647 by "the learned Pedro of the race of the Aryas", who had been converted to Christianity by Fr. Joao Carvalho, S.J., and baptised in the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Tellipalai, in the Jaffna peninsula. The purpose of the poem is to celebrate the famous shrine of St. James the Great at Kilali. All this is stated in the Preface to the poem, written by a pupil of the author. In the body of the poem the author gives his sources and a glimpse of the fame of the shrine in his time. The relevant passage is worth reproducing here, especially as a specimen of the poet's craft.

பாண்டிக் கரையதனிற் பரதர்கள் கோத்திரத்தோர்
வேண்டு சந்தியோகு கதை விருத்தப் பாவாய் உரைத்தார்
வேறும் இதுவன்றி வேண்டும் பெரியோர்கள்
கூறினார் மெத்தக் குறிப்பான காரியங்கள்
ஆனதெல்லாம் கற்றுணர்ந்து அற்ப புத்தியோடுலகர்
தானறிய விக்கதையைச் சாற்றுகிறேன் கேட்டருளீர்.

வாம்பரிமேல் ஏறி மகிமைச் சுவடணிந்து
நாம் பணிய நீதி நடத்து சந்தியாகுவுக்கு
எச்சரிக்கையாக விளங்கிய யாழ்ப்பாண மதில்
பச்சிலைப் பள்ளியெனும் பற்றிற் கிழாலியிலே
கொம்பாஞ்ஞ தே சேசுக் கூட்டத்திலுள்ளவர்கள்
நம்பிச் சமைத்து வைத்த நல்லாலயத்திருந்து
ஆருந்தமைத் தேடி அஞ்சலிக்க வாறவர்க்குத்
தேறும் அனந்த நவம் செய்தேயிருப்பது மெய் ;
செய் நவத்திறை கோடி செனங்களின்கே வாறார்கள்
ஐயமற விங்கு வந்தோர் ஆசையுற்றுக் கேட்பதற்கு

...

துங்கக் கவிதை செய்யத் துணிந்தேனே அம்மானே.

The translation : "Gentle readers, the descendants of the Parathar living in Pandik-karai have composed the story of the worshipful Santiago in the *viruttam* metre. And many other learned people have also written important notices on the same subject. Having made a study of all these works, I am relating this story for the sake of the public at large in a manner that will be easily understood. Santiago who mounted on a bounding steed and wearing a glorious coat of armour, protects us his worshippers, works indeed innumerable miracles for the comfort of all those who go to honour him in the excellent church reverently built for him by the faith of the members of the 'Companha de Jesus' at Kilali in the Pachilaipaly Pattu of illustrious Jaffna. Crores of people are coming here on account of the wonders wrought in this place. I have endeavoured to recount this choice story to satisfy the desire of those who hopefully flock to this place." (rf. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, vol. 3, pt. iii, pp. 187-192).

The work is divided into 55 sections each headed by one or more *viruttam*, a species of quatrain in various forms. The work was in manuscript until 1894, when it was printed for the first time at the "Atchuvelli Gnana-prakasa Press", Jaffna. The text, without any comment or critical notes, was printed again in 1930.

The *Gnānap-pallu* belongs to the same period. Rev. Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., gives the following description of this poem. "The author's name is not known. The date of the composition, however, is made out to be between 1644 and 1650 or a little later. For the author says he composed the poem with the help and at the instance of the Jesuit Father Sebastiao Fonseca, who is known from other sources to have been in Ceylon between 1644 and 1650. (rf. *Catalogus Operariorum S. J. Qui in Ceylana . . . by Fr. L. Besse, S.J., p. 21*). *Pallu* or *Ulatipāddu* (உலத்திபாட்டு) is one of the 96 conventional kinds of literary composition in Tamil called *Pirabandam*. It is a species of pastoral in two sorts of verse, the *cintu* or lyric songs and *viruttam* (விருத்தம்) or quatrains. It has to comprise some 40 items which are detailed in Beschi's *Tonnūl* iii, 283. In *Gnānap-pallu* or 'spiritual pastoral' we have (1) Invocation to GOD, (2) Enter Pallan, representing Jesus Christ, and the older and younger Pallis, representing Jerusalem and Rome respectively, (3) Eulogy of Jerusalem and of Rome, (4) Fertility of the two lands eulogised, (5) the praises of the Triune GOD and of the Incarnate Word, (6) Prayer for rain, (7) Description of clouds and of rain . . ., (8) The song of the *koil* or Indian cuckoo, (9) Enter the Proprietor of the fields — GOD, the Father, (10) The Proprietor finds fault with the Pallis, (11) Enter the Pallan, (12) Inquiry into the cultivation and calling to account, (13) The older Palli complains, (14) The Pallan replies, (15) The Pallan accuses the older Palli, (16) She is put in stocks, (17) Her lament, (18) She is liberated, (19) The ploughing of the field, (20) The oxen fall on the Pallan and bruise him, (21) He is helped to arise by the Pallis, who lament him over his sufferings, (22) The planting of paddy, (23) The harvesting, (24) Heaping up the sheaves, (25) Dispute between the two Pallis finally settled by the Proprietor. The poem is brimful of interest to the lover of Tamil, as it is couched in elegant classical language and abounds in poetical fancies. The only printed edition is of 1904, but full of errors and misprints. 16 mo, pp. 50."

This work may be considered the earliest specimen of Tamil Catholic dramatic poetry we possess, although there is a record of a Catholic drama in Tamil acted at Kammala in 1612, the subject of which was the Creation of the World and the Incarnation of Christ. (*Letter of Emm. Barradas, S.J., 15 Dec. 1613*).

In spite of the wars and strifes that agitated the Jaffna peninsula during the days of the Portuguese and notwithstanding the meagre information available at present about the literary activities of those pioneering days, it is clear that an effort was made by clergymen and laymen alike to produce a Tamil Catholic literature. In India, it was the period when Fr. Robert de Nobili and his brother Jesuits, Frs. Emmanuel Martinez and Anthony de Proenza wrote Catholic works in elegant Tamil and even had them printed. Their noble example had its followers in Ceylon, and would perhaps have had its rivals too, but for the abrupt ending of all missionary work on the conquest of Jaffna by the Dutch in 1658. That same year on the 19th September, the new rulers issued a proclamation forbidding, on pain of death, the harbouring or concealing of Catholic priests : all acts of Catholic worship were declared to be crimes ; Catholics were compelled to baptize, marry and bury, according to the rites of the Dutch Reformed Church and to send their children to the proselytizing schools set up by the Dutch. The Catholics were thus deprived of their priests and all spiritual aid. This state of affairs lasted about four decades when GOD inspired a holy Priest, the Venerable Father Joseph Vaz, to come of his own accord to the rescue of the Catholics of Ceylon. He arrived in Jaffna in 1687 and worked alone for nine years, when the Congregation of the Oratory of Goa, which he had himself founded, sent him fellow workers. Their combined effort saved the Church in Ceylon from utter destruction.

At the time Father Vaz arrived in Ceylon all traces of

works written in Tamil by the Portuguese missionaries had almost vanished ; there were no books giving a settled form

of prayers or catechism, while such books were badly needed, as the Priests were not able to stay long enough in any single place to give adequate instruction. Fr. Vaz had, therefore, himself composed in Tamil with great labour a catechism of the Christian doctrine, a manual of prayers and litanies, and translated the meditations of the Way of the Cross, first written by him in Konkani at Goa. They were afterwards revised by Fr. Gonsalvez, whom Fr. Vaz had commissioned to provide the Catholics in Ceylon with books of instruction and edification. (*Oratorian Mission* p. 74 ; *Vida by Do Rêgo*, 2nd. edit. V, 57, n. 14).

When the Bishop of Cochin, under whose jurisdiction Ceylon then was, came to hear that a new Tamil version of such common prayers as the Our Father, the Angelical Salutation and the Creed, was in use among the Catholics, he disapproved it on the score that his sanction had not been obtained previously and that it was improper to discard the version which already prevailed in South India. Fr. Gonsalvez' defence was that the Indian version was defective. But his Ordinary was not satisfied with this explanation. Therefore, on the 12th of February 1735, Fr. Gonsalvez wrote to his Bishop, in all humility and submission, begging pardon for his fault and requesting him to impose on the offender "a rigorous penance". The people, however, persisted in using the new version. The whole episode is found in a number of letters, now in the State archives of Goa. (rf. *Ven. Fr. Joseph Vaz*, Vol. I, Series 3, July 1942, pp. 11-15). In view of the revision of these prayers recently undertaken by a board of Catholic writers in the *Tamil Nad*, Fr. Gonsalvez' version of the *Hail Mary*, will be of much interest. It is taken from a manuscript of his *Christiyanī Alayam*.

தேவ தூதன் மங்களம்

மங்களம் மரியே பிரிய பிரசாத பூரணியே கர்த்தர்
உம்மண்டையே ஸ்திரிகளில் ஆசீர்வதிக்கப்பட்டவள்
நீரே, உமது திருவுதரத்தின் பலனாகிய யேசுவும் ஆசீர்
வதிக்கப்பட்டவராமே.

ஆராதிஷ்ட மரியே தேவமாதாவே பாவிசளான எங்
களுக்காக இப்போதும் எங்கள் சாங்காலத்திலும்
பிரார்த்தியும். ஆமென் யேசு.

The Priest, whose writings had the profoundest influence on the Catholics of Ceylon, was Fr. Jacome Gonsalvez. Like Fr. Joseph Vaz, he was a Konkani Brahmin of Goa and a member of the Oratory of the Holy Cross of Miracles. After a brilliant career in the Jesuit College of Goa and the Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas, he entered the Oratory in 1700, and left for the Ceylon missions in 1705. He had to wait three months on the southern coast of India to get a boat to cross over to Ceylon. This period he turned into good account by studying Tamil. Fr. Vaz, aware of the intellectual abilities of the new missionary, set him apart to study Sinhalese and Tamil and produce the books necessary for the instruction and edification of the Catholics ; and, nobly did he rise to the occasion not only by supplying the pressing need of the time but also by composing a large number of elegant works in the two languages spoken in the country. A list of his Tamil books is given below, with their descriptions culled mostly from the writings of the late Fr. Gnana Prakasar, o.m.i. of Nallur, Jaffna.

Christiyāni Alayam (the Christian's treasure-house) is, perhaps, his earliest work in Tamil. The sub-titles are : "What a Christian ought to believe ; how he should worship and what he ought to practise". It gives the common prayers, a short Catechism of Christian doctrine, an examination of conscience, a method of reciting the rosary, with brief meditations, which are very popular to this day, the Litany of Loretto, meditations for Mass, explanation of the ceremonies of baptism, counsels and prayers for the sick, the ceremonies of Christian burial and translations of some of the prayers of the Roman Ritual to ward off the influence of evil spirits and various other calamities and sicknesses. It is the oldest prayer book in Tamil now extant, and, although it has never been printed, a good part of it has found its way into printed books.

Dēva Arulveda Pūrānam (1725) is in two parts, *Puran-tima Kāndam* and *Paccima Kāndam*, i.e., the Old and the New Testament. This is a compendium of sacred history, from the book of Genesis to the Apocalypse, interspersed with dissertations on Christian doctrine and refutation of heresy and paganism. The two parts were printed separately in 1886, the first part consisting of 197 pages and the second 130 pages.

Sattiya Vēdāgama Sanshēpam (1736) is more or less a summary of the *Pūrāna*, in catechetical form. It is divided into eight eras or *yugams*, a *yugam* being subdivided into sections ; the last *yugam* is that of Christ and is given in 21 sections. The work was printed in Madras in 1875.

Suvisēsha Viritturai (1728) is an explanation of the Gospels of Sundays and Feast days and is yet very popular in Ceylon. In a letter to the Bishop of Cochin, Fr. Gonsalvez informs him how the work came to be written. "There was in use here (Ceylon) a version of the Gospels which the Father Censor says was done by a Father of the Society (of Jesus), who first showed the people the way to love the Gospels in the Malabar tongue, which work not being fruitful to the people, because it had no explanations and contained so many errors that it was not possible to correct them (a thing which I cannot ascribe to the author but to the copyists), I was forced by the people's request to do this with its explanation and doctrine." (rf. *Ven. Fr. Joseph Vaz, loc. cit. p. 15*). It was first printed in 1848. Although its style is rich in its Sanskrit turn of sentences, similar to the *mani-pravāla* of the Jains, there is a charm in its majestic diction which captivates the reader.

Viyākula Pirasangam (1730) consists of nine sermons on the Passion of Our Lord. It is the most popular and soul-stirring of Fr. Gonsalvez' works. These sermons are always chanted to a mournful tune and are still used in many a Catholic home during Lent and at Passion plays in Holy Week. It was printed in Colombo in 1844. Fr. Gonsalvez

wrote Passion chants or *Oppari* to supplement the sermons. He says in the letter quoted above, "There existed here some ancient hymns of sorrow about Christ, which the women singing over the dead, the heretics began to speak ill ; for this reason, the people asked me to compose for them others suitable for occasions of mourning." The sermons as well as the chants bear witness to the author's tender devotion to the Passion of Christ. They have a pathos seldom met with in prose or verse in any language.

In order to acquaint Catholics with the life and virtues of the Saints, he composed the *Tarma Uttiyānam* (Garden of Virtues), where he deals with the lives of 30 Saints. It was written in 1736 but was never printed. *Atputa Varalāru* (Miraculous Legends) is attributed to Fr. Gonsalvez, for very good reasons, although it is not found in the list given in the Oratorian records. (rf. *Oratorian Mission*, pp. 251-2). The purpose of this work is given in its sub-title : "to confirm the Faith and enforce pious conduct." It contains 53 legends on the Commandments of GOD and of the Church, 23 on the devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary and a few on the souls in Purgatory. A part of it was printed in 1918, the rest of it is still in manuscript. It is not unlikely that Fr. Gonsalvez used two works, well known at the time, in the composition of the two books just mentioned : the *Flos Sanctorum*, a Tamil translation of which was printed about the year 1580, and the "Tratado dos Milagres", printed at Rachol in 1655. (rf. *Queyroz*, p. 688 ; *Miss. Pioneers and Ind. Languages*, p. 7 ; *Bulletin of the Sch. of Oriental Studies*, loc. cit. p. 142).

The *Gnāna Unartchy* (*Spiritual Exhortation*) and the *Sukirta Tarpanam* (Mirror of Virtues), were designed by the author, to assist Catholics in making their Spiritual Exercises. The *Unartchy* was written in 1734 and the *Tarpanam* in the following year. The former contains 14 vigorous exhortations, dealing with the soul, the end of man, malice of sin, vanity of life, death, judgement, hell and heaven ; the latter, in 15 chapters, leads the repentant soul in the path of virtue.

For wealth of illustration, graphic details and directness of appeal, these two works are hard to beat. They were printed, one in 1844, the other in 1914. Some writers have attributed the *Unartchy* to Fr. Constantine Beschi, S.J., but, as Fr. Gnana Prakasar has shown, it is clearly the work of Fr. Gonsalvez.

Among the controversial works of Fr. Gonsalvez, *Vattiyārum Kudiyānavanum Tarkittukonda Tarkam*, in defence of Catholic doctrines which are generally attacked by Protestants, was written in 1715 and printed in 1923. Four other works, *Nava Tarkam* (1732), a comparison between the Catholic Church and the Reformed Churches, *Musalman Vēdam* (1734), on the origin and errors of Mohammedanism, *Kadavul Nirnayam* (1720) a refutation of paganism, and *Nālu Vēdam* (1738), the four religions, i.e., Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Calvinism, are listed in Oratorian records, but nothing more is known about them (*Orat. Mission*, p. 252).

From the time of their conquest of Jaffna, the Dutch set up an organization for the propagation of the Reformed religion. In 1690, they opened a Seminary at Jaffna for higher education, all clergymen were instructed by Government to learn the vernaculars and, from 1737, Tamil religious works were printed and circulated among the people. A Catechism, the Gospels and a set of sermons were brought out between 1739 and 1746; and in later years Philip de Mello, Native proponent and scholar, wrote in elegant Tamil several works against the Catholic Church. Under such circumstances, it was essential that the Catholics should be well instructed in their own Faith and equipped to meet the arguments of their adversaries. The service, which Fr. Gonsalvez rendered to the Catholics of his time, was, indeed, incalculable.

Five years before the arrival of Fr. Gonsalvez, a Catholic layman, named, Arulappa Poologasingha Mudaliyar, of Tellipalai, wrote a poem, known as *Tiruchchelvar Kāvīyam*, embodying the story of Barlaam and Josaphat. It has 1946

viruttams, divided into 23 *padalams*, beginning with *Naddu-padalam*, as required by the conventionalism of an epic. Simon Casie Chitty speaks also of a Catholic scholar, called Lorenzo Pulaver, born of a Catholic family, who traced their Faith to the time of the introduction of Christianity to Mannar in the days of St. Francis Xavier. He was a native of Pasikulam, in Mantotte, and is said to have flourished about the middle of the 18th century. Many excellent hymns in honour of Our Lord and His Blessed Mother are attributed to him. (rf. *Tamil Plutarch*, pp.57, 58).

The Oratorian contribution to Tamil Catholic literature did not end with Fr. Jacome Gonsalvez, for, about 36 years after him, there came to Ceylon another Goan Oratorian, who trod in his footsteps, both as a scholar and a missionary. (*Letter of Antonio Ribeiro, 3 May 1779*). "Father Master Gabriel Pacheco" says an Oratorian Report, "who went to the island of Ceylon with great eagerness and applied himself to the study of the languages with great diligence, is now so proficient that he has already composed a vocabulary of the Tamil language. He had also written seven meditations on the Seven Dolours of Our Lady, the origin of the Religious Order of the Servites, a method of saying the Rosary of the Dolours and a Catalogue of the obligations of those who have received the Scapular of the Seven Dolours. He has also written in Tamil a Catechism of Christian doctrine approved by the Bishop of Cochin. Father Superior writes that this catechism has done much good, that women and children of Colombo and Negombo know it by heart and that the children discuss the truths taught in it. He is also fairly well versed in the Hollander language and now preaches publicly in that language in Colombo to the great admiration of the people and even of the Reformados, many of whom come to hear his sermons. As the learned Reformados are now with their Bibles in their hands to confute Catholic truth, the Father has asked me for a work of Natal Alexander and another of Calmet and one of Pedro Anat, as Father Pacheco desires to translate them into Tamil. I have already sent II volumes

of Calmet and his dictionary, nine volumes of Natal Alexander and two of Pedro Anat, by a vessel that set sail from Cochin. I hope they have reached him safe." (*Report by Sebastian Mascarenhas, 20 Jan. 1787*).

The *magnum opus* of Fr. Pacheco is *Tēvappirasaiyṉ Tirukkatai* (தேவப்பிரசையின் திருக்கதை) or the history of the people of GOD : a history of Israel and of the Catholic Church. It was printed for the first time in 1880 at St. Joseph's Convent Press, Mannanam, by Fr. Cyriacus a S. Eliseo, T.O.C.D., after it had been "corrected" by one J. A. Vyakappapillai. The work ran into five volumes, each volume containing, on an average, about 500 pages. Copies of this work are now very rare.

Fr. Pacheco also translated into Tamil the Life of Ven. Fr. Joseph Vaz, written by Fr. Sebastian do Rego in 1742. It was abridged and published by the late Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., of Jaffna. The popular catechism mentioned in the above report is *Gnāna-appam* (ஞானப்பம்) or Spiritual Bread, written about the year 1785. It was later translated into Sinhalese by another Oratorian Priest. Fr. Pacheco's tender devotion towards Our Lady shows itself in *Alukaiykkuravai* (அழுகைக்குரவை) meditations on her Seven Dolours, composed in 1787 and Novena of Meditations and Prayers on the Holy Rosary, called *Sebamālai Mādavṉ Navanāl* (செபமலை மாதாவின் நவநாள்). Both works were published in Jaffna, under the editorship of Fr. Gnana Prakasar. *Tiviya Pālanin Nava Tina Urtcavam* (திவ்விய பாலனின் நவதின உற்சவம்), nine days' preparation for Christmas, and *Tanitta Vāttrumākkaludaiya sallāpavakanin Nibandanam* (தனித்த வாற்றுமாக்களுடைய சல்லாபவகனின் நிறந்தனம்) or "elevations on the Mysteries of religion are also from the pen of Fr. Pacheco. Of these two, the first has been published and is very popular ; but the second is yet in manuscript. Simon Casie Chitty attributes the following works to Fr. Pacheco : A life of St. Francis Xavier and a book on the Six Divine Attributes (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (C.B.)*, No. 4, p. 80 ; No. 5, p. 185).

The example of Fr. Pacheco inspired another Oratorian, Fr. Sebastian Pereira, to devote himself to the apostolate of the pen. He translated, among other works, the Imitation of Christ. But as he arrived in Ceylon only in 1818, his literary activities do not belong to the period under review. There is an *Ammānai* in honour of St. Nicholas, said to have been composed in "the days of Pedro Santo, a Goan Priest"; but of him we have no information at all. It was, however, printed in Jaffna about 45 years ago. In 1757, one Francis Pillai Pulaver wrote a set of verses, which, Fr. Gnana Prakassar, has described as "a conventional poem celebrating the different stages of the Infancy of Our Saviour." This, too, was printed in Jaffna in 1904.

Tamil Catholic literature in Ceylon, from its inception came under the influence of such eminent scholars as Frs. Robert de Nobili and Constantine Beschi, of the Society of Jesus. During the Dutch persecution, the two literary men, who dominated in the Ceylon missions, were Frs. Gonsalvez and Pacheco. They wrote not only doctrinal and devotional books, but also controversial tracts and treatises. Such works were very necessary at the time, because of the determined effort of the Protestants to discredit the doctrines of the Church, with a view to arresting its steady progress. For instance, in 1753, the Dutch Government Press in Colombo issued a work known as *Sattiyattin Jeyam*, (the Triumph of Truth) by Philip de Mello, scholar and preacher. It was a bitter attack on Catholic doctrine, served up in very good Tamil. The Catholic reply was a book called *Sattiya Virōḍa Sankāram* (the Annihilation of the Enemies of Truth), attributed to Fr. Pacheco by Simon Casie Chitty. (*op. cit.* No. 5, p. 185). As the Catholics of those days had not the luxury of a printing press, they circulated handwritten copies of it. The literary activity of the Clergy was encouraged and shared by the laity as well. The 16th, 17th and 18th centuries were a period of literary pioneers, novices and consummate craftsmen. No study of Tamil Catholic literature can be complete without a correct appreciation of their literary productions.

But — tell it not in Gath ! — much of their labour of love is yet in manuscript or in incunabula ; and, even of that, a good part would have perished but for the enterprise of the late Fr. Gnana Prakasar. It is fervently hoped that the literary movement of which *Tamil Culture* is the sign and symbol, will bend its energies to edit and publish the Catholic Tamil works of the pioneers, at least as a token of appreciation of the services of the greatest Tamil Catholic scholar of our age.

When the Dravidian South led India

A NEGLECTED PERIOD OF SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

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IT IS generally admitted that there was in the south of India a flourishing Dravidian civilisation before Aryans ; or their pastoral culture came into the north. When, early in this century, Professor P. Sundram Pillai, claimed that the beginnings of Indian History have to be traced on the banks of the Vaigai and the Caveri, it received almost unanimous support from historians. But politics can dominate everything else ; great empires rose in the north, and largely because of geographical position, dominated the south also. This tradition which started with the Maurayas in the third century B. C., and which has continued to our own days, had however some forcible interruptions, although brief, during which the South, largely by its economic strength, consolidated itself under Dravidian Rulers, and carried its political influence into the north, as far as the Himalayas. This paper deals with one such interruption, which occurred during the first two centuries of the Christian Era.

It was South India, south of Tirupati, then called Tamilagam, that came into great prominence, 1700 years ago.⁽¹⁾ In Tamilagam were three chief kingdoms (*Muvareser*), Chera, Chola and Pandya. Each of these attained suzerainty over the other two (*Mummudi*) at various times, but during the period under notice, it was the turn of the Cheras, who had their capital at Musiri (Muziris of the

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¹ The rise of the Andhras about this time is also in point.

Romans), also called Vanchi and Karur. That was India's principal port then, and here was centred India's foreign trade. Two of the Chera kings of the time, namely Imayavaramban-Cheraladan, and Chenkuttavan, are reported to have invaded the Gangetic plain and defeated Aryan kings and Yavana settlers. The former assumed his ambitious title by dominating the country as far as the Himalayas (*i.e.* made the Himalayas his boundary). Abundant archaeological data are yet lacking in support of this claim. But, the fact of these invasions is, perhaps better attested than the reputed conquests of Samudragupta, the so-called Indian Napoleon, in the 4th century A. D. Yet the exploits of South India have not been incorporated in the history of India. Perhaps this is due to the lethargy of the southerners, but the prejudice of the northerners has also played some part in this.

Historical Sources

It may be that the sources for the history of the south are scrappy, but this period (1st to 3rd century, A. D.) is illuminated by many contemporary Tamil and Greek sources of rare value. In Pliny's *Natural History* (c. 50 A.D.), *Periplus Maris Aerithrae* (c. 70 A.D.), and in Ptolemy's *Geography* (c. 150 A. D.), we have detailed accounts of the Tamil kingdoms, and we know from these works that Rome's Eastern trade was centred in Chera, Chola and Pandya ports, because most of the goods required came from that part of the country. But these Greek writings throw little light on the political condition of the country. This void, however, is filled by important Tamil works of the time, which were written in or around Kerela, which was then at the helm of Tamilakam. *Padittuppathu*, *Chilappadikaram*, *Manimekalai*, *Akananuru*, *Purananuru* — these classical Tamil works are not now familiar to Kerala people, but three of them were written by leading poets of Kerala, when Tamil was its language, and they deal largely with the exploits of the Cheraman kings of the time. The first work above named eulogises ten leading Chera kings. *Chilappadikaram* was written by the scholarly brother (Ilango-Adigal) of the greatest Chera king of the

age, Chenkuttavan, who also held hegemony over all Tamilakam, as is generally admitted. Thus, what may be called the Augustan Age of Tamil Literature synchronised with the period during which the Tamils dominated the political life as well as the trade of the country.

Although such important historical sources, internal and external, are available for this early period of South Indian history, those have not been properly worked out, and this magnificent period of South Indian history still remains obscure. For one thing, the great epic *Chilappadikaram*, although available in English in the excellent work by Professor V. R. R. Dikshitar, has not been given its due place in Indian History. A reconstruction of the history of this period on proper lines is a great need. In the present paper, it is proposed to deal chiefly with trade and navigation, and also with the state of religion and culture.

Early Trade

From very ancient times, South India had trade with China and Indonesia in the east, and Arabia, Abyssinia, Egypt, Greece and Rome in the west. Spices, precious stones, ivory and sandalwood were much in demand in those countries. This trade goes back to the Chaldaeans (3000 B. C.) and Phoenicians (1000 B. C.). Later, Arabs, Jews and Somalis took active part in this trade. Eventually it fell into the hands of Romans, and under them it flourished most.

This trade with the West formerly went on, partly by the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates valley, and partly by the Red Sea route. The latter ultimately became the principal route. Sailing ships took this cargo from Muziris or from Barygaza (Broach), to Myos Hormus on the Red Sea, and from there caravans took it to Alexandria on the Mediterranean Sea. Early Roman emperors, especially Augustus, valued this trade very much, and gave it every encouragement.

Discovery of Monsoon Winds

About the year 45 A.D., the trade through this route was revolutionized, as it were, by the discovery of the monsoon winds, by a navigator called Hippalus. This discovery made it possible for sailing vessels to cut across the Arabian Sea straight from Red Sea mouth to Muziris on the Malabar Coast. Thus was avoided the perilous coastal journey by the Arabian and the Persian coasts, which mariners dreaded. Perhaps the Phoenician and Arab mariners had known and used this route, but it was kept a closed secret by them.

The result of this discovery was to make Kerala, the western Tamil kingdom, the greatest centre of trade, not only of India, but of the whole eastern world. Muziris thus became a port of enviable position in all India, in all the world. The supremacy of Muziris was due, not only to the advantage of the Monsoon winds, but also to the fact that the articles of largest demand in the Roman Empire and China were the produce of Kerala or nearby. Not only beryl from Coimbatore but spikenard from Ganges, and Dacca muslins seem to have come to West Coast ports, mostly borne by bullocks or buffaloes through the overland routes. In other words, a large entrepot trade was carried on in these days at Muziris. In the matter of trade, at any rate, all roads then led to Muziris.

Pepper Fleets from Malabar

The chief article which brought Roman traders to Kerala was pepper. Fashionable Rome after her triumph over enemies, wanted all kinds of oriental luxuries—muslins, pearls and spices. And after the conquest of Carthage and other rich lands, there was plenty of gold in Rome to pay for these. The article that loomed largest in bulk and value was pepper ; this was the staple commodity of Roman trade, and formed the great bulk of the cargo of Roman ships. Further, all the pepper available to world trade at the time came from Malabar.

Pepper was from ancient times an important culinary spice in Europe and was used to season food and preserve

meat. It was also an unavoidable ingredient of medicines, and was prescribed by Hippocrates (who calls it the "Indian remedy") and by Galen, Pliny, Celsus and other Greek writers who deal with medicine. In Rome, the use of pepper seems to have become very popular from the time of Augustus, and according to Pliny (XII, 14), its price was as high as 15 denarii (about Rs. 7) per pound. Even higher prices were quoted. The prices in India must have been much lower and the profits realized were as high as 100 per cent according to Pliny. After the discovery of the monsoons and the consequent facilitation of transport the price of pepper fell but this made its demand elastic and such vast quantities had to be imported that about the year 192 A.D., special warehouses called *horrea piperatoria* had to be erected near the *Sacra-Via*. It was ground in pepper mills (*molae piperatoria*), or mortars, and sold in paper packets in *Campus Martius* and other market places. The pots or dishes (often of silver) in which pepper was brought to the table were called '*piperatoria*.'

Many Roman writers, especially Pliny, attacked the atrocious tastes of those who needed pepper to whet their appetite. "It is quite surprising," wrote Pliny, "that the use pepper has come so much into fashion, seeing that it is sometimes their substance and sometimes their appearance that has attracted our notice ; whereas pepper has nothing in it that can plead as a recommendation to either fruit or berry, its only desirable quality being a certain pungency ; and yet it is for this that we import it all the way from India. Who was the first to make trial of it as an article of food ? And who, I wonder, was the man who was not content to prepare for himself by hunger only or satisfying of a greedy appetite." (XII, 14.)

In spite of such strictures, the import trade in pepper grew immensely, and Roman merchants made vast profits, at the cost of the poor pepper growers here. It may be that gold and specie, worth over 1.5 crores annually, was sent to India and China. But, Rome got in return a commodity of several times that value in world trade. The importance of pepper

as a trade staple then can be seen from the fact that in 408 A. D., when Alaric the Goth laid siege to Rome, the terms he offered for raising the siege included the immediate payment of 3000 pounds of pepper along with other similar valuables.

Muziris and Barake

The chief centre of this trade was Muziris. In the first century A.D., this port grew to great dimensions. Its glory is recounted in Tamil as well as Roman writings of the time. Pliny calls it "primum emporium Indoi," the first port of India. According to contemporary Tamil works mentioned above, Muziris was an extremely busy place with a harbour crowded with ships and craft of all kinds, with large warehouses, and bazaars adjoining it, and with stately palaces and places of worship in the interior.

பேரியாற்று வெண்ணுரை கலங்க
யவனர் தந்த வினைமா ணன்கலம்
பொன்னெடு வந்து கறியொடு பெயரும்
வளங் கெழு முசிறி

(*Ahananuru*, 149.)

The great bulk of the cargo taken from there was pepper ; cinnamon leaf, beryl, pearls, ivory, silk-cloth, diamonds and tortoise-shell make up the rest. Imports were mostly gold and silver coin ; some wine, glass, metals like copper, tin and lead, were also imported. Not least important among the imports were singing boys and pretty maidens for the harem of the kings here. To guard this valuable trade, two Roman cohorts are said to have been stationed at Muziris.

Another important port, especially for pepper trade, was Barake (Purakad), which was at the mouth of river Baris (Pampayar). It was nearer to, and more accessible from, the chief pepper growing area in the interior, namely the forests at the upper reaches of Pampa river. Pepper from that area was taken by country boats to Nelcynda (Nakkida near Neranom), and from there it was taken in large boats to Barake. When Pliny wrote, Nelcynda and Barake had ap-

parently a large share in pepper trade, chiefly because the coastal area north of Muziris was invested by pirates. But in Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.), we find Muziris in full control of pepper trade, evidently because piracy had been suppressed in the mean time ; we are also told that Nelcynda and Barake had ceased to be legal marts, and Muziris was the only authorised mart. According to the earlier writers, Nelcynda and Barake were in the Pandya Kingdom, but these had ceased to be the case, apparently because the Chera kings had got back the southern territory from Pandyas. This agrees remarkably with the narrative of Chera history in the 1st and 2nd centuries, A. D., as found in the Tamil works quoted above.

On the East Coast also there were several ports. Next only to Muziris was Puhar (Kauveri-pūm-pattinam), the Chola metropolis. Korkai (Tirunelvely) was also an important port in the Pandya territory. And there were others like Poduca (Puducherry) and Kayal.

A Great Age of Navigation

The commerce of South Indian ports with Alexandria reached great heights, especially during the years 45—160 A. D. With growing prosperity in Rome, the demand for not only pepper but other spices and luxury goods rose to unknown proportions. To satisfy the craving of Roman women, Indian peacocks, parrots, monkeys and other pets were also taken, and Indian elephants were required for royal processions in Rome. The size of ships and their number had to be increased, to meet such growing needs. As such large imports had to be paid for in gold or specie, authorities in Rome had to face serious currency problems. After 218 A.D., copper coins had to be used to pay for imports.

With the increase in goods traffic, ships had also to carry numerous passengers to India. Some ships were equipped for carrying hundreds of passengers. Not all of them were merchants ; there were also builders and architects needed by South Indian kings. There came also women ; a first century

Greek letter of a woman called 'Indika' is preserved in papyrus. According to Warmington she was either the Indian wife of a Greek merchant resident in India, or daughter born to an Egyptian Greek while resident here. (*Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, pp. 67-8.) There are also references, in Tamil books, to Yavana men and women resident in India. Some of them were in the employ of kings to guard their palaces or grace their courts. Such large numbers of people from the Red Sea had never come to India before ; nor after 200 A.D., till about the middle of the 19th century. The contemporary work, *Periplus*, it is said, was written as a guide-book to help these numerous foreigners in South India.

A Glorious Period of South Indian History

The importance in South Indian history of the period under review can only be realized when we remember that from the very beginning of history down to 1869 A. D., when the Suez Canal was opened, communication from the Mediterranean shores to India had never been so easy nor quick, as during this period. The Red Sea route was known and used before 45 A. D., but most ships pursued the perilous and prolonged coastal route touching Makran, as few except Somalis and Arabs had known the secret of the Mosnoon winds. Therefore the traffic was meagre. Nor did the colossal trade and navigation activity sketched above last long. The decline started in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-80 A. D.) was hastened by the cruel massacre carried out by Caracalla in Alexandria (212 A.D.). The demand for oriental luxuries gradually declined in Rome, and the traffic in these articles passed from Egyptian Greeks to Arabs and Axumites. Finally with the Islamic expansion into Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, about the middle of the seventh century, the access of the Mediterranean peoples to the Arabian Sea was blocked for a long time, *i.e.* until Suez Canal was opened (1868). In the result, the Portuguese, Dutch, British and other traders had to sail by the prolonged route round Africa to reach India. Clive and Warren Hastings had to take this route. This protracted journey took over twelve months, as against

the three months involved in the journey from Alexandria through Red Sea in Roman times. The Arabian Sea was crossed in 40 days, after 45 A. D. Thus the period 45 to 212 A. D., is really unique in the long history of navigation, as also in South Indian history as a whole. It was a period when the Tamil kingdoms figured most prominently in Indian and World history.

A Flourishing Civilization

Judging from Chilappadikaram and other contemporary Tamil Works, South India was then a most prosperous part of India, of the world, and its civilization was of a high order. Particularly noteworthy is the state of the fine arts like dancing, then widely practised by men as well as women in South India. In fact, this was unique in all India. City life had advanced to magnificent proportions. Cities like Muziris and Puhar (Caveri-pum-pattinam) were in a most flourishing state, with magnificent thoroughfares and busy bazzars and with separate quarters set apart for different sections of people. Many merchants had amassed wealth and they lived in large houses, some of which were seven storeys high. For their enjoyment there were theatres and dancing-halls. The evening gatherings of pleasure-seekers at the seaside in Puhar, described in Chilappadikaram, remind one of Lido in Venice, rather than of anything elsewhere in India. There were schools, and learning was greatly valued. Even women became famous as poets. Women occupied a high place in society and did not at all form an inferior sex; they moved about freely. There were different castes, but hardly any caste exclusiveness. Varnasrama had not become as hard as it later became, especially in Kerala. Nor are these descriptions too fanciful; they are confirmed by independent sources and by foreign accounts. It does not appear that any other part of India, of Asia, was in such prosperous condition at that time. Only Rome and Alexandria had anything better to show, then, in the whole world.

State of Religion

The Tamil works referred to above disclose a commendable state of religious toleration prevailing in the Tamil

kingdoms at the time. Vedic Hinduism had come with the Brahmins who apparently had already settled here, but their influence was very limited at the time. The common people worshipped Kāli and Murugan, following the Dravidian tradition. But Buddhism and Jainism were becoming popular with the intellectual classes, even in high society. And there were all over the country Buddhist viharas and Jain chaityas, frequented by devotees of both sexes. Ilengo-Adigal, brother of king Chenkuttavan, was a devout Buddhist, while the king himself practised Hinduism. The court-poet, Chathanar, was also a Buddhist. Nevertheless, all the three worked harmoniously. With the rise of Saiva Siddhanta zealots, like Manikkavacagar, Hinduism took a rather militant turn, and caste exclusiveness began to lift its head. This led to the decline of Buddhism and Jainism. Nor was the environment sketched above unfavourable for the influx of foreign religions like Christianity. The success of the Apostle Thomas in South India must be partly due to this unique situation.

Conclusion

It is a great pity that the world knows so little of this magnificent South Indian civilization, and of the masterly epics and other unique writings which give such beautiful accounts of it. It is clear that South Indian universities and scholars have a bounden duty in this matter, and there is urgent need for making a thorough study of the literature and art of the age, and for making them widely known here and outside. The people that built magnificent temples like Madura and wrote such splendid epics like *Chilappadikaram* deserve to be ever honoured, and everywhere.

Thiruvalluvar's Choice-form and Theme

B. NATARAJAN, M.A., D.LITT.

EVER SINCE the great English savant Dr. G. U. Pope revealed to the western world the treasures of Thirukural through his epoch-making translation, a number of critical studies have been attempted, relating the teachings of Thiruvalluvar to those of the Buddha, the Christ and other seers and prophets of immortal fame. Yet in a sense the work of Thiruvalluvar is different from them all. With them how they lived as well as what they taught made up the sum total of their bequest to humanity. Their actions were as important in influencing the lives and destinies of nations as their sayings and preachings. About Valluvar we have no such authentic record of life. Such biography as has come down to us is the "concoction of some fertile Pandit-brain," as the late Mr. M. S. Purnalingam Pillai pointed out, probably helped by some Vakisar's account written about three centuries ago, but published for the first time in 1904. There is, therefore, nothing to show conclusively that Valluvar either dazed the contemporary generation or deflected the course of lives of their progeny by any act of arresting attention. He performed no miracles. Even the extant imaginative biography has not anything to mention approaching to a Royal Renunciation, or a Supreme Crucifixion. Nor does Valluvar appear to have been a preacher of note, or a philosopher of metaphysical and subtle argumentation. He built no school, gathered no disciples. His life appears to have run its even tenor, absorbed in scholarly pursuits of encyclopaedic dimensions, alternating with quiet discharge of daily domestic duties.

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Perhaps the duties were not so very domestic and quiet as are traditionally associated with a literary savant of his type. There is evidence to believe that the sage was in all probability caught for a time in the whirlpool and tumult of active politics and trying palace intrigues of the Pandyan Kingdom. That must have been in the active years of his life ; and then in retirement, like a later day literary luminary, — Seikizhar of Periya Puranam fame, — must have sat down to collect the mellowed thoughts and ripe experiences of a stormy life to write an immortal classic—a classic not of adventure, romance, heroism or divinity such as was attempted by a Homer, a Milton, a Kamban or a Shakespeare — but a classic of the art of living (porul) through giving (Aram) and loving (Inbam).

A daring venture indeed, to essay a classic on the art of living-through-giving-and-loving; and that in pellucid poetry; and ever more the wonder grows when we see the poet choosing the short unvaried metrical couplet for the exposition of a vast range and an infinite variety of life's truths and experiences. It was a deliberate choice, a self-imposed handicap, a wholly unnecessary piece of creative sadism, as it were — this choice of a rigid austere metrical form for a theme which calls for the most diverse and deft manipulation of all forms available in the repertory of poetical composition. The seers and the prophets have had to use the comparatively native technique of the parable and the fable, to succeed ; while, the poets always stretched their canvas wide and long to permit of an interminable combination of effects. But here comes a Tamilian who offers to hold up a tiny little mirror to life and reflect on it all that it contained, and nay more, all that it should contain too. He succeeds, and succeeds most amazingly. The reflection he catches is no pale shadow, but a rich techni-coloured reproduction of rapture and delight. Could it be that the contemporaneous scholars contended that it is form that sets the tone to poetry

and that Valluvar like a Walt Whitman disproved them all by showing that a good vintage can taste just as sweets, whatever the cup you put it in ? In any case, the experiment and the success are unique ; they have few parallels in the world of letters.

Perhaps it had no concern with the little triumphs of poetasters forms. Obviously there was more in the choice of form than meets the eye of poetical convenience. The poet was creating a work of art ; but that work was to be a unique work of art ; art that was purposive and beautiful, didactic and creative at once ; art that should have the universality of appeal to the elect and the masses alike ; that combined the delicacy of life and strength of eternity. And such in fact is Thirukkural ; poetry in ethics and ethics in poetry.

Perhaps there was even a greater consideration. Vishnu-varman, the author of the Panchatantra said :—

Since verbal science has no final end

Since life is short, and obstacles impend,

Let central facts be picked and firmly fixed

As swans extract the milk with water mixed.

But the author of Panchatantra only said it : he did not wholly succeed in it. He had to spin such a maze of fables with all the denizens of the Zoo into it, that the longer he spun, the more obscure became central facts ; rather than extract the milk, often the young mind seemed to retain the water. The form was over-wrought, and the purpose often miscarried. If life is short and verbal science has no end, then picked truth is to be told in simple but elegant words, direct yet pleasing diction, and in a form which helps truth get "firmly fixed" ; in other words, in a form which permits of easy memorisation, essential to a pre-Caxton world that depended largely on word of mouth for transmission of knowledge. This appears to have been an all-important consideration with Valluvar, and presumably accounts also for the

mechanical assignment of ten couplets for every chapter, and the seeming repetition of ideas within the same chapter. But there certainly is no repetition of words ; if anything, there are skilful echoes : and in the sphere of ideas, the discerning critic can well defeat the nuances, and shades of thought.

When I began the study of Thirukkural years ago, I used to wonder at what appeared then as a strange piece of inconsistency in the poet's handling of themes. For instance, if he was discussing Destiny, he would say Destiny was all-powerful and naught availeth against it.

"What is there that is mightier than Destiny ? Plan we might, however well, it will ever forestall us."

But when he comes to discuss the virtues of exertion or effort he would say,

"Strive strenuously, strive strenuously
And you can snap your fingers at Destiny."

Students of the Kural well know that this trick of the poet is being repeated in chapter after chapter. Does he expect us not to have read the earlier chapters, or not to read the later ones ? However, I had to wait for a good many years until I could find an answer to this poet's riddle. That happened when I was reading Thoreau's essay on Carlyle.

Then I landed on a passage which seemed to give me the answer to the doubts embedded in my mind regarding what I considered as Valluvar's inconsistency.

Says Thoreau, "No truth, we think, was ever expressed but with this sort of emphasis, that for the time there seemed to be no other." Yes ; to Valluvar for the time he wrote his particular chapter of truth, there seemed to be no other. That is but as it should be ; for if truth is one and indivisible, there cannot be degrees and shades in it. Every facet has to be true, if the whole is to be true.

Choice of Theme

So much for Valluvar's choice of technique. I shall close this, with a short examination of the poet's choice of theme. Why did the poet, of all the themes on heaven, earth and hell too (some poets have revelled and excelled in themes of hell), pitch on the theme of the art of living-through-loving-and-giving? I shall turn to a rhetorical passage in the book of a contemporary historian for a clue. In his book on "The Use of History," Prof. A. L. Rowse says :

"Underlying all the flux and change of history, the mutually contradictory claims of the religious, the parochial squabbles of the sects for our allegiance or our cash, the indisputable tendency of individual egoisms to assert itself as universal-underneath all change of circumstance and condition there is a continuum to which all standards may be related for their validity ; the nature of man qua man. It gives substances a real basis to our moral judgments, however conditioned by time, so that we may as historians condemn Nero for a bad man and acclaim Jesus Christ as a good man."

It is this "continuum to which all standards may be related for their validity" that Thiruvalluvar was seeking to discover and lay down in his Kural. Such a continuum, a valid standard of standards, has to transcend caste and creed, times and climes. It has to be universal and immutable. True, it would require to be interpreted for every period and rethought out for every generation, as all ethical values emerge from and rest upon the positive experience of man. No wonder, therefore, that Valluvar did not attempt to build a theory of morals from metaphysics as was then the fashion in India and continued to be so centuries after. He would have been wrong to have deduced a theory of morals from metaphysics. As Prof. Stebbings says in the book "Ideals and Illusions," "It is an illusion to find the value of our lives here and now in a life to come ; it

is an illusion to suppose that nothing is worthwhile for me unless I live for ever ; it is an illusion to suppose that there is no uncompensated loss, no sacrifice that is without requital, no grief that is unassuaged. But it is also no illusion but an uncontested fact that here and now we know that hatred, cruelty, intolerance and indifference to human misery are evil ; that love, kindness, tolerance, forgiveness and truth are good ; so unquestionably good that we do not need God or Heaven to assure us of their worth."

Valluvar did believe in a God and in a Heaven, but he did not require them for props to his ethical system. That has an existence all of its own — as the valid standard of continuum, mounted on the positive experience of man in history.

Social Ethics in the 'Tirukkural'

REV. H. A. POPLEY

I N the present phase of India's development as a free nation great emphasis is being rightly placed upon 'Social Ethics' and upon the need for the application to present-day conditions of the ethical values and principles found in ancient Indian polity. The conception of 'Dharma,' which is the fundamental truth of Indian Ethics, is concerned not merely with the ethical principles of the individual in his personal life, but also with the whole range of ethical theory for the citizen in his relationships with the State and with society.

The same thing is true of the idea of 'Aram,' the Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit 'Dharma.' This is clearly shown in the 'Tirukkural,' the ethical source book of the Tamil peoples, and the second section of this work, called 'Porutpal' deals very thoroughly with the principles of Social Ethics. Says Sri C. Rajagopalachariar in his introduction to his translation of this section, "These seventy chapters (*i.e.* chs. 39-108) lay down, with characteristic terseness, the principles that should govern the conduct of wise and good men in the affairs of the world." So it behoves us to study them in these days in order to see what this Tamil sage has to tell us of the principles that should find expression in the life of our State and the society of our people in these days when the government and work of the State is entirely in our own hands.

The first section of the 'Tirukkural,' which is called 'Illaraviyal,' (chs 5-38) and may be translated 'Ethics of the

Rev. H. A. Popley is well-known as a translator and interpreter of the *Kural*.

Domestic State' deals especially with the principles that should govern the life and conduct of the individuals in their personal lives and in their families, though there is in this section also much which has application to the ethics of the citizen of a State. In this article, however, we shall deal especially with social ethics as they are set forth in the second section of the 'Tirukkural.'

Like the ethical teaching of the Bible and other such great books of 'dharma,' the ethical teaching of the 'Tirukkural' is applicable to present-day conditions and it is surprising to find how relevant much of it is with the needs of citizenship in free India today.

This is partly due to the fact that Tiruvalluvar was no sectarian in religion but was one who had taken the best from the various religions which he had come into contact with and had woven them all into a beautiful and many-coloured fabric of ethical teaching, in the same way that he wove yarns of different colour into the saris and dhotis that he made.

Most commentators consider that he had some knowledge of the *Artha Sastra* of Chanakya (Kautilya) and this is possible as Kanchi, the capital of the Pallava kingdom from the second to the fourth century, was the birthplace of Chanakya and he was the chief minister of Chandragupta, the Maurya Emperor, from 321 B. C. It is not likely that Tiruvalluvar knew Sanskrit, and one must therefore believe that a Brahmin of Kanchi who knew the *Artha Sastra* had explained a great deal of it to the poet. There are two matters in which the 'Kural' definitely departs from the *Artha Sastra*. One of these is that the end justifies the means. The 'Kural' never gives and support to this Nazi thesis. The *Artha Sastra*, however, justifies crooked politics for the good of the kingdom. Further, the *Artha Sastra* also regards the king as divine and as wielding divine power.. The furthest that the TIRUKKURAL goes is to say that the 'king who rules justly and guards his realm shall be considered as a god to men.' (39 : 8) So the divine name is given to a king because of his

qualities and not because of his position. Sri Rajagopalachariar in his translation of the verse above gives the following :

“It is only if the king acts according to the law and protects his people that he will be regarded truly as the Lord’s deputy.”

Parimelalagar in his “urai” gives the following as the meaning of this stanza. ‘though he was born as a man, by his deeds he is considered as a god to men.’

We have to remember that Tiruvalluvar did not know the democratic state as it exists today. While there is ample evidence that in the Tamil kingdoms there were truly self-governing villages with a real democratic constitution, the over-all state was not democratic and the head of the state was a king who was a real ruler, assisted by his counsellors. But even though this was true we can understand from Tiruvalluvar’s teaching much about the duties and qualities of leadership in a democratic state, and also learn a good deal about the citizen and his responsibilities. Thus, in studying the teaching of the TIRUKKURAL on Social Ethics we shall consider the stanzas on kingship as applicable to the ideal of leadership in modern days in a democratic state. In some cases the stanza refers to the state as such rather than to the individual leader.

First of all we shall consider the teaching of chapter 39, the first chapter of this section on the State. This chapter is called இறைமரட்சு in Tamil, which is usually translated as ‘kingly excellence,’ but which Sri Rajagopalachariar takes to mean ‘the prosperous state’, thus emphasising the totality of its rulers and citizens, rather than the one person set at the head of the state. The first stanza of this chapter gives the six essentials for a prosperous state, according to the translation of Sri Rajagopalachariar, as follows : ‘an adequate army, an industrious people, ample food resources, wise and alert ministers of state, alliance with foreign powers and dependable fortifications.’ This is a free translation of a terse

and succinct verse and is quite justified if we think of the state rather than of the ruler of the state. The stanza is as follows :

படைகுடி கூழ் அமைச்சு நட்பாணும்
உடையான் அரசருள் ஏறு (39 : 1)

The next two stanzas give the qualities of leadership that are necessary if the state is to be rightly guided. The first of these is as follows :

அஞ்சாமை, ஈகை, அறிவூக்கம், இந்நான்கும்
எஞ்சாமை வேந்தற்கியல்பு (39 : 2)

Courage, charity, wit and grit — these four unfailing, the kingly nature make.

தூங்காமை கல்வி துணிவுடமை, — இம்மூன்றும்
நீங்கா நிலன் ஆள்பவற்கு. (39 : 3)

‘Alertness, wisdom and decisiveness — these three should ne’er be lacking in rulers of the world.’

These are all qualities which we expect from our leaders in a democratic state, and unless men and women of such qualities come to leadership in the Indian states our country cannot be expected to progress. It is clear from these two stanzas how modern Tiruvalluvar is in his conception of leadership in a well-organised state. The next stanza sums all these up in a clear and convincing fashion :

அறன் இழுக்காதல்லவை நீக்கி, மறன் இழுக்கா
மானமுடையது அரசு. (39 : 4)

‘From Dharma’s path ne’er swerving, adharma to remove,
With courage sure, to keep one’s honour bright is kingship true.’

Then Tiruvalluvar goes on to speak of the duties and responsibilities of leadership.

இயற்றலும் ஈட்டலும் காத்தலும் காத்த
வகுத்தலும் வல்லது அரசு (39 : 5)

‘He is a king, who is able to arrange for the production of wealth, the conservation of resources, the defence of the state and the right distribution of wealth.’

These are the aims of our leaders in the state today and the leader who is able to effect these is sure to win the support of the people.

Further in a democratic regime, the leader must be one who is easily accessible to all the citizens and who is not given to harsh language.

காட்சிக் கெனியன், கடுஞ் சொல்லனல்லனேல்
மீக்கூறு மன்னனிலம்

(39 : 6)

A country which has such leaders will be acclaimed by all other countries as a great country. A leader must also be able to give with kindness and to protect those who follow him. Such a leader will be able to gain a wide influence and that not only in his own country. Then follows the stanza which compares the king who acts justly to a god. From this it is clear that the leader of the state must act according to the law and see that the people are protected from the various ills that may come upon them.

The next stanza is rather a striking one and shows the range of the vision of Tiruvalluvar. It says that the leader of the state who is able to listen calmly to the criticisms of his ministers and people will become more than a state leader, he will become a world leader. Gandhiji well illustrated this truth.

செவிகைப்பச் சொல் லொறுக்கும் பண்புடைவேந்தன்
கவிகைக் கீழ்த் தங்கும் உலகு.

(39 : 9)

Rajaji translates this as follows :

‘The world will rest under the umbrella of the king who has the quality of listening to the bitter advice of his ministers.’

The last stanza of this chapter sums up the whole matter and says that four things are required in the supreme leader.

கொடை அளி செங்கோல் குடியோம்பல், — நான்கும்
உடையானும் வேந்தர்க் கொளி (39 : 10)

‘He is the light of kings who has these four things
Beneficence, benevolence, rectitude and care for his
people.’

Thus in this chapter we have clearly brought to our minds the qualities and capacities that should go with leadership in a state. These are especially necessary in a modern democratic state and it is the duty of the citizens to see that they elect to Parliament only those who possess these qualities and capacities and so will be able to guide the state aright.

In the next place we have to find out what Tiruvalluvar has to say about the qualities of citizenship and how far they are applicable to the needs of this day.

It is remarkable that immediately after this chapter on the ideal leader or ‘the progressive state’ as Rajaji calls it, there should come a chapter which emphasises the value of education in a state. This chapter and the next on ‘Ignorance’ show how greatly in those early days in the Tamil Nad, education was valued and how necessary this humble weaver considered it to be for all the citizens of a state if the state was to progress.

The responsibility of those who are educated to pass on to others the education they have received is clearly brought out by the metaphor of the well :

தொட்டனைத்தூறு மணற் கேணி, மாந்தர்க்குக்
கற்றனைத்தூறும் — அறிவு (40 : 6)

‘Water will flow from a well in the sand in proportion to the depth it is dug, and knowledge will similarly flow from a man in proportion to his learning.’

In another stanza he shows the value of education especially for those who travel, incidentally making it clear that in those days the Tamils were great travellers.

யாதானு நாடாமால் ஊராமால், என் ஒருவன்
சாந்துணையுங் கல்லாத வாறு (40 : 7)

‘All lands to learned men belong, all towns are home ;

How then can men remain unlearned till their dying day?’
He values learning even more than wealth and says :

கேடில் விழுச் செல்வம் கல்வி ஒருவற்கு,
மாடல்ல மற்றையவை. (40 : 10)

‘Learning is the true imperishable riches for anyone ;
All other things are not true wealth.’

In the next chapter on ‘Ignorance’ he shows the uselessness of those who will not learn. They are not only poor in themselves, but they do not produce anything of value to the state.

ஊர் என்று மாத்திரையரல்லால், பயவாக்
களனையர் கல்லாதவர். (41 : 6)

‘The ignorant are like useless brackish land ;

They are — and that is all that can be said.’
Though Tiruvalluvar does not actually apply these stanzas to state policy it is clear enough that he expects the leaders of the state to foster and extend education.

There is a chapter on ‘The Correction of faults’ which shows up clearly the evils which can ruin good government and indeed the whole state. Three great faults of those in high position are mentioned, namely : greed, improper pride, and sensual pleasures ; and Tiruvalluvar states that these faults in the leaders will produce trouble in the state, and indeed are ‘a deadly enemy.’

இவறலு மாண்பிறந்த மானமு மாணு
உவகையும் ஏதம் இறைக்கு. (44 : 2)

குற்றமே காக்க, பொருளாகக், குற்றமே
அற்றம் தருஉம் பகை. (44 : 4)

'Avarice, improper pride and sensual pleasure
Are serious faults in a king.'
'Guard against such faults as a great matter ;
For such faults are a deadly enemy.'

The TIRUKKURAL teaches that leaders should act with energy if the state is to flourish and the people also should copy this and show the same energy. This is shown very clearly in chapter 60. We are reminded of the emphasis that the Union and State ministers are placing today on the need for hard work by all the people if the state is to go forward.

உடையர் எனப்படுவதாக்கம், அஃதில்லார்
உடையதுடையரோ மற்று (60 : 1)

'Tis energy alone makes wealth worthwhile ;
Who lack it own not even what they have.'

ஆக்கம் இழந்தே என்றல்லாவார் ; ஊக்கம்
ஒருவந்தம் கைத்துடையார். (60 : 3)

'They who have not enduring energy will never trouble
themselves, saying "We have lost our wealth."'

The ills that follow idleness both in the family and in the state are clearly shown in grim pictures.

குடி மடிந்து குற்றம் பெருகு மடி மடிந்து
மாண்ட உஞற்றிலவர்க்கு (61 : 4)

'Family greatness will be destroyed and faults will increase in those who give way to laziness and who do not labour with dignity.

கெடுநீர் மறனி மடி-துயில் நான்கும்
கெடு நீரார் காமக்கலன் (61 : 5)

'Tardiness, forgetfulness, sloth and sleep —
These four are pleasure boats of ruin grim.'

There is an important chapter on 'Righteous rule,' called செங்கோன்மை (ch. 55) and in the first stanza of this chapter the four important factors that go to make up such a righteous

rule are set forth. They are said to be first, the careful examination of all crimes against the state ; then second, the showing of no undue favour to any ; third, acting impartially at all times ; and fourth, the awarding of punishment in accord with justice. Again and again the need of acting with full justice is stressed.

அந்தணர் தூற்கும் அறத்திற்கும் ஆதியாய்
நின்றது மன்னவன் கோல். (55 : 3)

‘The authority of the state lies in the firm support
of the laws of the wise and of the virtuous life.’

இயல்புளிக் கோலோச்ச மன்னவனாட்ட
பெயலும் விளையுளும் தொக்கு (55 : 5)

‘Even the elements will give their blessing
to a state where justice rules.’

வேலன்று வென்றி தருவது, மன்னவன்
கோலதூஉம் கோடாதெனின். (55 : 6)

‘A state does not win victory through military might,
But through righteousness.’

The negative side of this truth is put before us in the next chapter on ‘Unjust rule.’

முறை கோடி மன்னவன் செய்யின், உரைகோடி
ஒல்லாது வானம் பெயல் (56 : 9)

‘If the king acts unjustly rain will be unseasonable,
And the heavens will withhold their showers.’

There is a separate chapter on the State itself, which Tiruvalluvar calls ‘நாடு’ (ch. 74.). As Sri Rajagopalachariar says in his book, “This is something more than the land. It includes the inhabitants of the land and its resources. The requisites for a good state are industrious producers, good and learned men to form the intellectual class and high-minded men of wealth. Thus labour, knowledge and wealth are the elements that make a prosperous state.”

தள்ளா விளையுளும் தக்காரும் தாழ்வினிலாச்
செல்வரும் சேர்வது நாடு. (74 : 1)

Parimelalagar makes the second of these 'the virtuous' instead of 'the intellectuals' and that is probably the correct interpretation. So the three essential elements of a good State will be : production by labour, virtuous leaders, and merchants who produce wealth.

The following stanza reminds us of the ideal of the welfare state to which we are aiming today.

உறு பசியும் ஓவாப் பிணியும் செறுபகையும்
சேராதியல்வது நாடு.

(74 : 4)

'The ideal state is one in which there is no unappeased hunger, no incurable diseases, no destructive enemies.'

Thus freedom from hunger, freedom from disease, and freedom from external aggression are the marks of the ideal state. There are also three other freedoms essential to an ideal state. It must be free from petty divisions, from internal evils and from destructive savages (74 : 5).

The ornaments of a good state are said to be the following five : freedom from disease, economic security, good produce, general happiness and peace.

பிணியின்மை, செல்வம், விளைவிற்பம், ஏமம்
அணியென்ப நாட்டிற்கிவ்வைந்து

(74 : 8)

These are very modern and presuppose a foundation of education as was emphasised in a previous chapter.

In a later chapter on the importance of wealth to the state it is clearly stated that unless such wealth is acquired by right means it is not to be desired.

அருளொடும் அன்பொடும் வாராப் பொருளாக்கம்
புல்லார் புரளவிடல்

(76 : 5)

'Let kings avoid the seeking of wealth which has not come with grace and love.'

The chapter on 'Citizenship' or குடிசெயல்வகை as it is called by Tiruvalluvar, (ch. 103) is a very important one for the right conception of the duty of the citizens. As Rajaji says it means 'how to develop the community.' The very first stanza of this chapter shows the need for every individual in the state to render service to the community.

கருமஞ் செய ஒருவன் கைதாவேன் என்னும்
பெருமையின் பிடுடையதில் (103 : 1)

'There is no higher greatness for the individual
than being ever ready to render service to the community.'

This is amplified in the next stanza.

ஆள்வினையும் ஆன்ற அறிவும் என இரண்டின்
நீள்வினையால் நீளும் குடி. (103 : 2)

'The community prospers through the untiring effort
of those with industry and ripe knowledge.'

Even God Himself will come to the aid of those who endeavour to help the community. Tiruvalluvar clothes this idea in a picturesque simile.

குடி செய்வல் என்னும் ஒருவற்குத் தெய்வம்
மடிதற்றுத் தான் முந்துறும் (103 : 3)

'God Himself will gird up His loins and go before
to help one who is determined to help the community.'

Such a selfless worker for the community will be welcomed as a friend by the whole world.

குற்றமில்னாய்க் குடிசெய்து வாழ்வானைச்
சுற்றமாச் சுற்றும் உலகு. (103 : 5)

'The world will befriend and gather round the man

Who lives a blameless life of service to his people.'
There are heroes of peace as well as of war, who have to take up the burdens of the community.

அமரகத்து வன் கண்ணர்போலத் தமரகத்தும்
ஆற்றுவார் மேற்றே பொறை (103 : 7)

'Like heroes in the battlefield, the burden of service
Falls upon those who are capable in the community.'

For the servants of the community there is no convenience of
time. They must always be ready to serve.

குடி செய்வார்க்கில்லை பருவம், மடிசெய்து
மானம் கருதக் கெடும்.

(103 : 8)

'There is no special season for the servants of the
community ;
If they think of laziness or false dignity all is lost.'

To the man who serves the community his body will be like
a pot full of troubles.

இடும்பைக்கே கொள்கலம் கொல்லோ, குடும்பத்தைக்
குற்ற மறைப்பான் உடம்பு.

(103 : 9)

'His body is a pot of troubles,
Who seeks to save the people from all ills.'

Rajaji has the following comment on this : "All reform is
built on the consecrated suffering of reformers. That sorrow
is the only immediate reward of public service." No community
can stand unless it has such selfless workers. This is brought
out in the next stanza.

இடுக்கண் கால் கொன்றிட வீழும், அடுத்தான்றும்
நல்லாள் இலாத குடி.

(103 : 10)

'If there are none to support it,
The community will fall at the stroke of the axe of
misfortune.'

The next chapter of the KURAL deals with agriculture.
So our weaver-poet recognised the important place of agri-
culture in the economy of the state and knew that the pros-
perity of a state depends on the farmer and his ability to
produce. The very first stanza of this chapter makes this
clear.

சுழன்றும் ஏர்ப்பின்னதுலகம், அதனால்
உழந்தும் உழவே தலை.

(104 : 1)

‘Roam where you will, the world must go behind the
plough ;

Farming, though toilsome, is man’s supreme employ.
The world lives at the grass roots and it is only as the farmer
produces that the rest of men can prosper. This truth was
clear in the days of Tiruvalluvar even as it is today.

உழுவார் உலகத்தார்க்காணி, அஃதாற்றாது
எழுவாரை எல்லாம் பொறுத்து. (104 : 2)

‘The linchpins of society the farmers are ;
supporting other toilers all who do not plough.’

The tillers of the soil are the only ones who live in the full
sense of the world. Others merely exist.

உழுதுண்டு வாழ்வாரே வாழ்வார், மற்றெல்லாம்
தொழுதுண்டு பின் செல்பவர். (104 : 3)

‘They only live who plough and eat ;
The rest, as followers, just serve and eat.’

Even the ascetics will not be able to get on unless the tiller
of the soil does his part well.

உழவினார் கைமடங்கின் இல்லை, விழைவதூஉம்
விட்டேம் என் பார்க்கு நிலை. (104 : 6)

‘If the farmer’s hands go slack,
Even those who have left all will fail.’

Tiruvalluvar knows also the need for continuous work on the
land. The fields cannot be left to look after themselves.

செல்லான் கிழவன் இரும்பின், நிலம் புலந்து
இல்லாளின் ஊடிவிடும் (104 : 9)

‘If farmers quiet sit and go not to their land,
’Twill sulk and take the huff, like sulking wife.’

Rajaji in his remarks on this stanza says : Sellan (செல்லான்)
denotes the need of daily personal attention ; irumbin
(இரும்பின்) denotes the need for unceasing activity ; kizha-

van (கிழவன்) denotes that the duties of attention and care cannot be delegated ; The need for making use of all the land available is emphasised in the last stanza.

இலம் என்று அசைஇ யிருப்பாரைக் காணின்
நிலம் என்னும் நல்லாள் நகும்.

(104:10)

‘That kindly dame called Earth doth laugh
When she sees idlers sitting still and saying
‘We have nought’.

Thus we find in the stanzas of this humble weaver-poet of the second century A. D. a great deal of helpful teaching on Social Ethics as can be applied to the conditions of the people in this technological age of the twentieth century. This teaching is expressed in unforgettable stanzas of unexampled terseness and crystal clarity.

Tiruvalluvar did not set out to write a text book on Social Ethics but he was concerned with the needs and life of the common man and with the welfare of the state in his day. In his reflections upon these subjects he has given to us this timeless teaching on the life of a good citizen in a welfare state. He does not give us a picture far removed from the actual conditions of life in his day, but reveals to us in simple and striking language how we can overcome the perennial difficulties that face man in his upward path. He has made it clear that faith in God is part of the make-up of the good citizen. This is shown again and again by the references to Divine help that occur incidentally in many of these stanzas. It comes out very clearly in the first chapter of the KURAL. Here are two stanzas from that chapter :

அறவாழி அந்தணன்தாள் சேர்ந்தார்க்கல்லால்
பிறவாழி நீந்தல் அரிது.

(1:8)

‘Tis hard to swim this world’s wide sea,
Unless we cling to Him who is ocean of grace and good.

பிறவிப் பெருங்கடல் நீந்துவர், நீந்தார்
இறைவன் அடி சேராதார்.

(1:10)

' Who then can swim this mighty sea of births ?
Not they who cling not to our Lord's feet.

In these stanzas on the State and its citizens we have some simple practical precepts of a good state and a good citizen, which we shall do well to study carefully and to follow more closely these days.

Quotable Quotes on the Tirukkural

LIKE THE BUDDHA and the Bhagavad-Gita, the Kural desires inner freedom from the world and a mind free from hatred. Like them it stands for the commandment not to kill and not to damage. It has appropriated all the valuable ethical results of the thought of world and life negation. But in addition to this ethics of inwardness there appears in the Kural the living ethic of love.

With sure strokes the Kural draws the ideal of simple ethical humanity. On the most varied questions concerning the conduct of man to himself and to the world its utterances are characterised by nobility and good sense. *"There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom."*

Albert Schweitzer in "Indian thought and its development."

"The compositions that are universally admitted to be the finest in the (Tamil) language, viz., the Kural and the Chintamani, are perfectly independent of Sanscrit and original in design as well as in execution."

—Robert Caldwell

"The Kural is the master-piece of Tamil literature — one of the highest and purest expressions of human thought."

"That which, above all, is wonderful in the Kural is the fact that its author addresses himself, without regard to castes, peoples or beliefs, to the whole community of the

mankind ; the fact that he formulates sovereign morality and absolute reason ; that he proclaims in their very essence, in their eternal abstractedness, virtue and truth ; that he presents, as it were, in one group the highest laws of domestic and social life ; that he is equally perfect in thought, in language and in poetry, in the austere metaphysical contemplation of the great mysteries of their Divine Nature, as in the easy and graceful analysis of the tenderest emotions of the heart."

— M. Ariel.

"No translation can convey an idea of its charming effect. It is truly apple of gold in a net-work of silver."

— Dr. Graul.

"The weaver of Mylapore was undoubtedly one of the great geniuses of the world. Complete in itself, the sole work of its author (The Kural) has come down the stream of ages absolutely uninjured, hardly a single various reading of any importance being found."

"In value it (Kural) outweighs the whole of the remaining Tamil Literature and is one of the select number of great works which have entered into the very soul of a whole people and which can never die."

'Sir A. Grant says, "Humility, Charity, and Forgiveness of injuries are not described by Aristotle. Now these three are everywhere forcibly inculcated by this Tamil Moralist."

"The Kural owes much of its popularity to its exquisite poetic form. The brevity rendered necessary by the form gives an oracular effect to the utterances of the great Tamil "Master of Sentences." They are the choicest of moral epigrams. Their resemblance to gnostic poetry of Greece is remarkable as to their subjects, their sentiments and the state of society when they were uttered. Something of the same

kind is found in Greek epigrams, in Martial and the Latin elegiac verse. There is a beauty in the periodic character of the Tamil construction in many of these verses that reminds the reader of the happiest efforts of Propertius."

— Dr. G. U. Pope.

"The Kural is that admirable collection of stanzas in the Tamil language which is instinct with the purest and most elevated religious emotion."

"What philosophy he teaches seems to be of the eclectic school as represented by the Bhagavat Geeta."

— Dr. Barth.

"There are two books in India which have taken entire possession of the hearts and minds of the people ; the first of these is the Ramayana of Tulasidas which is known to every peer and peasant in Northern India and the other is the Kural of Tiruvalluvar which is equally well-known throughout the South of the Indian Peninsula. It is the pride of both poets that their works are absolutely pure. Of the two, the Kural is much the older There is no doubt that no one can pretend to scholarship in Tamil unless he reads and understands this masterpiece of Tamil literature."

— Frederic Pincott.

"Will be read with pleasure as affording proof of the existence of the loftiest sentiments, the purest moral rules and equal power of conception and expression. Nothing certainly in the whole compass of human language can equal the force and terseness of the sententious distichs in which the author conveys the lesson of wisdom he utters."

— Rev. Percival.

“Tiruvalluvar’s Kural, the 1330 short sentences on the three aims of life — Dharma, Artha Kama, is one of the gems of world literature. Buddhists, Jains, Vaishnavas and Saivas, have claimed the Pariah sage and poet of the Tamil land as their own. But he belongs to none of them or rather to all of them. For he stands above all races, castes and sects, and what he teaches is a general human morality and wisdom. No wonder that the Kural has not only been much read, studied and highly prized in the land of its origin for centuries, but has also found many admirers in the west, ever since it has become known. Already about 1730, Books I and II were translated by Father C. Joseph Beschi, into Latin. French, German and English translations followed one after another. A German translation from the Tamil by A. F. Cammerer appeared already in 1803. Better known is the German translation by Karl Graul 1856. A few couplets were also translated by the German poet and master-translator Friedrich Ruckert in 1847. The finest English rendering of Tiruvalluvar’s verses known to me is that of G. U. Pope, who was not only a great Tamil scholar, but also a true lover of the Tamil people among whom he has lived for very many years.

Sage Tiruvalluvar should not be styled the unknown sage of Mylapore, for he has long been known far beyond the borders of his mother country.”

— Prof. M. Winternitz.

“It was one of the couplets in this part of the poem referring to the two looks of a maid — the one which kills and the other which cures the looker that led Dr. Graul to admire Tamil poetry and study the Kural.”

“The Kural is composed in the purest Tamil. In about 12,000 words which the Poet has employed to convey his thoughts there are scarcely fifty of Sanskrit origin. He throws the purity of Bunyan’s English completely into the share. No known Tamil work can even approach the purity of Kural. It is a standing rebuke to the modern Tamil. Tiru-

valluvar has clearly proved the richness, melody and power of his mother-tongue."

"The Kural cannot be improved nor its plan made more perfect. It is a perfect mosaic in itself. The slightest change in the size, shape or colour of a single stone would mar the beauty of the whole."

"It is refreshing to think that a nation which has produced so great a man and so unique a work cannot be a hopeless despicable race. The morality he preached could not have grown except on an essentially moral soil. To those, therefore, who labour for the salvation of the Tamil people, the Kural must be a work of peculiar nay, intense interest."

— Rev. Dr. J. Lazarus.

"Called the first of works from which whether for thought or language there is no appeal, the Kural has a strong claim upon our attention as a part of the literature of the country and as a work of intrinsic excellence. The author passing over what is peculiar to particular classes of society and introducing such ideas only as are common to all, has avoided the uninteresting details of observances found in Manu and the other shastras and thus in general maintains a dignified style."

— W. H. Drew.

"To those who know the Iliad, the AEnid, the Divine Comedy, Paradise Lost and the Nibelungen Leid as the epics of the great nations, it seems incredible that thirty millions of people should cling to a series of moral essays as their typical and honoured book. There is no doubt of the fact that the Kural is as essentially the literary treasure, the poetic mouth-piece, the highest type of verbal and moral excellence among the Tamil people as ever Homer was among the Greeks. We can only explain it by the principle that the whole aspect of the Dravidian mind is turned towards moral duty. May we

not imagine that it was this moral tendency of the masses, which prepared the way for and maintained the existence of Buddhism? The Brahmans frequently explain the tone of Tiruvalluvar, Sivavakyar, Cabilar, Ouvay, and the other early Dravidian poets by asserting that they were Jains. There is no proof of this; but it can hardly be doubted that both Buddhism and Jainism reflected the same popular tendency that we see in the early poets. The Brahmans extirpated Buddhism in India by fire, sword, and relentless persecution. They could not touch the fons et origo from which the rival religion derived its life. By careful avoidance of theological discussion, Tiruvalluvar saved his work from the flood that destroyed every avowed obstacle in its grievous course. The Brahmans could find no ground for persecution. No priest can openly condemn the poet who called upon wives to love their husbands, upon men to be truthful, benevolent and peaceful, who enjoined mildness and wisdom on those who governed and justice and obedience and willing aid on those who were ruled. Its (Kural(s)) sentences are counted as binding as the Ten Commandments on the Jews. Its very language has become the test of literary excellence. It is no exaggeration to say that it is as important in Tamil literature, as influential on the Tamil mind, as Dante's great work on the language and thought of Italy."

— Charles E. Gover.
in "*Folk Songs of Southern India.*"

"Mr. Gover may be right in saying that Valluvar uses no word against a priest. He certainly does not directly oppose the sacerdotal orders, but in such a work silence is significant. Brahmans are not necessarily priests, they are rather the patrons and employers of priests. A title of Brahman is Anthanar and the poet insinuates that they do not deserve to be so called. The epithet beautiful or cool-minded belongs to the self-controlled and unworldly. "The virtuous are truly called Anthanar, because in their conduct towards all creatures they are clothed in kindness." The whole work amounts to a

protest against religious pretence, imposition and oppression. There is a vein of Satire in it against the Gods of the Brahmans."

— E. J. Robinson.

in "*Tales and Poems of South India*."

THE TIRUKKURAL IN TRANSLATION

தனக்குவமை யில்லாதான் முன்சேர்ந்தார்க் கல்லான்
மனக்கவலை மாற்ற லரிது.

Non adhaeseris pedibus illius, qui sibi
Similem non habet, difficile erit animi
anxietatem sedare

Beschi (7)

தகுதி யெனவொன்று நன்றே பகுதியாற்
பாற்பட் டொழுகப் பெறின்.

That virtue which in all relations holds
Unchangeably its nature, that alone
Deserves the name of Justice

Ellis (111)

துறந்தார்க்குத் துப்புரவு வேண்டி மறந்தார்கொன்
மற்றை யவர்க டவம்.

Die Andern, den Andern Beizuspringen willens,
haben wohl der Busse vergessen.

Graul (263)

கடிதோச்சி மெல்ல வெறிக நெடிதாக்க
நீங்காமை வேண்டு பவர்.

Poursuivez rudement et frappez mollement, si vous
désirez l'interruption d'une longue prospérité

M. Ariel (562)

Verities of Tiruvacagam, a Study of Manickavacagar and Rumi

G. VANMIKANATHAN.

[When the writer of this article was introduced to Rumi last year, he found an amazing similarity of experience and expression between the Tiruvacagam of Manickavacagar and Rumi's poems. The eternal verities of a Mystic's life stood revealed with a clearness which the separate study of either the Tiruvacagam or Rumi could not produce. Rumi elaborated and elucidated and authoritatively confirmed numerous passages in the Tiruvacagam in a manner which the various available commentaries in Tamil on our Saints work had not done — at last, to the writer of this article.

When the editor of "Tamil Culture" asked the writer for an article, he eagerly grasped the chance to share with a large group of readers the joy and enlightenment he had gained by his comparative study of the two mystics.]

LOVERS OF THE TIRUVASAGAM have always yearned for an elaborate and comprehensive commentary or *Bashyam* on the work. They point to the voluminous and learned commentaries on the *Nalaira-p-Prabandam* and grieve that the guardians of the Shaivite religion have not done similar service to the Tiruvacagam. When the writer of this article received six years ago a copy of a commentary on a hundred verses of the Tiruvacagam, he was told a story by the friend who sent him the book as a gift. The friend wrote that nearly twenty-five years ago he was present in Karaikal at a lecture arranged in connection with the *Mambala-t-tirunal*. The author

G. Vanmikanatham is Under-Secretary to the Government of India and a keen student of *Tiruvacagam*.

(twenty-five years later) of the commentary was a speaker at the meeting ; the president was a learned *Swamigal*. Our author had quoted in the course of his lecture certain verses from the Tiruvacagam, and had explained their meaning to the audience. The president referred in his closing speech to the explanations given by the speaker and, declared that they were utterly incorrect. The speaker was and is held in high esteem by Tamil scholars and common people. The audience was, therefore, deeply hurt and demanded that, if it were so, the *Swamigal*, should himself explain the verses and show how the speaker was wrong. The *Swamigal*, it is said, swept a disdainful eye over the audience and declared that none among them was fit to receive the secrets of the verses.

The *Swamigal* was probably right, but he stated only half the side of the matter. It is also not everyone who can reveal the mysteries of the Tiruvacagam. Till the second quarter of this century, none dared to write a commentary thereto. The late Dr. Swaminatha Iyer has related how the great Tamil scholar Thiagaraja Chettiar of Woriur threatened on one occasion to jump into the Cauvery if a friend who had been pressing him to write a commentary to the Thiruvacagam would not cease his importunities.

The *Swamigal* was right and Chettiar was also right. For, Rumi¹ says,

*"Nay, I will not tell, for thou art still unripe: thou
are in thy springtime, thou has not seen the summer."*

¹ JALALUL-DIN RUMI, the greatest mystical poet of Persia, was born in Khorasan in 1207. When he was twelve years old his family had to flee before the advancing Mongol hordes and settled in Turkey. After his marriage and the death of his father, said to be an eminent theologian and a great teacher and preacher, he took to the mystical life, to which the remainder of his days were devoted. He died in 1273. His literary output was large. All the quotations from Rumi in this article are taken from "*Rumi—Poet And Mystic*, Selections from his writings translated from the Persian with Introduction and Notes by Reynold A. Nicholson" published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8 sh. 6 d. We are indebted to the publishers for their gracious permission to quote from the book.

"This world is as the tree: we are like the half-ripened fruit upon it.

"The unripe fruits cling fast to the bough, because they are not fit for the palace ;"

* * *

"Better that the secret of the Friend should be disguised: do thou harken to it as implied in the contents of the tale.

"Better that the lovers' secret should be told (allegorically) in the talk of others."

* * *

"But when they have ripened and become sweet and delicious

" the Holy Spirit will tell these without me as the medium.

"Nay, thou wilt tell it to thy own ear — neither I nor another, O thou who art one with me —

"Just as, when thou fallest asleep, thou goest from the presence of thyself into the presence of thyself.

"And hearest from thyself that which is told thee secretly by someone in a dream."

"Even to the elect, the mysteries of gnosis can only be communicated . . . through a screen of symbolism", says Prof. Nicholson in a foot note. Mere learning, on the other hand, however vast and deep, will not by itself make a Pundit a spiritual Guru, — an interpreter of the mysteries of gnosis.

Of what avail, indeed, is knowledge,

If they (the scholars) adore not the blest feet of the Pure Knower?

² Prof. Nicholson has given titles of great insight to the several poems, just as some unknown ancient editor has done for the Tiruvacagam. This extract is from "Ripeness is all."

³ from RUMI — THE DOCTRINE OF RESERVE.

⁴ from RUMI — RIPENESS IS ALL.

said Tiruvalluvar. Manickavacagar had such learning in his mind when he sang,

*"I survived the multiple sea called learning."*⁵

கல்வி யென்னும் பல்கடல் பிழைத்தும்

Rumi confirms the inadequacy of mere learning in words reminiscent of Tiruvalluvar and Manickavacagar. He sings,

*"The spiritual man's knowledge bears him aloft ;
the sensual man's knowledge is a burden.*

*"God hath said, Like an ass laden with books :
heavy is the knowledge that is not inspired by Him."*⁶

and exhorts the aspirant in these ringing words :—

" go, seek the thing named.

The moon is in the sky, not in the water.

*"Would you rise beyond name and letter
make yourself pure,*

*"And behold in your own heart all the knowledge
of the prophets,*

*without book, without learning, without preceptor"*⁶

THE SEEKER BECOMES THE SOUGHT

*"Never, in sooth, does the lover seek without
being sought by his beloved*

*"When the lightning of love had shot into **this** heart
Know that there is love in **that** heart.*

⁵ The writer of this article has preferred to translate in his own words, the several passages of the Tiruvacagam quoted in this article. He is fully conscious of his temerity and does so with trepidation. Where the quotations are from Rev. G. U. Pope's translation, due acknowledgement is made.

⁶ from RUMI—IMMEDIATE KNOWLEDGE.

*"When love of God waxes in thy heart,
beyond any doubt God hath love for thee."*

Rumi avers in these words that Manickavacagar had repeatedly declared several centuries earlier. Thus and thus Manickavacagar bears testimony to this reversal of roles, the Sought becoming the pursuing Seeker.

*"Have I indeed performed ascetic deeds,
Ci-va-ya-na-ma gained to chaunt !
Civan, the mighty Lord, as honey and as
rare ambrosia sweet,
Himself He came, entered my soul —
to me His Slave gave grace."*

நானேயோதவஞ் செய்தேன், சிவாயநம எனப்பெற்றேன் !
தேனும் இன்னமுதாய்த் தித்திக்குஞ் சிவபெருமான்
நானே வந் தெனதுள்ளம் புகுந்தடியேற்கு அருள்
செய்தான்.

*That Thou, indeed, are the four-fold Vedas' Lord,
I realise, and I, the lowliest of all,
A very cur, this too I see ; yet
Lord, since I say, 'to Thee a lover
I've become', therefore, Thou took'st me for Thine own.
Devotees, are there not, besides me,
A Vile wretch ? Isn't this verily Thy grace ?*

ஆயநான் மறையவனும் நீயே யாதல்
அறிந்தியான் யாவரினுங் கடையனாய்
நாயினேன் ஆதலையும் நோக்கிக் கண்டு
நாதனே நானுனக்கோர் அன்பன் என்பேன்
ஆயினேன் ஆதலால் ஆண்டு கொண்டாய்
அடியார்தாம் இல்லையே ஆண்டு கொண்டாய்
பேயனேன், இதுதான் நிற்பெருமை யன்றே ?

Seekers such as these are called the Mystics. Rumi calls them the Pirs. "The Pirs" says Rumi,

⁷ from RUMI—UNIVERSAL LOVE.

⁸ TIRU—Pope's translation.

- “ are they whose spirits were in the
Sea of Divine Munificence before the world existed.
- “ They lived ages before the creation of the body ;
they harvested the wheat before it was sown.
- “ Before the form was moulded, they had received the
spirit ;
before the sea was made, they had strung the pearl.
- “ The spirit has beheld the wine in the grape,
the spirit has beheld entity in non-entity —
- “ The finite was infinite, the minted gold before the
existence of the mine.”⁹

THE MYSTIC IS A TRI-KALA-GNANI

The Mystic, — the Pir is a *tri-kala gnani*. As the organs of Divine consciousness,” says Prof. Nicholson, quoting from Jili in a foot note, “ He knows the entire content of past, present and future existence, how everything came to be and is now coming and shall at last come to be : all this he knows both synthetically and analytically.”

Manickavacagar bears testimony to this when he sings,

“ Grass was I, shrub was I, worm, tree,
Full many a kind of beast, bird, snake,
Stone, man and demon. 'Midst Thy hosts I served.
The form of mighty Asuras, ascetics, gods I bore.
Within these immobile and mobile forms of life
In every species born, weary I've grown, great Lord !
Truly, seeing Thy golden feet this day, I've gained
release.”¹⁰

புல்லாகிப் பூடாய்ப் புழுவாய் மரமாகி
பல் விருகமாகிப் பறவையாய்ப் பாம்பாகிக்
கல்லாய் மனிதராய்ப் பேயாய் கணங்களாய்
வல் அரசராகி முனிவராய்த் தேவராய்ச்

⁹ from RUMI—THE SAINT'S VISION OF ETERNITY.

¹⁰ TIRU—Pope's translation.

செல்லா நின்றஇத் தாவர சங்கமத்துள்
எல்லாப் பிறப்பும் பிறந்தினைத் தேன் எம்பெருமான்
மெய்யே யுன் பொன்னடிகள் கண்டின்று வீடுற்றேன் !

Nearly seven centuries later, and from a country hundreds of miles away, and in a foreign tongue, Rumi confirms this declaration of Manickavacagar in more than one poem. One, which Praof. Nicholson calls, THE ASCENDING SOUL, amazes the reader with its verbatim similarity to Manickavacagar's song. 'Let Rumi speak :

*"I died as mineral and became a plant,
I died as plant and rose to animal,
I died as animal and I was Man.
Why should I fear ? When was I less by dying ?
Yet once more I shall die as Man, to soar
With angels blest ; but even from angelhood
I must pass on : all except God shall perish.
When I have sacrificed my angel-soul,
I shall become what no mind e'er conceived.
Oh, let me not exist ! for Non-existence
Proclaims in organ tones, "To him we shall return." ¹¹*

The reader of perception would not fail to see the oneness of meaning (notwithstanding difference in modes and moods of expression) between Manickavacagar's ringing affirmation — thus,

*"Verily, Thy golden feet I saw today, and release
gained"*
and Rumi's

*"Oh, let me not exist ! for non-existence
Proclaims in organ tones, "To him we shall return."*

THE SEEKER'S PERILOUS PATH

The path of the Seeker is beset with many dangers.
*"When in my heart, thought of the Lord was born,
And, of that Being, (who is) free from hate, contem-
plation set in,"*

¹¹ from RUMI—The Ascending soul.

says Manickavacagar, a host of dangers swooped down upon him and surrounded him.

*"Delusive powers in ever-changing millions
Began beguiling varied play.*

* *Friends, neighbours, came around,
With fluent tongue they urged their 'atheism.'*

* *Relations, the ancestral herd of cattle,*

* *Seiz'd me, called me, and became impatient.
By and large,*

* *Penance itself, as supreme, Brahmins*

* *Swore and many Vedic texts produced.
Sectarian disputants complacently
Discordant tenets shouted loud and fought."*¹²

ஆறு கோடி மாயா சத்திகள்
வேறு வேறுதம் மாயைகள் தொடங்கின.
ஆத்தம் ஆரூர் அயலவர் கூடி
நாத்திகம் பேசி நாத்தமும் பேறினர்,
சுற்ற மென்னும் தொல் பசுக்குழாங்கள்
பற்றி அழைத்தும் பதறினர்; பெருகவும்
விரதமே பரம் ஆக, வேதியரும்
சாதமாகவே சாத்திரங் காட்டினர்;
சமயவாதிகள் தத்தம் மதங்களே
அமைவதாக அரற்றி மலைந்தனர்.

The truth of these experiences of Manickavacagar are borne witness to by Rumi in these words:—

"These two-and-seventy sects will remain till the Resurrection: the heretics talk and arguments will not fail.

"The number of locks upon a treasure are the proof of its high value.

*"The long windings of the way, its mountain passes,
and the brigands infesting it, announce the greatness
of the traveller's goal.*

¹² TIRU—Pope's translation except lines marked with an asterisk, which are in part full altered.

"Every false doctrine resembles a mountain-pass, a precipice, and a brigand.

*"The blind religious are in a dilemma, for the champions on either side stand firm :
each party is delighted with its own path."*¹³

THE MYSTIC'S TALISMAN

The peril is great, but the novitiate has an infallible talisman against all dangers.

*"Love alone," declares Rumi, "can end their quarrel, Love alone comes to the rescue when you cry for help against their arguments."*¹³

Our earlier Pilgrim on the perilous highway escaped the 'brigands' with the aid of the same Talisman. In words which read like a perfect 'Grammar' of Love, Manickavacagar relates what true dauntless Pilgrims, the galaxy of Lovers of God, do in such a peril.

தப்பாமே தாம் பிடித்தது சலியா
தழலது கண்ட மெழுகது போலத்
தொழுதுன முருகி அழுதுடல் கம்பித்து
ஆடியும் அலறியும் பாடியும் பரவியும்

-----நல்லிடையரு அன்பிற்

-----சாருங்

கதியது பரமா அதிசயமாக

மற்றோர் தெய்வங் கனவிலும் நினையாது

என்பு நைந்துருகி நெக்கு நெக்கேங்கி
அன்பெனும் ஆறு கரையது புரள
நன் புலன் ஒன்றி நாதவேன்றாற்றி
உரை தடுமாறி உரோமஞ் சிலிப்பக்
கரமலர் மொட்டித் திருதயம் மலரக்
கண்கனி கூர துண்துனி அரும்பச்
சாயா அன்பினை நாடொறுந் தழைப்பவர்.

¹³ from RUMI—RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY.

*They swerved not, but unflinchingly held on
 As wax before the fire,
 Adoring with melting soul, wept, with body a-trembling.
 Dancing, shouting, singing, praying,
 never intermitting in their Love,
 the aimed-at
 Goal alone as the Supreme Unseen ;
 Other God (s), even in dream, never thinking of,
 Their very bones softening and melting, and
 wilting wilting with yearning :
 The river Love overflowing its banks,
 The goodly senses coalescing and deliriously
 hailing the Lord,
 Speech stumbling and hairs on end,
 The blossoming (open) hands in adoration closed
 as buds, while the heart blossoms out,
 The eyes, in mounting joy, glisten with dew-drops.
 Thus, unswerving Love (they) eternally cherish.*

DO NOT TRAVEL ALONE

Even with such a powerful talisman, the Pilgrim should not travel alone. அஞ்சாமல் தனி வழியே போகவேண்டாம் — Do not, fearlessly, travel alone — is one of the 'don'ts' of Auvaiyar. Like all the Tamil Proverbs, this also has its worldly as well as spiritual meaning. The அடியார் கூட்டம் — the Caravan of Devotees — is therefore a source of strength and inspiration to the seeker of the Lord.

Therefore, Manickavasagar's petition in the first verse of the 'Ten'¹⁴ called — KOIL MOOTHA-THIRUPPADIKAM —, which is esteemed as the heart of the Tiruvacagam is

..... "to me, Thy bondsman,
 grant the grace amidst thy devotees to abide."

The poem reveals how much importance Manickavacagar attached to this petition.

¹⁴ 'The tiruvacagam is divided into 'patigams', literally 'Tens'.

*"She, my Lady dwells within Thy core ; in my Lady's
heart you dwell :
If Thee both do (indeed) dwell within this slave, to me,
Thy bondsman,
Grant the grace amidst Thy devotees
To dwell,
That my heart's intent be fulfilled."*

உடையான் உன்தன் நடுவிருக்கும், உடையான் நடுவுள் நீ
யிருத்தி ;
அடியேன் நடுவுள் இருவீரும் இருப்பதானால், அடியேன்
உன்
அடியார் நடுவுள் இருக்கும் அருளைப் புரியாய்
..... என் கருத்து முடியும் வண்ணம் முன்னின்றே.

Sat-sang, the company of the Good Companions is a vital need of the Mystic. For, "the Way to Good", as Rumi says, "is full of trouble and bale."¹⁵

*"On this road men's souls are tried by terror,
as a sieve is used for sifting bran.*

*"If you go by yourself, I grant that you may
manage to escape the wolf ; but you will
feel no spiritual alacrity.*

*"The ass, notwithstanding its grossness,
is encouraged and strengthened,
O Dervish, by comrades of its own kind.*

*"How many more goadings and cudgellings
does it suffer when it crosses the
desert without company !*

*"It says to you implicitly, "Take good heed !
Don't travel alone unless you are an ass !"¹⁵*

LOVE IN ABSENCE

An overwhelming consciousness of unworthiness and a sinking dread of being forsaken mingle with a lament at being separated from the Lord and a yearning heart-ache for union

¹⁵ from RUMI—Do not travel alone.

with the Beloved, and form the warp and woof of the tapestry of the Tiruvacagam. They are the strands of the web of life of a Mystic.

A whole series of fifty poems of the Tiruvacagam entreat the Lord in heart-wriving words, 'Forsake me Not'.

வினை என் போலுடையார் பிறர் ஆர்?

உடையான் அடிநாயேனைத்

தினை யின் பாகமும் பிரிவது

திருந்து நான் முட்டிலேன், தலைகிறேன்;

முனைவன் பாதநன் மலர் பிரிந்

திருந்து நான் முட்டிலேன், தலைகிறேன்;

இனையன் பாவனை யிரும்பு கல்

மனஞ் செவி யின்ன தென்றறியேனே!

What other sinners are there like to me?

this lowly cur, by even a whit

To forsake, is not the Lord's sacred will: nath'less

From the Primal One's feet-blossom having parted,

My head I smash not or split.

My soul is iron, stone my mind,

my ear is, I know not what!

மறுத்தனன் யானான் அருளறியாமையில் என்மணியே!
வெறுத்தனை நீ விட்டிடுதி கண்டாய்.

Through ignorance, I have Thy Grace

refused, my Jewel

Loathing me, Lo Forsake Me Not

எய்தேன் நாயேன், இனி யிங்கிருக்க கில்லேன்

முத்தர் உன்தன் முகவொளி நோக்கி முறுவல் நகை காண
அத்தா, சால ஆசைப்பட்டேன் கண்டாய் அம்மானே!

Wearied am I, a cur: I cannot any longer abide here

.....

O Fetter-free! Thy face's lustre to gaze at and
smile's gleam to see,

O Sire, behold, I eagerly yearned.

Rumi reveals to us the esoteric meaning of this eternal lament which pervades the Tiruvacagam.

Rumi sings :—

*"How should not I mourn, like night, without His day
and the favour of His day-illuming countenance ?*

*"I am in love with grief and pain for the sake of pleasing
my peerless King.*

*"I complain of the Soul of my soul, but in truth I am
not complaining : I am only telling.*

*"My heart says it is tormented by Him, and I have long
been laughing at its poor pretence."*¹⁶

THE BODY THAT LEADS TO RUIN AND THE BODY THAT LEADS TO BLISS

Poor pretence it may be, when the heart says it is tormented by Him, but it does not seem to be so when Manickavacagar reviles his body. When he bemoans like this, — "Endure, I cannot, this bodily existence" (தரிக்கிலேன் காய வாழ்க்கை) or "this body that would not be uprooted, I have not felled" (பரியா உடல் தன்னைச் செற்றிலேன்) or thus, "I cannot bear this, but no way of ridding this body do I see" (பொறுக்கிலேன், உடல் போக்கிடங் காணேன்) or merely thus, "I die not" (இறக்கிலேன்) he seems earnestness itself.

While the uninitiated reader grows sorely perplexed at this suicidal longing, Manickavacagar confounds him with a strange paradoxical utterance. He says :

*"Hail to the Resplendent Being that did away with the
body which spells ruin,*

Hail to Him that created the body which yields ecstasy."

அழிதரும் ஆக்கை ஒழியச் செய்த ஒன் பொருள்
அளிதரும் ஆக்கை செய்தோன் போற்றி.

¹⁶ from RUMI—Love in Absence.

Rumi comes to our help and enlightens us thus :—

"The spiritual way ruins the body and, having ruined it, restores it to prosperity :

"Ruined the house for the sake of the golden treasure, and with that same treasure builds it better than before ;

"Cut off the water and cleansed the river-bed, then caused drinking water to flow in it ;

"Cleft the skin and drew out the barb, then made fresh skin grow over the wound :

"Razed the fortress and took it from the infidel, then reared thereon a hundred towers and ramparts.

"Sometimes the action of God appears like this, sometimes the contrary: (true) religion is nothing but bewilderment.¹⁷

SPIRITUAL CHURNING

The 'ruin' and 'restoration' are achieved by a spiritual churning of the body which is plagued by the five senses. Manickavacagar refers to this when he sings :—

"By five-fold evil I whirl like curd by assailing churn"

மலங்களைத் தாழ் சுழல்வன் தயிற்றிற் பொரு மத்துறவே

"Like churned cool curd, with sense vomiting fire, (I am) stirred."

மத்துறு தண்தயிற்றிற் புலன் தீக்கதுவக் கலங்கி

If there is a churn, there should be a Churner. He is Him, whom Manickavacagar sings in these words :

The Ancient One, transcending speech,—

In soul's apprehension, not to be contained,

By eye or other sense-organs not perceivable,—

He, who, the ether and all elements, in their order, caused to be born,

¹⁷ from RUMI—The Ladder to Heaven.

.....
 Today, to me, in condescending grace came —
 Resplendent Being that made this body of destruction
 fall away

And ecstasy yielding body fashioned. Hail to Him !

சொற்பதங் கடந்த தொல் லோன்,
 உள்ளத் துணச்சியிற் கொள்ளவும் படான்
 கண்முதற் புலனாற் காட்சியும் இல்லோன்
 விண்முதற் பூதம் வெளிப்பட வகுத்தோன்,

.....
 இன் நெனக் கெளி வந்தருளி,
 அழிதரும் ஆக்கை ஒழியச் செய்த ஓண் பொருள்
 அளிதரும் ஆக்கை செய்தோன் போற்றி.

In amazingly identical concept and expression Rumi expounds the same mystic truth thus :—

“Thy truth is concealed in falsehood, like the taste of butter in buttermilk.

“Thy falsehood is this perishable body ; thy truth is the lordly spirit.

“During many years the buttermilk remains in view, while the butter has vanished as if nought,

“Till God send a Messenger, a Chosen Servant, to shake the buttermilk in the churn —

“To shake it with method and skill, and teach me that my true self was hidden.

“The buttermilk is old : Keep it, do not let it go till you extract the butter from it.

“Turn it deftly to and fro, that it may give up its secret.”¹⁸

This spiritual churning turns the body which spells ruin into a body which melts in ecstasy. In this state,

¹⁸ from RUMI—Spiritual Churning.

*The body prickles and quivers, its hands clasped over the
head and adore*

*Thy fragrance-laden Feet, tears well up, the heart melts,
and*

The unreal is spurned.

மெய்தான் அரும்பி விதிர் விதிர்த்து, உன்

விரை ஆர் கழற் கென்

கைதான் தலைவத்துக் கண்ணீர் ததும்பி

வெதும்பி உள்ளம்,

பொய் தான் தவிர்ந்து

*Spurning the unreal, Thee I praise, and never shall I falter
or cease with repeated songs of victory to Hail Thee !*

பொய் தான் தவிர்ந்து உன்னைப்போற்றி, சயசய

போற்றி யென்னும்

கைதான் நெகிழ விடேன்.

FEELING AND THINKING

In this state, the Mystic has no patience with ordinary talk. If ever he speaks, it would only be to repeatedly pronounce thus :—

“O Lord, Father, Sire, My Supreme Master !”

பேசிற்கும் ஈசனே எந்தாய் எந்தை

பெருமானே என்றென்றே பேசிப் பேசி

If, perchance, the Mystics are ever inveigled into an idle argument, they realise their lapse almost instantly and resume their sole pursuit — the praise of the Lord. Manickavacagar declares this allegorically through a conversation between certain girls who go about collecting their friends on their way to the traditional early morning bath in the month of Margazi (December-January) and a friend still tarrying in her bed.

THE GIRLS :—

“O thou of radiant pearl-like smile, is't not now dawn ?”

THE LAZY ONE :—

“Have all the sweet-voiced come, like parrots many-
hued ?”

THE GIRLS :—

“We shall count, and true tally, report (to you), meanwhile in sleep close not thine eye ; let not thy time in vain be sept.”

THE GIRLS CONTINUING AFTER REALISING THEIR LAPSE :—

“Heaven’s Unique Elixir, Veda’s Quintessence, Eyes’ Delight, We’d rather sing of Him, our hearts melting away in ecstasy ! We shall therefore not count ! Come and count for yourself, and if the tally is short, go back to sleep.”

ஒன்றித் திலநகை யாய் இன்னம் புலர்ந்தின்றோ
வண்ணக் கிளி மொழியா ரெல்லாரும் வந்தாரோ
எண்ணிக் கொ ள்ளவா சொல்லு கோம் அவ்வளவுங்
கண்ணைத் துயின்றவமே காலத்தைப் போக்காதே
விண்ணுக் கொரு மருந்தை வேத விழுப் பொருளைக்
கண்ணுக் கினியானைப் பாடிக் கசிந்துள்ளம்
உன்றெக்கு நின்றுக யாம்மாட்டோம் நீயே வந்
தெண்ணிக் குறையில் துயிலேலோ ரெம்பாவாய்.

Rumi relates an anecdote which quaintly underscores this same one-pointedness of the Mystic.

“Someone struck Zayd a hard blow from behind. He was about to retaliate,

“When his assailant cried, ‘Let me ask you a question first, answer it, then strike me.

“I struck the nape of your neck, and there was the sound of a slap. Now I ask you in a friendly way —

“Was the sound caused by my hand or by your neck, O pride of the noble ?’

“Zayd said, ‘The pain I am suffering leaves me no time to reflect on this problem.

“Ponder it yourself: he who feels the pain cannot think of things like this.”¹⁹

¹⁹ from RUMI—Feeling and Thinking.

THE MYSTIC'S HIGHWAY — THE SPEEDIEST

Many are the pilgrims to God and diverse are the routes that they take, but the Mystic's highway is the speediest and the surest one. His goal rushes forward to him more speedily than lightning. "The Lord", sings Manickavacagar, "eludes many earnest seekers, who strive to reach him through rites, or Vedic lore, or Yogic contemplation, and

"even those (ascetics) who bidding their senses five depart to regions far, seek unknown mountain heights, and with body stripped of all but the bare breath perform rare austerities."

But "to me" he sings in ecstasy,

*"Today, right now, in condescending grace
He delivered Himself."*

-----சேண் வயின்
ஐம்புலன் செலவிடுத்து அருவரை தொறும் போய்த்
துற்றவை துறந்த வெற்றாயிர் ஆக்கை
அருந்தவர் காட்சியுள் திருந்த ஒளித்தும்

இன்றெனக் கெளி வந்திருந்தனன் போற்றி.

"The Mystic", Rumi declares, "ascends to the Throne in a moment ; the ascetic needs a month for one day's journey.

"Although for the ascetic, one day is of great value, yet how should this one day be equal to fifty thousand years ?

"In the life of the adept, every day is fifty thousand of the years of this world.

"Love hath five hundred wings, and every wing reaches from the empyrean to beneath the earth.

"The timorous ascetic runs on foot, the lovers of God fly more quickly than lightning."

I AM GOD

In that moment, when the Lord, in condescending grace delivers Himself to the Mystic, he is filled with God — *he is God.*

That rare moment is for ever captured in the outburst of Rapture with which Manickavacagar concludes the *Tiru-anda-paguthi*.

"I know not what to say. Blessed be Thou !

Is this proper ?

Ah me ! a mere cur, I cannot sustain this.

What Thee to me has done,

I cannot comprehend. Ah ! I am dead. To me,

Thy slave,

What Thou in grace hast bestowed, I know not ;

with mere slipping, am not satiate,

(Greedily) swallowing, I cannot take it in.

The rich cool sea of milk in flowing billows swells

Like the new-moon mid-ocean tide and fills my soul

to overflowing.

It beggars description — in each hair-root of my body,

Nectar sweet, to collect, He ordained. Taking abode

in this my frame,

Each fibre of this wretch's fleshy body,

Through honey-filled wondrous ambrosial channels

He irrigated right to the very cavities of the bones.

As if with (my) melting heart he fashioned a form,

An ecstasy bubbling body He created for me.

(Thus) when in me, Mercy's pure honey he mixed,

He made me, in His grace, surpassing Nectar sweet.

சொல்லுவ தறியேன், வாழி ! முறையோ !

தரியேன் நாயேன், தானெனைச் செய்தது

தெரியேன். ஆவா ! செத்தேன் ! அடியேந்

கருளிய தறியேன். பருகியு மாரேன்,

விழுங்கியும் ஒல்லகில் லேன்.

செழுந்தண் பாற்கடல் திரைபுரைவித்

துவாக்கடல் நள்ளுநீர் உள்ளகந்ததும்ப,

வாக்கிறந் தமுதம் மயிர்க்கால் தோறுந்
 தேக்கிடச் செய்தனன். கொடியேன் ஊன்தழை
 குரம்பை தோறும் நாயுடலகத்தே
 குரம்பை கொண் டின்தேன் பாய்த்தி நிரம்பிய
 அற்புதமான அமுத தாரைகள்
 எற்புத் துளை தோறும் ஏற்றினன். உருகுவ
 துள்ளங் கொண்டோர் உருச் செய்தாங் கென
 கள்ளுருக்கை யமைத்தனன் -----

-----என்னிற்

கருணை வான் தேன் கலக்க
 அருளொடு பராவமு தாக்கினன்.

“‘I am God’,” says Rumi, “is an expression of great humility. The man who says, ‘I am the slave of God’, affirms two existences, his own and God’s, but he that says ‘I am God’, has made himself non-existent and has given himself up and says ‘I am God’ i.e., ‘I am naught, He is all, there is no being but God’s. THIS IS THE EXTREME OF HUMILITY AND SELF ABASEMENT.”²⁰

²⁰ from RUMI—Deification.

Sources for the study of the History of Jaffna

SWAMI S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O. M. I.

IT is an anachronism to call the North Ceylon of the Tamil period by the name of Jaffna. Nor is it correct to say that any Ruler of the North of the Island was king of Jaffna. The name Jaffna, now designating the entire Peninsula, was first given to the new town in Nallur in the 17th century. The kings, whose brief history is to be related in the following pages, reigned first at Sinkai Nagar, a town situated probably on the sea-shore near Point Pedro and then at Nallur, till their downfall. Their kingdom was known in their own days as that of Ilam, a name given also to the whole Island of Ceylon. As this old name is no more in use, and as "Jaffna" has to come to indicate the northern kingdom, we conform to modern usage in calling our ancient rulers the kings of Jaffna.

On the history of Jaffna there have been quite a number of Tamil works published recently. They have drawn invariably from a Tamil Prose work called *Yalppana-Vaipava-Malai* by one Mylvakanapulavar of Jaffna. This was translated into English by late Mr. Advocate C. Brito (1879). Mudaliar C. Rasanayagam who wrote his "*Ancient Jaffna*" in English was himself laid much store by this uncritical work of recent times. For, it was written according to the author's own statement as late as the year 1736 or thereabouts; for Maccara, at whose instance it was undertaken, was Governor of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon at that time. We have, therefore, to take it for what it is worth, and this can be determined only by a critical examination of the sources utilized

This is a chapter from an unpublished manuscript.

by the author. The following is a summary of an article contributed by the present writer to the "Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register."¹

SOURCES OF THE YALPPANA-VAIPAVA-MALAI

The "Special Preface" which is verse tells us that Mayilvakana-pulavar drew from the following older writings : (1) *Kaylaya-malai* (2) *Vaiya-padal* (3) *Pararasasekaran-ula* and (4) *Irasa-murai*. These works deal with the period of native kings alone. We may well imagine that no records of the troublous times of the Portuguese conquest of Jaffna, followed by days little congenial to the production of Tamil literature, were left in the native tongue for our author to consult. For the history of these times he had to fall back upon oral traditions. Of the little he says of the Dutch period we can attribute only a small fraction to him. As Mr. Brito remarks : "The bold language in which the policy of the Dutch is described and the prophecies which the work contains relating to the English, must be regarded as interpolation of a later date."²

Confining our attention, therefore, to the earlier portion of the Vaipava-malai, we find that this can be divided into three distinct sections :

1. The legendary section closing with the story of the yalppadi : (pp. 1-13).
2. The colonisation of Jaffna under Koolankaic-Chakkaravartti (pp. 13-18).
3. List of kings down to Pararasa-sekaran (pp. 18-26).

Of these, section 1 is in all probability based on the *Vaiya-padal* Section 2 on the *Kailaya-malai*, and Section 3 on the *Irassaparamparai* and *Pararasa - sekaran - ula*. The last two records supplying, apparently, the data for the most historical

1. vi p. 125 & seq.

2. The Y. V. M. Translator's preface.

portion of the work is lost, a truly unfortunate thing. The *Kailaya-malai* has been recovered and printed.³ A good portion of the *Vaiya-padal* has been recently discovered.⁴ There exists also an old prose rendering of it, complete, which will help us to supply the lacunae of the incomplete original.

Leaving out, therefore, section 3, on which we can pass no judgment before its sources are, if ever, possibly brought to light, let us proceed to tackle Sections 1 and 2 of the work which now occupies our attention.

The *Vaiya-padal* opens with an episode from the *Ramayana*, according to which Vipishanan had been made king of Ceylon in the room of his brother Ravanana by no less a personage than Tasarata Raman himself. A Yalppadi (lutist), who was serving at the court of Vipishanan, clears the jungle of the Northern peninsula, then known as "Manaltidal," plants gardens and groves, and, after bringing down a thousand Indian families to people the new land, crosses over to North Madura and obtains from king Kulaketu, the *maitunan* of Tasarata, one of his sons to become the ruler of this colony. This prince had one hand shorter than the other and was therefore known as Vijaya-Koolankaic-Chakkaravartti. This was in Kali-yuga 3000 or B. C. 101.

Mayilvakana-pulavar has embodied this account in his book. But Vipishnan was a misty character of the remote past and the events connected with the Sinhalese history,

3. By Mr. T. Kayilasapillai of Jaffna in 1905. See also Brito op. cit. pp. xlv-xlvi.

4. By Mr. Arudpiragasam of the Central College, Jaffna. The prose version was edited by me from MSS with notes in 1921. Mr. Brito translates the greater portion of this opusculum in his Y. V. M. pp. xxx-xxxiv) and remarks: "the above is a work of no authority. It is a confusion of persons, places dates and events." Still I hold that it is out of this confusion that the author of the Y. V. M. has endeavoured to build up, the first section of his work. How far he has succeeded in accomplishing this rare task will be seen in the text. The prose *Vaiya* has been also quoted by Mr. J. P. Lewis in the first chapter of his *Manual of the Vanni* but under the name of Kalveddu.

which the pulavar had without doubt, known through the Mahavanso tradition, had to be reckoned with. So he dexterously sandwiches these events between the reign of that puranic celebrity (p. 1) and the so-called colonisation under the Yalppadi (p. 13). Again, the Pulavar had no doubt that Vijaya was a Saivite. For, when that adventurer left India, Buddhism was not a full fledged faith. It was an easy task for him, therefore, to connect the more ancient Saivite temples of Ceylon with its famous conqueror (p. 3). Likewise, the coming out of the oldest families of Brahmans was naturally bracketed with the origin of these temples (p. 1-2). Again, it was too notorious a fact to be ignored, that the old inhabitants of Ilam with their speech shaded off into Sinhalese had held Jaffna before the modern Tamil settlers ever set their foot here, and there seems to have been an idea that the former had come from Siam. So, the pulavar adds that Vijaya had brought the Buddhist settlers from "Siam and other parts of Burma and placed them in different parts of the country." (p. 2). And when the Yalppadi brought his Tamil settlers he is made to rule over "the new colonists and the Sinhalese natives whom he treated alike." (p. 13.)

The *Vaiya-padal* places the story of Marutap-piravikavalli after the colonisations by Yalppadi and follows it up with the arrival of sixty Vannias in connection with the marriage of Vararasa-sinkan, the man-lion son of Ukkirasinkan by that Chola princess. One of the Vannias, afterwards, stays with Vararasa-sinkan at Kandy, while the rest conquer Adankapattu and rule it under the overlordship of Jaffna; they invite the various Indian castes and clans, which we now find settled in Jaffna and the Vanni, including Tampalakamam and Koddiamam. Eventually, fifty-four of the Vannias are slain in a battle with the Parankis(?) and the remaining five returned to India but are drowned on their way thither. In the meantime, the wives of all the sixty Vannias, with their swordsmen and other attendants, leave India in order to meet

5. We learn this from De Queyroz, *Conquista Temporal espiritual de Ceilao*, p. 4. He couples Bengal with Siam,

their husbands in Ceylon. Hearing, on the way, of the death of the fifty-four, an equal number of the Vannichis mount the funeral pyre, one goes to Kandy to find her lord, and the remaining five each the Vanni unaware of the tragic end of their husbands, and subsequently become Vannipam (rulers of the Vanni), their new husbands being known as Ayutanti.⁶ Into this story is woven an episode of two pirate chiefs Vedarasan and Meera. They are defeated by Meeka-man a fisher chief, who was sent to Ceylon, from Madura to obtain Nagarubies for the anklet of Kannakai (?) and from the Mukkuwa colony of Batticaloa and the Moorish one of Vidattaltivu.

Thus far the *Vaiya-padal*. The writer of that opuscle has put the different legends of his day pell-mell, without any regard to chronology. Mayilvakana-pulavar, on the other hand, had to fit them with the statements of another document which doubtless he had before his eyes. This was Konesar-Kalveddu,⁷ or at any rate the tradition derived from it. Thus we find him following this document with regard to the Vannias who, according to it, were brought down in connection with the Konesar temple by Kulak-kodden, another nebulous hero about whom more in the sequel. But before bringing Kulak-kodden and his temple to the notice of his readers, he takes care to safe-guard what to him appears the greater antiquity of the Nakulesar temple by throwing in a word on Kiri-malai and on the legend of a mongoose-faced sage which has grown round that temple. Then, harmonising the Vaiya's statement and that of the Kalveddu with regard

6. Portuguese: ajudante, adjutant.

7. Printed with the Takshina-Kayilasa-puranam, about which see note 11. The prose portion of the Kalveddu looks older on the whole than the verse. It is attributed to a certain Kavirasar who appears to contribute a "Special preface" to the Takshina-Kayilasa-puranam. If so, it is as old as this work. Mr. Brito who gives a good summary, of the Kalveddu in his Y. V. M. (pp. xxxix-xliv), says that it is unquestionably a work of great antiquity, but it bears evident marks of having received additions from time to time up to every recent dates." Before Mr. Brito Mr. Casie Chitty had given a summary of the Kalveddu in the Government Gazette of 1831. See this reproduced in the Ceylon Literary Register 1-63.

to the Vannias, our author declares that the Vannias invited by Kulak -koddan also received "an accession of fifty-nine" new families from Pandi". (p. 7).

This number "fifty nine" is unquestionably from the *Vaiya-padal* as the story of Kulak-koddan bringing the Vannias is from the Kalveddu. He then takes up the episode of the pirate chiefs, now metamorphosed into usuman and Sentan (probably to account for the two village names: Usuman-turai and Sentan-kalam), and succeeds in tracing out a cause for chiefs afterwards migrating to Batticaloa and to "the sea-coast far removed from Kiri-malai" (p. 5.) The circumstances of five Vannias being drowned, sixty Vannichis coming out to meet their husbands with their swordsmen &c., and fifty-four of them committing suicide, reappear in the reign of Sankily transformed into the following: Forty-nine Vannias come out to join their caste in Ceylon. They are all lost at sea except one Karaippiddy Vannian who reaches Jaffna; he is stabbed to death and his Vannichi commits suicide; the sixty swordsmen in their pay are degraded into Nalavas (pp. 34-35). The transmutation of numbers in the two stories, which nevertheless present the same chief events faithfully, is interesting.

As for Marutap-piravika-valli herself, the *Vaiya-padal* tells us that she was the daughter of Tisai-ukkira-cholan, father-in-law or uncle of Koolankaic-chakkaravartti. She and her brother, Sinka-ketu visited Ceylon for the purpose of bathing in the sacred spring of Kiri-malai. Here she was cured of a deformity in the face which had resembled that of a horse. From this marvel the country came to be known as Mavidda-puram. They travelled on to Katir-kamam and on their return journey Marutap-pravika-valli had, by Uk-kirasinkan, a son born with a tail, who resembled a man lion.

This is what the *Vaiya-padal* has. The *Kailaya-malai* introduces a slight change. According to it, the daughter of

a Cholan apparently named Rasa Rasan bathed in the sea-tirttam of Ceylon to obtain a cure and was encamped with her attendants and a large army. The lion-faced king of Katirai-malai (Katirkamam) stealthily carried her away to his hill capital and made her his queen. She gave birth to a beautiful son called Varasinka-maharasa Narasinka-rasan. The queen next gave birth to a daughter. When the children grew up they were married to each other.

The *Vaipava-malai* version is much more developed. Ukkira-sinkan appears here with a fuller previous history. He is "a prince of the dynasty founded by king Vijaya's brother." (p. 8) He makes a descent on Ceylon with a numerous force, conquers one half of it and reigns from Katirai-malai. He has the face of a lion and makes a pilgrimage to Kiri-malai where he encamps in Valvar-kon-pallam, "so named from Valavan (Chola-rasan) who had formerly encamped on the same spot." (p. 8) At this stage comes the incident of Tondaiman (no doubt invented by folk-lore etymologists to account for Tondamanaru) who pays him a visit. On this returning to Katirai-malai he passed through the Vanni, receiving the voluntary submission of the Vannias and imposing on them a tribute "which he enjoined should be paid to the temple of Konesar." (p. 9.) Then comes Marutappiravika-valli; she encamps at *Kumaratti-pallam*, bathes in the holy spring under the direction of Nakula-muni, and her cure gives Ma-vidda-puram its name. She builds the Kandaswami temple, for which her father Tasai-ukkira-cholan sends the men and the materials.

There is then introduced a detailed story about the Brahman, Periamanat-tullar, who is miraculously sent from the

8. Mr. Brito translates: "a son of great personal beauty but having a tail." "Y. V. M. P. xlv. The text does not justify this. *ceyya-adi-val-alku* means "the great beauty of the rosy feet." The *Vaiya-padal* is solely responsible for the prince's cumbersome appurtenance.

opposite shore to officiate in the new temple. This furnishes the author with another opportunity for propounding the popular etymology of Kankesan-turai and for appending some traditions concerning the origin of "the Kashi and Tillai races of priesthood" (p. 12). Again, Ukkira-sinkan visits Kiri-malai once more presumably hearing of the temple being built by a Chola princess and a circumstantial account is given of how he possessed himself of Marutap-piravika-valli and how, in deference to her wishes, he tarried at Manaltidal until she had completed the sacred edifice. (p. 11) Subsequently he takes her to Katirai-malai and there celebrates the nuptial ceremonies. Soon afterwards he abandons this city and makes Senkadanakari his capital. Here the queen brings forth a son and a daughter. The son who was born with a tail, was named Narasinka-rasa and the daughter Senpaka-vati. Their parents unite them in marriage and crown the son sub-king under the title of Vala sinka-rasa ; but on his father's death he ascended the throne with the name of Jaya-vararasa sinkan. (pp. 12-13.)

Thus we find that the original story as found in the *Vaiya-padal* and the little more expanded version of *Kayilaya-malai* have undergone a great many developments in the *Vaipava-malai*. What are the sources of these developments ? It is, again, the *Kalveddu* in combination with folk-lore-etymology and the popular evolution of ideas which have given the *Pulavar* his data. The ground-work of the story of the miraculous cure of an Indian princess and the building of a temple by her is found ready-made in the account of *Kulak-koddan* and the temple of *Konesar*.

A Chola prince called *Kulak-koddan* (the name simply means one connected with tank and temple) comes to worship at *Tiri-Kayilai*, i.e. the shrine at *Trincomalie*. Here another Cholan, *Vararama Tevan*, has worshipped before him. He builds the temple and its towers, makes the sin-dispelling well, and appoints a line of *Vannias* to see to the maintenance of the temple and its worship. He invites *Brahmans* from India to officiate in it. Now there comes another character on the

sage. Adaka-savuntary⁹ was a Kalinga princess born with a deformity and on that account committed to the waves enclosed in an ark. The ark was wafted on Ceylon shores and picked up by the king of Unnasakiri. The child was adopted by the king and in course of time succeeded him as ruler of Ceylon. It was during her reign that Kulak-koddan was busying himself with the pious work of restoring the temple. The report of his activities reaches her ears and forthwith she despatches an army to drive him out of the island ; but this only results in a friendly understanding and Kulak-koddan marries her at Unnasakiri. They both retire to Tiri-kayilai where a son named Sinka-kumaran is born. Afterwards they return to Unnasa-kiri and made him king.

Now it will appear at a glance that the two accounts are not independent of each other. Both are, in fact, substantially the same, if we make allowance for a confusion of names and places. In the one case it is a Chola princess who builds a Ceylon temple¹⁰ and espouses a prince of the Kalinga family. In the other it is a Chola prince who builds a Ceylon temple and espouses a princess of the Kalinga family. In both the cases the princess is sent to Ceylon on account of a personal deformity. But what is a conclusive argument for the identity of both the stories is that both point to the head of a new dynasty in Ceylon practically with the same name, i.e. Vala-sinkan and Sinka-kumaran.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the story of Kulak-koddan and Adaka-savuntary is earlier than that of

9. The name, the deformity in question, and some other details disclose the fact that this legend has much in common with those of Tadakai in the *Ramayanam* and Tasatakaip-piraddy in the *Tiruvilaiyadattupuranam*. The author of the Y. V. M. makes Adaka-Savuntary the queen of Pandu. (p. 6) See how this equation enables him to fix some dates : Pp. 7 and 9. This is clearly a device to make a distinct personage of Marutappiravikavalli whereas she is actually identical with Adaka-savuntary.

10. Kulak-koddan repaired the temple of Tambalakamam and the old temple of Kirimalai is called by the Y. V. M. Tiruttampala-Isuran-koil. (p. 3) There is surely some identity behind this resemblance of names.

Ukkira-sinkan and Marutap-piravika-valli, just as the shrine of Konesar is older than that of Nakulesar. We know that the former temple was of equal celebrity with Tirukketicchuram as early as the seventh century A. D.; for Tiru-Gnana-Sambantar has sung them both in his Tevaram hymns. But we hear nothing of Kiri-malai till such comparatively recent times as the *Vaiya-padal* and the *Kayilaya-malai* represent. As for Marutap - pitavika-valli the *Takshina - kayilasa-puranam*¹¹ makes no mention of her, not even in the incoherent episode¹² of the Kantaruvan or Iutist connected with the Ravanam myth, in which Kiri-malai figures as an ordinary tirtam. The *Tiruk-konasala-puranam* does indeed represent her as visiting Kiri-malai in the course of her peregrinations through the many sacred places of Ceylon. But this work is of our own days¹³ and the story is again different in details from that of the *Vaipava-malai*. Certain it is that both these works have each spun its own yarn from the legend handed down by that most uncritical document ever put on paper — the *Vaiya-padal*.

In all probability the legend of Marutap-piravika-valli originated as folk-lore in connection with a noted shrine of old days. We have a parallel to this in all the ruins of old buildings in Jaffna being popularly attributed to some princess or other. Compare the legend concerning Alli-arasany and

11. First edition printed at Madras, 1887. A second edition which seems to follow older MSS, was printed at Jaffna, 1914. Internal evidence shows that this work could not have been written after the period of the native kings, i.e., after 1620. Its "Special preface" is attributed in the first edition to Arasa-Kesari and in the second to Kavi-virarakavan. If the latter is the blind poet who visited Pararasa-sekaran's court, his time should probably be placed before 1591. This is the Pararasa-sekaran nicknamed Rei torto who was a friend of letters and who could have composed the verses attributed to the Jaffna king in Kavi-virarakavan's life. See *infra* chapter xii. A certain Kavirasar too contributes a "Special preface" to the *Takshina-Kayilasa-puranam*. If he is identical with the author of the Konesar Kalveddu (as the editor of the former work thinks) then both the works belong to the same period.

12. It is clearly an interpolation as the editor remarks see page

13. "Its author Mr. Masilamany Muttukumaru, is a native of Trincomalie where he still lives." Mr. Brito in his Y. V. M. page xxviii.

Kumaratty. The circumstance of Marutap-piravika-valli's miraculous cure is probably to be traced to the influence of the legend of Adaka-savuntary, which itself owned its origin to some ancient floating myth, while her equine face would be naturally suggested by the place name Ma-vidda-puram.¹⁴ But folk-lore went a step further. It would connect this beautiful legend with another not less beautiful — that of Yalppadi. And nothing was easier. The Kulak-koddan tradition was there, ready to furnish all the missing links. That celebrated Chola prince who married a princess of his own country miraculously brought to Unnasa-kiri was no other — it was discovered — than the lion-faced Ukkira-sinkan who married Marutap-piravika-valli at Katira-malai¹⁵ and reigning as the sole monarch of Ceylon bestowed the Northern peninsula on the Yalppadi !

But who was this Yalppadi ? I find it a clumsy attempt to derive Yalppanam from Yalppadi. If there was a question of Yalppanan as the coloniser of our peninsula all would be well. Yalpanan is a classical word meaning one whose occupation and caste-duty is to play on the lute. And a country connected with a Yalppanan can very correctly be called Yalppanam.¹⁶ Again, it is contrary to fact to say that Jaffna was

14. I venture to think that "puram" in this name actually represent "veram" (for vihare) as in Suddi-puram, Suli-puram and Tol-puram. See this discussed by me in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, II, 292. "Mavidda" stands perhaps for Maha-wata or sacred Wata-tree as suggested by Mr. S. W. Coomaraswamy in his *Some place-names in the Northern Province* (Tamil. p. 132.). There are many pulams or arable lands in Jaffna known as Mavattai and it is quite conceivable that a Mavattai pulam came to be called Mavattai-puram which would have given a chance to popular etymologists to, connect a horse with it. I notice a Vadda-Kallady in Poiyddi (or Bositiya) near Achchelu. Poiyddi itself is known as Seedi-puram (for veram) no doubt with reference to a Vihara which stood on the *sitiya*.

15. A plausible suggestion has been made by Mr. H. W. Codrington C. C. S. in his lecture before the Jaffna Historical Society (on 12th Feb. 1920) to the effect that Ukkira-sinkan and Jayatunkan might be identified with Magha and Jayabahu (1215-1238). But see Brito's view in chapter iii infra.

16. See this discussed at length by Mr. Coomaraswamy in opus cit pp. 128-30.

made habitable and colonised only so late as the epoch assigned to Koolanic-chakravarti. Mayilvakana-pulavar corrects the *Vaiya-padal* with regard to the previous inhabitants of Jaffna, but adheres to the legend of the Yalppadi as all native writers have ever since done. He ventures even further in search of the antecedents of his hero and commits an anachronism by identifying him with the blind poet, Vira-rakavan, who indeed seems to have actually visited the court of a Ceylon king but as late as the sixteenth or the seventeenth century.¹⁷

The mention of the Yalppadi, however, is met, for the first time in native writings, only in the *Vaiya-padal*.¹⁸ The original *Takshina-Kayilasa-puranam* has no reference to it. There seems, therefore, to be no doubt that the entire legend was conjured up as an explanation for the place name Yalppanam. But unfortunately for the etymologists who built up such a romantic story on a name Yalppanam is probably in no way connected with either *yal*¹⁹ or *panan*. Learned opinion is now in favour of a Sinhalese origin to the name of the Portuguese town of the 17th century.²⁰ Yapa-ne is a good

17. See note 11 supra.

18. It would seem that the *Vaiya* was composed during the times of the last Jaffna kings. See the traditions about the writer of this work in Mr. Mootootamby Pillai's *Jaffna History* 2nd edition p. 49. The Portuguese knew the story of the Yalpanan. For De Queyroz (p. 37), speaks of "the colony of the lord Jaffna which is the name of the first coloniser."

19. The author of *Ancient Jaffna* would see the kingdom of Jaffna in a reference to the Veenai flag in *Kalingattupparani* (1. 8.) But there is no evidence for the lute having ever been on the standard of the kings of Jaffna. Mr. Brito says somewhere that the sign gemini was the emblem for Jaffna. How he made that out is not clear. The *Sarasothi-malai*, a work of the 13th century, gives the *yal* as the auspicious sign of Tundi and makes no mention of Jaffna at all. On the other hand we know from *Sekarasa-sekara-malai* and other sources that the Bull and Setu were on the Jaffna flag, and the Jaffna coinage bore the same emblem.

20. See the *Ceylon Antiquary* II 58, 173. Also Mr. Coomaraswamy op. cit. p. 130.

Sinhalese equivalent for Nallur: "Yapa" means good and "ne" is a common Sinhalese ending for village names. The earliest mention of the name is, in fact, in the Sinhalese.²¹ Tamil works of the period of Jaffna kings always speak of Sinkai-nakar as the capital of the North, while later ones call it Nallur. All this shows that the story of the Yalppadi is to be abandoned root and branch.

The real historical portion of the *Vaipava-malai* begins with Koolankaic-chakkaravartti. On the alleged colonisation of Jaffna once more under him (pp. 14-18) little need be said here. The author has closely followed the *Kailaya-malai* which represents the local traditions of each village with regard to its reputable or perhaps reputed ancestors.

There follows then (pp. 18-27) a list of kings (is it complete?) with brief chronicles on the reign of each and this looks firmer ground to tread. The author has, in all probability, bodily "lifted" the *Irasamurai* into his work, slightly abridging it, perhaps, as he has done in the case of the *Katila-malai*. But from Pararasa-sekaran²² onwards he seems to have entirely depended, as already stated, on oral tradition for his information hence his glaring inaccuracies with regard to the kings of the Portuguese period of Ceylon history.

The greater portion of the "prophecy" of Supatidda-muni is from *Vaiya-padal* which ascribes it to the time of Kanakachakkaravarti son of Koolankaic-chakkaravarti! Additions to the "prophecy" have been made from time to time down to the coming of our present rulers and we are bidden by the latest interpolator, to look forward to the appearance of king Vala-sinkan, to whom the Piranchu (French)

21. The *Seialihini Sanaesaya* (stanza 28). Also the *Koila Sandesaya* of the same period (stanza 9.). There is no instance of Yalppanam earlier than the 17th century.

22. The author of the *Jaffna history* says that "the *Irasamurai* was compiled a little before the Portuguese conquest of Jaffna." (p. 7). But he does not give his authority for it.

and Ulandesu (Dutch) kings will deliver the kingdom of Lanka which they will have wrested from the Intiresu (English) man !

Having cleared the ground, so to say, of the unhistorical fancies of a work so long believed by every Tamil writer as authoritative, we shall now prove to compile a history of the kings of Jaffna from more reliable sources.*

* Articles on the same subject will follow—*Ed.*

Tamil Architecture - Its Development

V. KANDASWAMY MUDALIYAR

ARCHITECTURE has a history as old as man's ; the first cave-men lived 100,000 or 100,000,000 years ago, as variously commented by anthropologists, carved on bones figures of the reindeer and the four-tusked elephants, which are a marvel to modern draftsmen ; and besides covered the walls of their cave-dwellings with colourful paintings. Therefore artistic expressions were inherent in men who first came to live on earth.

Then follows a long gap of years until we come to a period when men came to live in different regions following different occupations, and began to build tenaments suited for their lives. The hunters lived in caves, the shepherds who moved from place to place to find new pastures for their sheep and cattle learnt to make portable huts, and the agriculturists, who lived in and about their lands, built mud houses thatched with leaves ; these three correspond to the three Tamilian divisions, Kurunchi, Mullai, and Marutham (the hill-land, pasture-land, and agricultural land). When men learnt to bake bricks in the sun or fire, structural brick buildings appeared. This corresponds with the descriptions of tenaments given in the Tamil Classics *Pathu-pattu* (then ten songs) of about 200 B. C. or 500 A. D. There is no external evidence by way of remains of the Tamils of the prehistoric or of historic times earlier than 600 A. D.

The excavations carried out by Sir John Marshall in the year 1921 at Mohenjo-Daro in Sindh and Harappa in the Punjab show a well-defined civilization. Prehistoric India

also knew of the megalithic period, and dolmens, menhirs and cromlechs are found throughout the Indian Peninsula ; there is one such dolmen group near about Palani. No definite conclusions have been reached about the origin of this civilization as evidenced by these architectural and other remains. They are pre-Aryan ; they may be of Dravidian or of Sumerian origin or a blending of both, which goes back to 2800 B. C. After that, till we come to the Magado period in the North and to the Pallavas in the South there is a long gap.

As there are no architectural relics of the Tamils prior to the Pallava period we have to fall back upon the internal evidence of the Tamil Classics. A few of the following excerpts (English translation of relevant lines from the Tamil *Pathu-pattu*) will bear out the advanced stage of the Tamil architecture as early as the second century B.C. or the second century A. D.

*Consulting the deities of the quarters, builders
Learned in their lore plotted with line a fair site
For a palace suited to the King's royalty,
When the two mark pegs cast no shadow, when the sun
Spreading its radiant rays careered to the west
In its ordained path and stood at its zenith high.*

மாதிரம்

வீரிகதிர் பரப்பிய வியல்வாய் மண்டில
மிருகோல் குறிநிலை வழுக்காது குடக்கேர்
போருதிறஞ் சாரா வரைநா ளமயத்து
நூலறி புலவர் நுண்ணிதிற் கயிறிட்டுத்
தேளங் கொண்டு தெய்வ நோக்கிப்
பேரும் பெயர் மன்னர்க் கொப்ப மனை வருத்து
(நெடு 11. 72-78)

*And with doors, steel-clenched and painted in vermeil red,
Fitted the doorway gleaming in the sculptured beauty
Of Gajalachmi on the lintel-uttaram
And the yawning gateway, high above the far reach
Of victory flag-elephants, and gleaming fair*

*In its mustard-mantled and oil-daubed doors strong knit
Of bolts and close-fitting panels by craftsmen
Cunning of art, rose in majestic proportions
Of tower and dome like rock-cut stately temple-art.*

ஒருங்குடன் வணைஇ வோங்குநிலை வரைப்பிற்
பருவிரும்பு பிணித்துச் செல்வாக் குரீஇத்
தாழோடு குயின்ற போரமை புணர்ப்பிற்
கைவல் கம்மியன் முடுக்கலிற் புரைதீர்ந்
தையனி யப்பிய நெய்யணி நேடுநிலை
வென்றேழு கொடியோடு வேழஞ் சென்றுபுகக்
குன்றுகுயின் றன்ன வோங்குநிலை வாயில் (நெடு 79-88)

Soaring in mountain majesty gleamed the palace, stoutly
guarded, with colourful flags and festoons like towering peaks
of hills spanned by a rainbow.

*Girdled by corridors borne on well-turned pillars,
Adamantine and gleaming in sapphire-blue sheen,
Rose the central hall of the fair stately mansion,
Famed from the very day of its firm foundation.
Its walls, to half the height, were stuccoed silver white,
And frescoed with a matchless border of the creeper
Of water-lily with flowers varied in bloom ;
The lower half was richly sculptured and gleamed
As a high-relief bronze-work in its chiselled beauty.*

வரைகண் டன்ன தோன்றல் வரைசேர்பு
வில் கிடந் தன்ன கொடிய பல்வயின்
வெள்ளி யன்ன விளங்குஞ் சுதையுரீஇ
மணிகண் டன்ன மாத்திரட் டிண்காழ்ச்
செம்பியன் றன்ன செய்வுறு நெடுஞ்சுவ
டுருவப் பல்பூ வொரு கொடி வணைஇக்
கருவோடு பெயரிய கண்பி னல்லில் (நெடு 108-114)

This was the state of architecture (Pillars, halls, panels, pylons, high relief, and stucco and fresco works) during the pre-Pallava period. In the Pallava relics themselves there are indications of an architecture prior to 600 A. D. That Pallava

art was influenced by the Buddhist is shown by the presence of round pillars and rock-cut temples ; and structural buildings appear only in the Kailasanathar, Vaikunda Perumal Mukteswarar and Matangeswarar temples at Kanchi. Even in these temples the presence of round pillars of round and bell-shaped crowns along with rectangular pillars (கூட்டைத் தூண்) of bracket-crowns indicates an assimilation of the Northern Buddhist art. In spite of this architectural invasion of the North the pre-Pallava art of the Tamils clung to its own mode of expression until the time came when the round pillars of elaborate crowns gave place to the square pillars of bracket crowns.

II

Incidentally we may mention that the whole of India did not come under the sway of Asoka the Great, for the three Tamil Kingdoms (Chera, Chola, and Pandia) were independent as V. Smith says. And the Pandian and the Chola Kings through a spirit of tolerance allowed Jaino-Buddhist monks to build mutts on the banks of the Vaigai and the Kaviri. The Jaino-Buddhist immigrants must have carried with them their architectural traditions, and must have built their mutts after the fashion of the cave temples of the North. This view is confirmed by the descriptions of Jaino-Buddhist mutts described in the Song of Madura (Mathurai Kanchi) and the Song of Kaviri-pattinam (Pathnapalai) of *Pathu-pattu*. We cannot say that the North was not influenced by the Tamils, for Cheran Senguttuvan who invaded the North and established his rule there must have carried the South Indian architectural traditions ; the presence of a few square pillars with bracket crowns in Ajanta, Ellora and Elephanta caves lends support. As after the inrush of the Northern culture, Tamil Literature came to be influenced by it without completely surrendering itself, so also Tamil architecture held its own against the alien influence. The square pillars with bracket-crowns are purely Tamilian ; the four sided pillars with the march of time became six-sided and eight-sided, which almost look like the Buddhist round and fluted pillars ;

their severe and graceful shafts came to be broken up by Cubes whose faces were sculptured ; and floral and serpent bands were added ; similarly the plain bracket-crown came to have floral and bud decorations, and sometimes the brackets rested on round or bell shaped abacuses. The Pandian architecture developed buttressed pillars of rampant horses or griffins resting their fore-legs on human figures, dwarfs and animals ; and to their capital human figures and elephants came to be added and the pillars became flamboyant. So the pillars from the pre-Pallava simplicity evolved, step by step, into flamboyant art. The existence of the different types of pillars in the temples of South India tells the story of such an evolution and assimilation of the North.

We cannot assert that the sculptures of man and beast were mostly conventional ; in the Kanchi Kailasanathar and Mamallapuram temples there are sculptures of elephants, deer and bull which are true replicas of natural objects ; but later they became highly conventionalised and of recent times there is an example of a lioness on the right side of the Gopuram of Ashtabujam at Kanchi which is reminiscent of the Assyrian masterpiece of a wounded lioness. The original purity of female figures of rhythmic curves and soft supple undulations (of which a preeminent example is of a seated Saraswathi in the temple at Gangaikonda Cholapuram) in later times grew to be erotic. The seeing eye will probably see many such gems of sculpture scattered in the remote villages of South India.

III

Next we come to the towers or gopurams of the Tamil architecture. There are three distinct and clearly marked types. The towers sometimes rise above the sanctum where the deity is templated, as in the case of the Siva temples of Tanjore and Gangai-Konda-Cholapuram and they have bud-crowns (கூட்டிட்டு முடி) ; more commonly the tower rises like a pylon at the entrance of a temple with waggon crowns (கூட்டு முடி - வண்டிக்கூட்டு முடி) and instead of one tower at the entrance, which mostly faces east, there are at the most three

others rising from the middle of the rampart walls, but they are of a lesser height. They are pyramidal in shape, either like the one at Tanjore or like that of the one at Madura. The towers are richly sculptured and in later times they had lost their naturalness and purity of style ; the third type of an umbrella-crown (சூலை முடி) which we find in the shore temple of Mamallapuram and other smaller Pallava sanctuaries of the period were not copied out by the Cholas or the Pandyas. All crown end in one or more urnfinnials according as the tower is bud-crowned or waggon-crowned.

In the group of shrines at Mamallapuram we have examples of waggon and umbrella-crowns. The architects deliberately have given these two types and have also traced the evolution of towers from huts by the representation of Draupadi's sanctuary after the fashion of a hut. Huts in early times were either pyramidal or waggon-shapped with one or many pots on the top or tops of one or two props bearing up the hut ; it supplied the motif for the bud-crowned and waggon-crowned towers.

Lesser shrines have a cupola with sepals-bound buds, (all smaller shrines are of this type) which grew into tall bud-crowned towers. Thus we can trace the evolution of towers from the small beginning of a hut.

Some of the larger temples have a double row of high and formidable rampart walls one within another or a single row on which cannons were mounted, probably for defence against marauding enemies. One such cannon is even now to be found on the rampart of Tanjore temple and in Gangaikonda-cholapuram we have the cannon-mound (பீரங்கு கோட்டை) without a cannon.

The ground plan of a temple is more less the same even to-day. There is the sanctum with a circum-ambulatory passage ; the deity mostly faces east ; in front of the sanctum is the pillared hall for the worshippers, which is flanked by pillared verandahs whose walls are covered with sculptured

panels or by paintings; most of the paintings have disappeared through white-washing. The bulb is near the edge of the steps of the pillared hall or sometimes within it, and faces the deity; behind it towers the flag-staff, and behind it is the sacrificial altar, a reminiscence of the animal offerings of an early worship.

And besides there may be other shrines round about for Ganesa and Skanda; the Parvathi's shrine is close to the sanctum. There are also buttressed-shrines (அடியார்க்கு கூடு) for the apostles (அடியார்களுள்). The tank and the Vagana-mandam may be within or without the temple precincts.

The ancient temples were the repositories of the different arts that flourished at the times. Besides the builder and the sculptor who embellished the temples there were also painters; but Tamil painting of the realistic school and of exquisite colouring and rhythmic lines disappeared with Saraboji of Tanjore. The brazier fashioned brass lamps and utensils used in worship; the metal caster made bronze deities and statue lamps; the wood-carver fashioned the mounts (Vahanas) and richly carved the temple car; the jeweller did the jewellery and the embroiderer did the colourfully applied saddle-cloths and face-masks of the temple bull and elephant, and the banners, flags and festoons. Even culinary artists prepared delicious food-offerings.

It cannot be gainsaid by a study of South Indian architecture that the Buddhist art of Elephants, Ellora and Ajanta and earlier Magada art continued to influence the architecture of the Tamils, but pre-Pallava and post-Pallava art of the Tamils did not completely surrender itself to the alien influence; and the pre-Pallava tradition was carried out by the Cholas and the Pandians, though with fresh embellishment. The Chola art reached its zenith in the reign of Raja-Raja Chola and his successor, and the temple at Tanjore and Gangai-konda-cholapuram are supreme examples of the Tamilian art.

Education in the Ancient Tamil Countries

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CHAPTER III

The Significance and Conception of Education (copyright reserved)

THE ancient Tamils attached great value to the acquisition of learning. In almost all the Tamil works that deal with 'aram'¹ and 'porul'² certain chapters are entirely devoted to the discussing of the importance and significance of education. Of the four sources of pride, education was given the first and the foremost place in Tholkappiyam.³ "Number and letters are the eyes of human beings"⁴ says Thiruvalluvar. He also asserts that only the educated have true eye sight and the eyes on the face of the uneducated are nothing but sores.⁵ The ancient Tamils held the view that education imparts the necessary insight and broadens the outlook of human beings so as to enable them to have a sense of values, which is necessary for a successful life in this world. Therefore they compared education with the eyes of the human beings.

Education was also considered a means of intellectual enlightenment. It is an ever burning light that saves men from the darkness of ignorance.^{5A} It gives the necessary knowledge to understand the problems of the world in their

1. Virtue.

2. Wealth.

3. Tholkappiyam—meyppaddiyal 9.

4. Thirukkural 392 cf. Chintamani 1602 and Vinayagapuram 119.

5. Ibid. 393, 5 A. Nanmanikkadikai 103 and Aranerichcharam 194.

true perspective. The author of *Neethinerivilakkam* observes 'as the educated have learning as their ornament, no other ornament is necessary for them.'⁶ Nallathanar, goes a step further and says that "education is an ornament of the next birth too."⁷ Thiruvalluvar urged the Tamils to acquire learning, by telling them that education acquired in one birth will be useful in all the seven births.⁸

The ancient Tamils were lovers of beauty. Their love of beauty resulted in developing the fine arts. They realised fully the value of literature, music, dancing and drama. They believed in the harmonious development of mind, body and soul. In order to effect this development they felt that the study and the appreciation of these fine arts were indispensable for a human being. So they combined these three fine arts in their language itself and called it Muththamil.⁹ This combination is peculiar only to the Tamil Language. Hence there is no novelty in their concept of education as a thing of beauty. "Beauty of locks, beauty of circling garments beauty of saffron tint — these don't make for true beauty." This is the view expressed in *Naladiyar*.¹⁰ *Elathi*, one of the lesser classics says "Beauty is not in waist, nor in arm, nor in deportment, nor in modesty, nor in a shapely neck, numbers and letters are beauty."¹¹ The author of *Sirupanchamoolam* also subscribes to this view.¹²

One venba in *Naladiyar*¹³ declares that a medicine like education is not found in any world. "Since in this world it yields fruit ; since given it grows not less ; since it makes men illustrious ; since it perishes not as long as its possessors themselves exist ; in any world we see not any medicine that,

6. 12

7. Thirikadukam 52.

8. Thirukkural 398.

9. இயல், இசை, நாடகம்.

10. 131.

11. 75.

12. 37.

13. 132.

like learning, removes the delusions of sense." Education was also considered as the best of all wealth which could not be destroyed.^{13 A} The wealth of worldly possessions is not real and good as learning. *Naladiyar* describes the qualities of this wealth and concludes that it is the proper legacy that a man can provide for his children. "It cannot be taken from its place of deposit; it does not perish anywhere by fire; if Kings of surpassing grandeur, are angry they cannot take in away. (And therefore) What any man should provide for his children as a legacy, is learning; other things are not real wealth."¹⁴

Learning gives wisdom, teaches discrimination, helps in the practice of virtue, the acquisition of wealth the enjoyment of domestic life, the attainment of heaven. Hence it is praised as a help-mate.^{14 A} Educationists and poets went to the extent of calling it the chaste wife as it gives pleasure and comfort.¹⁵ *Manimekalai* compares it with a boat.¹⁶ As the boat helps us to cross the sea, learning helps us to cross safely the rough and uncharted sea of life.

The encomiums bestowed on the learned by Tamil poets also throw some light on the significance and conception of education of the ancient Tamils. The learned were considered the ornaments of society. The kings honoured them and treated them with respect and equality. They invited the learned men irrespective of caste and creed, appointed them as members of the council of state.¹⁷ They thought the contact with learned men was nothing but a boon for them.¹⁸

Tamil society neglected the elders of a family and honoured the educated youngsters that belonged to it.^{18 A} Educated people were esteemed as the elders of a family irres-

13 A. Kural 400, Cinthamany 1602.

14. 134. 14 A. Neethinerivilakkam, and Cinthamany 1602.

15. Neethinerivilakkam 3.

16. 111 — 137.

17. Puram 183

18. Perunkathai 3-12. 28 18 A. Nanmanikkadikai 65.

pective of their age. They were more illustrious than the Kings, for the kings commanded respect only in their own countries, but the educated are honoured wherever they go. Learned men belonged to the high caste by virtue of their education even if they were the members of a lower caste. "The excellent regard the salt produced in brackish ground choicer than paddy from fertile soil. It is fitting to place in the first rank the learned — wise though sprung from the lowest origin,"¹⁹ says *Naladiyar*.

Acquisition of learning had such a power even to change the mind of a mother in making her to love her learned son more than the other sons.²⁰ The difference between literate and illiterate men is so great as to be compared with that of a human being and a beast.²¹ If the worship of learned men were preferred to learning itself,²² nothing need be said about the reputation and popularity of the learned men of the Tamil Land.

Public opinion with regard to the necessity of learning as perhaps the only means to prosperous and happy life, was so strong in ancient *Thamilakam* that the uneducated were held in low esteem. The illiterate were called trees,²³ dogs,²⁴ dolls,²⁵ brackish land²⁶ and chaff²⁷ on account of their ignorance and failure to acquire wisdom. They were condemned as blind men who could not get the benefits of this beautiful world.²⁸ They were not allowed to sit in the assemblies with the learned, nor were they permitted to talk with them.²⁹ Their talks were compared to the barkings of dogs.³⁰ "When

19. 133.

20. *Puram* 183.

21. *Thirukkural* 410.

22. *Muthumolikkanchi* 1 - 8.

23. *Moothurai* 13.

24. *Naladiyar* 254.

25. *Thirukkural* 407.

26. *Ibid* 406.

27. *Narunthokai* 36.

28. *Kural* 403.

29. { *Naladiyar* 254,

30. }

a man who has grown up without learning enters the society of the wise, if he sits still, it is as if a dog sat there, and if he rises to speak, it is as though a dog barked," says *Naladiyar*. "The trees in the forest are not trees, but those who cannot read a paper when asked to do so in an assembly are the real trees."³¹ These are the words of Auvayar. She also blames the mothers who give birth to men who are unable even to copy a manuscript.³² Such persons, not only bring shame to their parents, but also to their caste and race.

The Tamil sage Thirumoolar, the famous author of *Thirumanthiram* advises the people not to look at the uneducated man, whose words are also not worth hearing.³³ The wise men did not take seriously the counsel of the uneducated even if they were good.³⁴ Even wealth in the possession of an illiterate man will land him into trouble.³⁵ "The wretched person who knows nothing though born among men is not a man" is the opinion of the author of *Thirikadukam*. Even the body of an illiterate has no use for him.³⁶ An uneducated cannot realise the existence of God who is always found in the mind of the learned.³⁷ All these go a long way to convince us that education was considered indispensable for a human being to live a full life in this world.

CHAPTER IV

AIMS AND IDEALS OF EDUCATION

In the previous chapter we have seen how greatly education was valued and in what high honour the educated were

31. Moothurai 13

32. Thanippadal - Auvaiyar.

"வெண்பா இருபாவிற் கல்லாணை வெள்ளோலை
கண்பார்த்துக் கையா லெழுதாணைப் பெண்பாவி
பெற்றானே பெற்றான் பிறர்நகைக்கப் பெற்றானே
எற்றோம் மற்றெற் றற்று"

33. Thirumanthiram 134.

34. Kural 404.

35. Ibid 408.

36. Nanmanikkadikai 22.

37. Thirumanthiram.

held in ancient Tamil countries. We will now make a study of the aims and ideals of that education which was conceived of as the most fundamental activity of the national life by the ancient Tamils.

All theories of education are ultimately an expression of social philosophy in action. Spenser said, "true education is practicable only to a true philosopher."¹ "The art of education" says Fichte, "will never attain complete clearness in itself without philosophy."² Dewey has perhaps given the most penetrating definitions of philosophy by saying it is the theory of education in its general phases.³ Ancient Tamil education was a reflection of the Tamil outlook on life in this world and the next. It was an expression of its culture and ideals. A civilization stretching throughout the centuries, touched life at many points. Poetry was the mother of philosophy in India as in Greece, and the Tamil poets played the roll of philosopher cum educator and formulated aims and ideals of education. According to their views education had not only a cultural and utilitarian end, but also a spiritual end.⁴

Thiruvalluvar, the eminent poet and seer of Tamilakam says, "of what avail is learning if he who has it, does not worship the feet of the all-knowing one."⁵ How similar is Froebel's "the purpose of education was to expand the life of the individual until it should comprehend its existence through participation in all pervading spiritual activity."⁶ Thiruvalluvar is also of the opinion that those who received the right type of education and realized the external truth will end their cycle of birth for ever.⁷ This, of course, reminds

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1. Education.
 2. Sixth address.
 3. Democracy and Education 368.
 4. 'அறம் பொருள் இன்பம் வீடடைதல் நூற்பயனே' — Nannool. 10.
 5. Kural 2.
 6. Education of man.
 7. Kural 356.

us of Milton and Loyola⁸ who had their eyes on Heaven and God in describing the aims of education.

Herbert Spenser's assertion, that the aim of education is complete living was preached by Thiruvalluvar and the other Tamil poets long ago. The Tamil philosophers and poets, even though they believed in rebirth and salvation, never advocated the renunciation of the pleasures of this world entirely. Wealth nor women was to be despised according to the Tamil way of thinking and living. It is the Aryans and especially the Buddhists and Jains who introduced the idea of total renunciation into the thoughts and actions of the Tamils. The Tamils, according to Tholkappiyanar,⁹ recommended renunciation after enjoying the full joys and pleasures of life. Hence the aim of complete living is not incomplete with the Tamils. One stanza in *Nanmanikkadikai* attracts us by its vivid description of the aim of education. It says, "Education removes ignorance, as a result of which illusions are shattered and true knowledge is gained. This knowledge leads the human beings along the path of truth and enables them to get reputation in this world and salvation in the next."¹⁰

Acquiring knowledge was undoubtedly one of the aims of education in *Thamilakam*. This knowledge is not potted information. It is the knowledge of the eternal truth.¹¹ It enables the people who have acquired it, to have apprehensions of values, which is the important quality that differentiates human beings from beasts.¹² Many a Tamil poet called

8. Ground work of Education — Ross.

9. "காமஞ் சான்ற கடைகோட் காலை
ஏமஞ் சான்ற மக்களோடு துவன்றி
அறம்புரி சுற்றமொடு கிழவனுங் கிழத்தியுஞ்
சிறந்தது பயிற்றல் சிறந்ததன் பயனே" — Tholkappiyam katpiyal.

10. *Nanmanikkadikai* 28.

11. "எழுத்தறியத் திருமிழி தகைமை
.....விடு பெறும் — Thanippadal.

12. Kamba Ramayanam.

this kind of knowledge as "virtue" itself as Socrates did. "Acquire wealth in order to give ; learn great works that you may walk in the way of virtue ; speak every word with gracious purposes. These are the paths that conduct not to the world of darkness" says *Thirikadukam*.¹³

The Tamils also had ideas of "Nurture and discipline" in education. Thiruvalluvar emphasizes the importance of subject matter and also of training and discipline.¹⁴ "If men, leaving works of wisdom, that contain well-weighted instruction, unstudied, devote themselves to the recitation of mere worldly literature, they will acquire a store of empty high sounding words but not that wisdom by means of which mental confusion (that treats unreal things as real) is removed."¹⁵

Education and knowledge are deemed useless if they do not modify the natural development and mould the character of the individual.¹⁶ Education imparts knowledge, and this knowledge should check the mind from going astray, and lead it along the virtuous path.¹⁷ In other words, education should develop character and personality. Thus character training was the supreme aim of education. It was even compared to the mahout¹⁸ and the horseman.¹⁹ As the mahout trains and controls the elephant, education gives the necessary training for the moulding of good character, which was considered more precious than life itself.²⁰ In order to have a strong and sustained character religious piety was instilled into the minds of the youngsters.²¹ "Education should," says Sir Henry Watton, "embrace the timely instilling of conscious principles and seeds of religion." This dictum was an accomplished thing in the Tamil land. Not only was morality

13. 90.

14. Kural 391.

15. Naladiyar 140.

16. Kural 834 ; Nanmanikkadikai 71 ; Puram 375.

17. Nannool 25 ; Kural 396 and 422.

18. Silappadikaram 23, 36 and Manimekalai 18, 166.

19. Kural Parimelalakar urai 422 and Thirikadugam 35.

20. Kural 131. 21 Aranerichcharam 195.

the aim of education, but also a good portion of the contents of the texts used in the Tamil countries had a high moral end, and they were full of injunctions to moral rectitude.

"To live for a time close to great minds is the best education" says John Bunchan. "Though themselves unlearned, if men live in association with the learned, they advance daily in excellent knowledge. The new vessel, by contact with the Padri-flower of old renown and lustre imparts fragrance to the cold water it contains,"²² is the opinion of the Tamils expressed in *Naladiyar*. The Kurukula system of education strengthened the character of the student by making him live with his teachers. The student watched not only the teacher's intellectual process, but also their moral behaviour. He lived in an atmosphere of learning and wisdom and righteousness. The heroes of great authors too were held up as ideals to be followed in life. The dangers and pit-falls and temptations of life were to be watched for and avoided.

The student by following his teacher's ways of thought shared in the teacher's achievements, and his mind was formed by contact with theirs. The teachers of the Tamil land appear to be men of admirable personality. The students were drawn to them and they helped to create ideals for the student. These ideals in their turn inspired the student and developed his self discipline which was the foundation of character.²³

The idea of a liberal education was also not new to the Thamalakam. The educational set up of the Tamils enabled "men and women to understand the world in which they live and to contribute to the understanding of its problems."²⁴

The education imparted in the Tamil countries was not mere dynamic instructions²⁵ as certain people think. It aimed

22. *Naladiyar* 139.

23. *Nannool* 46.

24. *Kural* 140 *Nanmanikkadikai* 28.

25. *Naladiyar* 318

at the full development of "valuable personality and spiritual individuality."²⁶ The aim of social efficiency was, however, not neglected. The history of education of some other countries show a tendency to emphasize either the development of personality or social efficiency at different periods of their history. But the Tamils throughout their long history, considered these two aspects as having equal value. There was no conflict between these aims. Teaching itself was praised as one of the supreme social services.²⁷ The educated people were appointed to key positions in the government. They also served society and contributed immensely to its advancement. The hall mark of an educated person was his readiness to serve others and society.²⁸ The characteristics of the socially efficient individual are enumerated by Professor Bagley as (1) Economic efficiency (2) Negative morality (3) Positive morality. There are innumerable references in the Tamil works²⁹ to those characteristics which are also the characteristics of an educated man. The ideals of education and life were not separate or antithetical as far as Tamils were concerned. On the other hand a synthesis of these two ideals were conceived by them. They called it self-realization. Self-realization was the goal of education and of life too.³⁰ All the efforts of the Tamils in the field of Education were directed to this supreme goal. All the ancient educators of Tamil land treated this topic exhaustively and urged the people to strive for it. "The persons who achieve self-realization will become the object of prayers of others," was the verdict of Tiruvalluvar.³¹ To reach this goal the one and only means preached in *Thirukkural* and other works³² on morals is social service.

26. Nannool 25.

27. Iraiyanar Ahapporulurai P. 15.

28. Kural

29. Thirikadukam 32; Palamoli 55; Aranerichcharam 71.

30. Kural 356.

31. Kural 268.

32. Puram 182.

The Problem of Dravidian Origins

M. AROKIASWAMI, M.A., Ph.D.

THE PLACE of origin of the Dravidians, who fill so large a place in the history of South India, is yet one of the unexplained fundamentals of South Indian History. So many are the theories concerning this subject that the question has really now become a problem of the history of this land tract. Sir Edward Risley once grouped the Dravidian type with the Australian one ; while Prof. William Crooke grouped it with the S. African type. Dr. Richard Hall, the great Archaeologist of the Middle East, allied the Dravidians to the Sumerians ; while Mr. Edgar Thurston allied them to the mediterranean type. The newest light thrown on this problem is from the pen of Dr. Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf, Professor of Asian Anthropology in the University of London, who speaking at the International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology held at Vienna in the September of last year (1952) opined that the Dravidians were a race of people closely connected with the Mediterranean peoples who had entered into South India either from the N.W. of India along the West coast or possibly by sea from the West coast of the Peninsula in comparatively recent times as late as the middle of the I millennium B.C.

The April number of the *Tamil Culture* bears a summary of the paper read by the Professor at the Conference above referred to and there is reason, I dare say, for looking into it more closely than we usually do with articles appearing in Journals however learned they may be. I begin with what

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Dr. Haimendorf concludes : " I am not competent to voice an opinion on linguistic matters of a technical nature, but it appears to me that the close integration and compactness of the Dravidian language group fits the assumption of a comparatively recent Dravidian expansion." The crux of the antiquity usually attached to Dravidians in South India lies in fact here. The argument of the antiquity of Tamil literature is precisely what gives proof of the antiquity of the people who spoke it. It is true the learned doctor says that " protagonists of the great antiquity of Dravidian speech and culture on Indian soil have based their argument on what they consider the internal evidence of ancient Tamil literature, "implying thereby that such antiquity cannot be established by such evidence. And yet it ought to be obvious for anyone who deals with literary evidence in support of chronology that, the only argument that can be drawn is from internal evidence of the works themselves ; and only too often they give unerring evidence indeed, evidence that is more dependable in fact than what is drawn from ethnological or geological data.

The great antiquity of Tamil is for example drawn from what its early grammar *Tolkāppiyam* contains. In the whole range of grammatical literature it is hard to find a book to beat this in exactness and literary punctiliousness ; and yet the matter it contains is strangely archaic, if the word may be used for want of a better one. One has only to look into the five-fold classification of land as is given in this work — the *pālai* (desert), *mullai* (the pastoral), *marudam* (the arable), *neithal* (the littoral) and *kurinji* (the hilly tract) — to see what an ancient condition of things the work depicts in its pages. Then again one has to turn one's attention to the citations and the various references to learned works which the author of this grammar makes. These references are in many cases to works that are not extant to-day like the grammar *Aindram*, which is said to date earlier than the work of Panini for Sanskrit. It is noteworthy that even the work of this Sanskrit grammarian is not mentioned in this grammar of the Tamil sage, Tolkappiyanar. Then there is the evidence of learned writers of ancient times who attest to the antiquity of this

Tamil grammar. I may mention in passing one among them — the commentator of the very early work *Irayanar Ahaporul* — in which reference is made to *Tolkappiyam* as a work of the second sangham. There is further the evidence of the writer of the *Payiram* (introduction) of *Tolkappiyam* itself, the learned writer Panamparanar, who refers to the time when *Tolkappiyam* was released to the learned world as an acceptable work as the period of the Pandyan King, Nilatharuthiruvirpandyan, to whom the commentator of *Silappadikaram* refers as the king of the period of an early deluge, when a great tract of territory in the south of Peninsular India was swallowed up by the sea.

Writers of modern times generally make *Tolkappiyar* and the Sanskrit grammarian Panini contemporaries,¹ which would posit the VIII century B.C. roughly as the date of this Tamil grammarian. There may not necessarily be any unanimity on this point in the fixation of an exact period for *Tolkappiyam*; but there cannot be any reasonable doubt as to the antiquity of this work. Savants in Tamil literature, it must be noted, carry the antiquity of Tamil still earlier since they posit a still earlier sangham of Tamil poets, the first sangham as they call it, in which works like *Paripādal* (not of the period of the III sangham), *mudunārai*, *mudukurugu*, and *Kāliyavirai* were written.² It is not for us to discuss here the problem of these colleges of poets, usually designated as the 'sangham'. Suffice it to say that at least for a thousand years before Christ the Tamil tongue, the language of the Dravidian, was fully developed and in full swing. If the period of *Tolkappiyam* is roughly fixed round 700 B.C., then the age of the *mudunārai* and the *mudukurugu*, evidently works on music, must date

¹ See Golōstucker referred to by Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar in his "Pre-historic South India" (Sir Wm. Meyer Lectures, Madras, 1951-52) p. 213. The same idea is expressed by various Tamil savants as well. See, for example, Sivagnanamunivar in his famous lines beginning as "vadamoliyai Pāninikku vagutharuli atharkinaīi thodarpudaya thenmoliyai ulagamelām tholuthēthum kudamunikku vali-yuruthār kollētrupakar". — Commentary of *Yāpparungala Viruthi*.

² Commentary of *Irayanār Ahaporul*.

at least 1000 B.C. If such works could be composed in a language so early as that, then evidently the people who spoke it must be a very early people indeed on the soil of South India.

Now, Dr. Haimendorf when he dates the influx of the Dravidian into South India as being not earlier than 500 B.C. bases himself on the evidence furnished by the finds discovered at Brahmapuri (Mysore), which the Archaeologist Sir Mortimer Wheeler, dates round 200 B.C. The argument of Haimendorf is as follows : The Brahmapuri finds indicate a sudden layer of megalithic and iron age coming upon the relics of a neolithic age, which would imply the sudden incursion of a new and highly developed race coming upon the natives of the soil round 200 B.C., to which date the archaeologist, as has been mentioned above, assigns these megalithic finds. It is just possible, Dr. Haimendorf concludes, that this new race of people are the mysterious Dravidians, who must have entered South India at that time. In support of his contention he of course brings in the peculiar customs of the Dekkan belt, where even now many aborigines abound :

“The racial map of India still reflects this process. There are two great areas of progressive mediterranean populations. One covers the whole of Northern India, while the other extends over Western India and parts of the Deccan. In between these two areas there is broad belt of more primitive populations, in whose racial make-up a Veddoid element predominates. The southern progressive block would seem to represent the Dravidian expansion, and the northern block the Aryan invasions and other racial influences from the Northwest.”

The late data assigned here to the Dravidian appearance in Peninsular India need not detain us. Apart from what has been said above, it is to be remembered that the fixing of the date is highly arbitrary. While the archaeologist fixes it as late as 200 B.C., Dr. Haimendorf carries the date earlier by 300 years in view of the well accredited culture of the Dravi-

dians in South India in 200 B.C. The chronological datum here furnished is not unassailable from any point of view. But what about the other views here expressed by the learned anthropologist? He makes out at least three assumptions of great significance, viz., that the sudden appearance of the iron age relics indicates the Dravidian incursion, that the North of India was generally a *terra incognita* for the Dravidian and thirdly the customs and manners of the Deccan belt of people like the Marathas indicates the Aryan-Dravidian influence and the existence of numerous aborigines in this region even to this day indicates that neither the Dravidian nor the Aryan ever fully reached this area. Whatever may be one's difference of opinion with regard to the authors of the finds of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, it is at least accepted now by the generality of scholars that the civilisation of these two places was the civilisation of the Aryans and the Dravidians working in combination; while experts like Sir John Marshall, the great excavator of these finds, and savants like Rev. H. Heras strongly opine that this was a pure Dravidian civilisation. There is no doubt whatsoever that the Dravidians had frequently crossed over the Vindhya in very early times to the north of India and even beyond to the middle east and Sumeria and even as far as Babylon and Egypt.

The sudden appearance of the iron age finds in Mysore need not also detain us. Such finds have been seen much earlier through the efforts of archaeologists like Bruce Foote in many other places in South India as also outside India in Crete, Greece and many other Western countries. It is just possible that the neolithic man in his search for better facilities suddenly came upon iron and its uses;³ and be it noted the age of iron in South India is placed in the IV millenium B.C.⁴ No one denies the fact that the Deccan belt was the frequent meeting place of the Aryan and the Dravidian, so that one finds in that area an intermingling of cultures; but

³ See Dr. Guha, *The Census of India, 1931*, Vol. I, Pt. iii. Also see Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Stone age in India*, p. 48.

⁴ Dikshitar; *Origin and Spread of the Tamils*, p. 19.

the existence of numerous aboriginal tribes here cannot be pressed too far. Many early tribes like the Kurumbar, Irular and the Todas inhabit parts of South India just as, for example, the Kolams of Hyderabad inhabit the Deccan belt.

What is the conclusion to which all this must lead? In the answer to this question lies the resolution of the great problem of Dravidian origins. The view that the Dravidians once occupied the north of India, whence they were driven out and down into the south by the invading Aryan must now be abandoned. There is no definite evidence of such a migration. On the other hand, to say, as Dr. Haimendorf does, that the Dravidian never saw the north as such in early times is equally untenable. Did he come into the south from the North West or by sea through the West coast is a question born out of imagination. It is unthinkable that South India was uncivilised and unpopulated save for a few nomads and aborigines till the first half of the first millenium B.C. or much worse till 200 B.C., as the archaeological finds drawn in support of the Professor's viewpoint would suggest. According to accredited geologists the antiquity of South India goes back to the earliest geological times, this land tract having been united in the continent called Gondwana extending from Australia through Peninsular India to S. Africa on to S. America, from which the various continents as they are known today became separated owing to the sinking of land tracts in the sea — a belief that is popularly reflected in the story of the deluge that is mentioned in the legends of Babylonia and other countries. In India this is reiterated in the Vedic, Epic and Puranic works and the Bāgavatha Puranā in particular speaks of a part of Dravidadēsā as having survived the deluge — a belief that is also referred to in the commentary of Adiyārkunallār to the *Silappadikāram* already mentioned. It seems right to say that the Dravidians were the natives of South India from the earliest of times and that from this home of theirs they may have gone out into other regions where their influence can be seen to this day, whether it be the port-hole burial monuments which remind one of the mediterranean peoples or the Tamil affinity seen in Brahui in the North West frontier of Pakistan.

The Antiquity of Tamil and Tolkappiyam

S. ARUMUGHA MUDALIYAR, M.A., B.O.L., L.T.

TAMIL POETRY, as in all other languages had its origin in the basic human tendencies to love and fight. These tendencies have remained the same from time immemorial except for the ways in which they are exhibited, in accordance with the environment of the different epochs. From very ancient times themes of war and love were composed by poets and some literary conventions that are to be followed in expounding these themes have been crystallised, classified and arranged in their natural concomitants in the earliest extant Tamil grammar, *Tolkappiyam*. Centuries of literary growth should have taken place before these literary conventions evolved and found place as standard ones in grammars. If some of the literary conventions of these themes of love and war — of Akam and Puram as they are styled in Tamil grammar, the poetry of within (subjective) and the poetry of without (objective) patterns of poetry — are standardised even at so early an age as a number of centuries before the Christian Era, it can then very easily be imagined that much of the poetry of these themes should have been composed at least a number of centuries before that work, so that there should have been sufficient passage of time before certain standard theories and conversations could have been evolved.

Much Poetry should have been formed a part of Tamil Literature before rigid conventions could have been evolved. As for instance, before the rigid conventions of the five

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Tinai or divisions of the course of love crystallised in *Tolkappiyam*, a large volume of literary activity ought to have been in existence in the Tamil country at least in 1000 B. C. if not earlier. But as ill-luck would have it all the poetry of the first millinium B.C.¹ including those, on which *Tolkappiyam* and his teacher Agathiyar based their grammars has perished. Luckily, *Tolkappiyam* has survived the ravages of time, pest and fire and is available to us. The five divisions of the course of love (Akam) called "Kurinci" involving 'punarcci' or union, 'palai' involving 'pirital' or separation, 'mullai' involving 'Iruttal' (patience in separation), 'neithal' involving 'irankal' (wailing) and 'marutham' involving 'udal' or sulking with all its minutiae have come to be conventionally associated with the five-fold² physiographical regions of the world namely mountains, deserts, jungles, littoral regions and fields respectively.

Of the three ancient dynasties of Tamil kings that ruled the ancient Tamilakam, namely the Ceras, Colas and Pandiyas, the Pandiyas ruled in the very heart of the Tamil country, that part of country which contained within itself all the above five natural regions of the world and consequently all the five tinai (divisions) of the Tamil poems where all the five kinds of love poetry and kinds of war poetry could have been composed with naturalness and ease. It is no wonder then that Maturai, the Pandiyan capital, was the centre of the growth and cradle of Tamil Literature. It is no wonder again that the 'Sentamil' the right (idiomatic) Tamil, the counter part of the "Queen's English" was forged out and formed here. These five classes of love poems, war poems and other poems, must have been composed each in its appropriate region and in its own place ; where life was fully developed, but before migration of man from one region to another began to obliterate the special features and characteristics of each tribe and brought about the deadly monotony of the so-called civilised life.

¹ History of the Tamils. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar - chapters V and XII.

² *Tolkappiyam* Poruladikaram i. Ahattinai Iyal 5, ii. Ahattinai Iyal 14.

All this must have started in very ancient days, but all that poetry unfortunately is lost to us. But yet, we have these poetic conventions recorded in the ancient extant Tamil grammar *Tolkappiyam*, a study of which will open the eyes of the critics and the Scholars as to the antiquity of the language itself.

An earnest attempt may be made in this paper to assess the antiquity of this grammatical treatise with a view to determine through it the antiquity of the language itself. This attempt of fixing the age of this grammar, roughly, and as far as possible by a careful consideration of the available external and internal evidence, will, it is hoped, be a clear milestone in proving the antiquity of the Tamil language. While we attempt to fix the age of this work, or for that matter any classical work in Tamil, we should bear in mind the following two principles :—(1) The age of any work in Tamil may be judged from its diction, subject matter and the imagery contained in it. (2) The age of any work in Tamil may also be fixed by the appearance or otherwise of Aryan, puranic and mythological ideas, superstitions and poetic imagery of a hyperbolic nature. If these features are abundantly found in any work, it may be comparatively later in time. If on the other hand they are absent, or at least used less, then the work must have been composed comparatively early.

Among the various sources, which throw light on the linguistic, political and social conditions of the ancient Tamil people, *Tolkappiyam* will easily hold the most important place ; and it is therefore regrettable, that considerable neglect should have fallen upon the great mass of early Dravidian, especially Tamil literature. European and American scholars attached greater importance to the study of Sanskrit, closely allied to their languages, so that the Tamil language and its Literature were kept very much in the back ground and they did not have a chance of arresting the attention of the western savants, which they so richly deserve. It would be a task worthy of the scholars to raise this Language and its Literature in the estimation of the public in and outside India and

show their greatness. These western scholars who were not in direct touch with the trends of Tamil Literature and who were not, therefore able to go into the original texts and documents for assessing the evidence and forming a judgement about the value and chronology of any work, are sceptical about the antiquity of the Tamil language once flourishing in the greater Tamilakam even beyond the seas, and now flourishing in the modern Tamilakam in the southernmost corner of India. Their scepticism becomes all the more forcible in their minds especially when they see the absence of the name of the Tamil Language in the list of the classical languages like Sanskrit, Hebrew, Latin, Greek and Arabic. But the great wonder about the Tamil Language is the fact, that, in spite of its being a modern live and spoken language of India, of the ancient Dravidian family of languages, it is also as ancient (if not more ancient) as any of the classical languages of the world. If any credence is to be given to the traditional accounts of the three Tamil academies, that are said to have flourished in the distant past, they will not only take us to the misty past beyond human memory to pre-historic times, but also open our eyes to the often misunderstood fact of not merely the antiquity of the Tamil language and its Literature, but also to its vastness and its richness.

Before attempting to go into the details of the evidence both external and internal, for assessing the antiquity of *Tolkappiyam*, it will not be out of place to give a short sketch of the contents of the work, so that even a reader unacquainted with the work may have just an idea of what it deals with. It treats with the grammar of the Tamil Language (Iyal Tamil) literary language (as against the grammar of Music and musical compositions (Isai Tamil) and the grammar of drama (Nadaka Tamil) in three parts namely Eluttati-karam—chapter of eluttu, sounds or letters (orthography), collati-karam, chapter on words (Etymology), and Porul atikaram—chapter on matter dealing mainly with the original themes of love and war and standardising their literary conventions. The third chapter included in itself yappu, (prosody) and ani (Rhetoric) also, which in later days came to be treated each

separately and elaborately and formed the fourth and fifth divisions of Tamil grammar. Each chapter contains nine subdivisions. It is significant that in the Tamil Language alone the grammarians include the third division of Porul or matter, as part of grammar, while the grammars of other languages stop with orthography, etymology, syntax, prosody, rhetoric, etc. The subject matter of this ancient work is still a sealed book to many Tamil scholars themselves ; and it is indeed very difficult, with its subject matter couched in terse, and pithy epigrams or sutras, to interpret, understand and apply these grammatical rules without the commentaries. There are a number of commentators for this work. Ilampuranar is the earliest of the commentators, and Senavarayar, Nachinarkkiniyar and Parasiriyar followed him. Kalladar's commentary has not attracted much attention and Deivacchilaiyar also commented on a portion of the work. All these flourished in the mediaeval period of Tamil Literature and among the modern commentators of the 20th century may be mentioned Professor S. S. Barathi, Dr. P. S. S. Sastri and Venkatarajulu Reddiyar.

The traditional accounts of the first three Tamil academies and their relation to the age of *Tolkappiyam* may now be given and an attempt made to sift the available evidence from a historical and chronological point of view. According to the commentary on *Iraiyanar Kalaviyal*³ (which is a grammar book on the love portion (Akam) of porul (matter) of the 2nd century A.D.) the first academy (Talaiccangam) was composed of 549 poets, including Agathiya, Siva, described as the god of the matted hair who burnt the Tiripura Demons (திரிபுரமெரித்த விரிசடைக் கடவுள்), and Muruga the young warrior son of the former who pierced the Krounea mountain (குன்றெறிந்த முருகவேள்) and others and lasted for 4440 years. Some of the poems composed by the poets of the academy, which sat in Madurai the ancient sea-sunk capital of the Pandiyan kingdom, namely Mutu Narai Mutu kuruku, Kalariya

³ Irayanar Kalaviyal. Bavanandam Pillai 1916. Sutram 1. commentary. Page. 6.

virai, Paripadal etc., are known to us only by their names. The academy lasted during the reigns of 89 kings from king Kaicinavaludi to king Kadunkon. Excluding the 549 probable resident members, the rest of the total number of 4449 poets were possibly associate members distributed all over the country. All these took part in the activities of the academy. Of the patron kings seven were themselves poets. The standard grammar for this academy was Akattiyam.

A resume of this account is also given by Adiyarkku nallar⁴ commentator of *Silappadikaram* a work of the second century A.D. in his commentary on the lines “நெடியோன் குன்றமும், தொடியோன் பெளவமும், தமிழ் வரம்பறுத்த தண்புனல்நாட்டு.” and in some other places. After the country was engulfed by the sea, including the capital, the Pandiyan king shifted his capital to the city of Kapatapuram further north, which was also in turn, submerged by a second deluge later.

The Second academy⁵ (Idaiccankam) was started here with a strength of 59 residential members including Akattiyar and Tolkappiyar out of the total strength of 3,700 members. The sangam flourished under the patronage of 59 kings from king Vender-Celiyan to king Mudattirumaran of whom five were poets themselves ; and lasted for 3,700 years. The standard grammars for this academy were Akattiyam, Tolkappiyam, Mapuranam, Puta puranam and Isai nunukkam. Some of the works of this Sangam like Kali, Kuruku, vendali, viyala malai, Akaval etc., are but mere names now. After the submergence of the Pandiyan kingdom a second time by another deluge, the capital was again shifted to modern Maturai called then utara Maturai (north Maturai) as it was located to the north of the old Maturai in the South which was once destroyed by sea. The kadaiccankam⁶ or the third Academy was founded here with 49 residential members including Nallantu-

⁴ i. Silappadikaram venirkadai lines — 1-2 Commentary of Adiyarkkunallar, ii. Ibid. Kadukankadai L. L. 18-20 iii. Ibid. உரைப்பாயிரம். P. 7. Dr. Swaminatha Iyer's 3rd Edition.

⁵ Irayanar Kalaviyal. Sutram 1. Page 7. Bavanandam Pillai 1916.

⁶ Irayanar Kalaviyal. Sutram 1. Page 7. Bavanandam Pillai 1916.

vanar and Nakkirar and the rest of a total of 1850 members were like the members of the previous sangams probably associates 49 kings patronised this academy from king Mudattirumaran to king Ukkirapperuvaluti. This is said to have lasted for 1850 years. Almost all the works of this period like Neduntokai, Kuruntokai Narrinai 150 kali, 70 paripadal etc., are fortunately extant and they are codified under the heads Pattuppattu, Ettuttokai and Padinenkilkanakku. Three among the patron kings were poets themselves.

Thus the three academies lasted according to these accounts altogether 9990 years, (with of course intervals the duration of each of which interval is not indicated) with 8598 poets including a few gods of the Saiva pantheon and 197 Pandiyan kings as their patrons. Because of this incredibly long duration of these academies and the large number of poets including the supernatural patrons, historians are reluctant to give credence to these accounts and consequently to the prehistoric antiquity of the Tamil language. The age of the third academy, the works of which are all extant, has been fixed by most scholars and historians⁷ with the second century A. D. as its lower limit.

Owing to the fictitious and very long durations given in the traditional accounts of the first two academies, scholars and historians are sceptical about their alleged antiquity and

- i. Kanakasabai Pillai — Tamil 1800 years ago
- ii. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—Pandyan kingdom Ch. II & P. 17 F. N. 1.
- iii. V. R. Ramachandra Dekshitar — Studies in Tamil Literature and History. Ch. I PP. 1-45
- iv. M. Srinivasa Iyengar — Tamil Studies. PP. 230-63
- v. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar — History of the Tamils. Ch. XVI.

Refer

- vi. Pandit N. M. Venkatasami nattar — Kabilar Ch. I.
- vii. K. Subramaniya Pillai — Tamil Ilakkiya varalaru 3rd edition. Ch. II. P. 28-40.
- viii. M. Purna lingam Pillai — Tamil Literature. PP. 14 et seq.
- ix. T. G. Aravamudham — The Kaveri, Mukharis and the Sangam Age P. 56 et seq.
- x. V. G. Suriya Narayana Sastri — History of the Tamil Language, Ch. VIII.

even their very existence. Professor M. Seshagiri Sastri in his *Essay on Tamil Literature* says about the first two academies that they are "too mythical and fabulous to be entitled to any credit." But this Professor's criticism is occasionally perverse according to Professor K. A. N. Sastry⁸ who dismisses it with the remark that, "we have here the same tendencies at work which made a number of Buddhas and Jainas out of one historical proto-type and spread them over ages. Some of the names of Pandiyan Kings and poets mentioned in this account are found in epigraphs and authentic records. This shows mixing up of facts and fictions. But the existence of an association of poets modelled on the Buddhist Sanga for the promotions of Tamil Literature can be easily understood if its referred to an age of strong Buddhist influence." Some apparent mythological persons and anachronisms as are given below make critics reluctant to accept their veracity. Gods of the Saiva Pantheon like Siva and Muruka as well as Kubera are mentioned as Members of the Sangam being associated with human poets and poetesses without distinction. One and the same member is assigned to different Sangams. For example, Akattiyandar is mentioned as a member of both the first and the second Sangams. Either this must be a wrong information or as is possible in these cases, Akattiyandar of the 2nd sangam may have been a member of the same family or got and not necessarily the same person. Again though the last patron of the second sangam, Mudathirumaran is said to be the patron of the third sangam, it is not unlikely in the sense that he would have become disabled and lame in the course of his changing his capital from Kapata puram, when it was engulfed by the sea, to uttara maturai, that he was Tirumaran and not lame (முட) before the deluge and that he was called lame (முட) Tirumaran after the deluge. He must have given a new life to this royal academy in the name of Kadaiccamam (கடைச்சங்கம்) third or last Sangam. Yet another instance for this may be cited. Though the occurrence of the poems of Van-

⁸ Vide *ii* above.

mikiyar,⁹ Kotamanar and Mudinagarayar in the *Purananuru*¹⁰ of Ettuttohahai, (supposed to have been codified in the third academy,) while they were members of the first academy, appears to be an apparent anachronism, it is not altogether unreasonable to justify the occurrence. It may be pointed out, in justification of this, that all the songs in toto that were collected and codified under various collections in the days of the third sangam and especially under *Purananuru* were not composed during the days of the third sangam itself. Some stray songs, which had survived the deluges and the ravages of time, pests and fire were handed over to the third sangam days and were included in this collection and some songs of the poets in question have thus come to be codified in *Purananuru*.

However, the abnormally lengthy duration of these two sangams with of course the intervals, the duration of which is not at all indicated, make us suspect the veracity of these accounts. If we give credence to these accounts, then, the commencement of these academies is to be placed some where in 9000 B. C. Though there is a possibility of carrying the heydays of Dravidian culture to the fourth and fifth millennium B. C. by the archaeological discoveries in Mohenjodaro and Harappa, still it is in no way easy to establish a connection between the Punjab and the South and still more difficult to go to the extent of 9000 B. C. as it is far too an ancient date for academic and university life. To add to this, one is struck by the artificiality of the number of years during which each of these sangams is said to have flourished and the number of poets and residential members (*1st sangam* :- 4440 years, 4449 poets, residential members 549, patron kings 89. *2nd sangam* :- 3700 years, 3700 poets, 59 residential members, patron kings 59. *3rd sangam* :- 1850 years, 449 poets, 49 residential members and 49 patron kings). The artificiality

⁹ Vide *Purananuru* stanzas :- 358, 366, & 2.

¹⁰ *Purananuru* is the anthology of 400 songs composed by members of the 3rd academy and some earlier poets; and forms one of the eight works of the "Ettuttokai" collections.

consists in its symmetry, and the number of years of the duration of each sangam is a multiple of 37 ($37 \times 120 = 4440$; $37 \times 100 = 3700$; $37 \times 50 = 1850$). Again, while the account mentions only 3 pandiyan king-poets of the last sangam, we find nine pandiyan king poets (Royal poets) besides six Cola princes in the third sangam works.

But because of the abnormal durations of these academies with uncertain intervals between each we cannot summarily dismiss the existence of these Sangams themselves as imaginary and unreal. Though the years of duration may be too long and fabulous, there is no doubt of the existence of these first two Sangams, as we have (1) the whole of *Tolkappiyam*, a work of the second academy today with us (2) fragments of *Agattiyam*,* a work of the first academy preserved in commentaries like *yapparunkala virutti* and (3) stray poems of the members of the first academy preserved in *Purananuru*** of the third academy in which the king Utiyan Ceralathan who fed the armies that fought in the Mahabaratha war (1400 B.C.) and the rivers that existed in the land submerged by the first and second deluges in the days of the first two academies are mentioned. We find the tradition of feeding the armies of the Mahabaratha war by Utiyan Ceralatan, current even in the days of *Silappadikaram*¹¹ (2nd century A. D.) (4) we have also the works of the 3rd academy with us fortunately, now.

In these circumstances we will have, therefore, to go into the question of the age of Tolkappiyar a member of the

* Agathiya sutrams quoted by Sankaranamaccivayar in Nannul virutti in Sutrams 260, 297 and 327, in Tolkappiya cilladikaram by Senavarayar in Sutram 74, Verrumai Iyal. and in Nannul commentary by Mayilai Nathar in Sutrams, :- 130, 258, 259, 272, 290, 294, 299, 322, 326, 332, 339, 341, 354, 377, 381 and 394.

** Puarnanuru (i) stanza 2 of Mudi Nagarayar (ii) stanza 366 of Kotamanar (iii) stanza 358 of Vanmikiyar (iv) stanza 9.

¹¹ ஓரைவர், ஈரைம் பதினமர் உடன்றெழுந்த போரிற் பெருஞ்சோறு போற்ருது தானளித்த சோன் பொறையன் மலையன் — சிலப்பதிகாரம் 29-ம் காதை.

second academy, for the present, by a careful study of the available evidence.

(1) First of all there is the unbroken tradition that cannot be easily brushed aside, that *Tolkappiyam* was written at the end of the first sangam and was one of the standard authorities on grammar for the Second and Third Sangams. If the fact of its being the standard grammar for the Second Sangam also then we must look for a time long anterior to the 2nd century A. D. a time when Mathurai (South Mathurai) and the Kapatapuram the seats of the first and second academies were not destroyed by diluvian catastrophies. Some centuries must have elapsed between Mudattirumaran forming the third sangam and *Tolkappiyar* composing his grammar for the Tamil language in the end of the first or beginning of the second sangam.

(2) Now, it is a fact well known to Sanskrit scholars and Indologists that Valmiki, the author of the *Ramayana*, the Adikavya of Sanskrit was a contemporary of Rama himself whose sons Lava and Kusa he taught and who also arranged for Rama's hearing the recital of *Ramayana* by his own sons. Valmiki makes sugriva the mouth piece of a few slokas, which contain the Royal Command for the quest of Sita.

In the course of this occurs the mention of the three Tamil kingdoms and the lost city of Kapatapuram as the fortified seat of the Pandiyan court south of the Tambraparni which Hanuman might come across in his southward journey. He might meet the Tamil grammarian Agattiya too. Now, if the tradition, that *Tolkappiyam* was presented in the court of Nilamtaru Tiruvir Pandiyan,¹² then it must be before it moved to Kapatapuram. Then we will have to take the age of *Tolkappiyam* to a time earlier than the kapatapuram episode of submergence in the sea. If this Kapatapuram is mentioned in *Ramayana*, it must be somewhere at

¹² Valmiki *Ramayana*. Keskinda kanda contos 41-2; 42; 42-13.

¹³ *Tolkappiyam* — Payiram (preface) L. 9.

least at the time of *Ramayana* itself. Valmiki¹⁴ is believed to have composed his epic between the 11th and 5th centuries B. S.

(3) Tolkappiyar was one of the 12 pupils of Agattiyar and he is said to be a member of the 2nd sangam along with his master and Panamparanar, one of his classmates wrote the preface to *Tolkappiyam*. In this preface, the Southern Kumari (the river kumari) and not the present lands-end named Kumari (the Cape Comorin) in the southern most corner of the Travancore-Cochin state is given as the Southern boundary.¹⁵ This Kumari is evidently the river Kumari that flowed before the deluge and engulfed the Tamil country (known as *kumari kandam* ; and it is clear that *Tolkappiyam* was written before the Tamil land was engulfed by sea a second time. The *Mahavamsa* mentions that the second deluge was supposed to have taken place in 504 B. C., as a result of which Singalam perhaps became separated from the mainland. Before this deluge, Kapatapuram the capital city with that part of the country was in existence. Extant Tamil classics too allude to this deluge. For instance Ilangovadigal in his *silappadikaram* refers to it in unmistakable terms.¹⁶ Again when the same author¹⁷ gives the northern and southern boundaries of Tamilakam as they were in his days, he refers to the kumari sea and not the kumari river as the southern boundary, the commentator Adiyarkku-nallar while commenting on the term “தொடியோள்பெளவம்” (the sea of the lady wearing bracelet) namely kumari sea, pertinently draws our attention to the term பெளவம், sea, as the southern boundary and not

14 i. C. V. Vaidya — The riddle of the Ramayana P. 20-51.

ii. A. B. Keith. The age of the Ramayana J. R. A. S. 1915 - p. 218-228

iii. Schlegel-German Oriental Journal part III P. 379/.

iv. Monier Williams — Indian Epic poetry London 1863 page 3.

v. A. A. Macdonald. — Sanskrit Literature London 1928 page. 307.

15 Tolkappiya payiram — “Vadavenkadam Ten Kumari Ayidai Tamil kuru Nallulakam.” LL. 1-3.

16 (i) Silappadikaram, — Venir kadai LL. 1-2. (ii) Ibid.Kadu-kam Kadai LL. 18-20. (iii) (Mullai) Kalithokai 104.

17 (i) Silappadikaram, — Venir kadai LL. 1-2. (ii) Adiyarkku nallar's commentary on the above.

தொடியோன் river in the southern country because by this time kumari river was already engulfed in the sea by the deluge, in support of which he quotes¹⁸ the two lines of Ilangovadigal himself. In the course of his commentary, it is interesting and instructive too, that, the commentator actually gives the names of the 49 Tamil provinces destroyed by the inundation. Another commentator Perasiriyar who wrote commentaries on portions of porulatikaram of *Tolkappiyam* says in his commentary that Panamparanar the class mate of Tolkappiyar mentioned Kumari river as the southern boundary of Tamilakam in his preface to *Tolkappiyam* because he wrote it before the river and its adjoining territories were still existing before the deluge. Kalittokai,¹⁹ Irayavar Kalaviyal urai,²⁰ Naccinarkkiniyar and Ilampuranar,²² all with one voice refer to this subsidence.

However it is agreed on all hands that *Tolkappiyam* was presented in the court of Nilamtaru Tiruvir Pandiyan (other wise known as Jayamakirti) of the end of the first academy who was one of its seven partron-kings. In these circumstances *Tolkappiyam* must have been written long before the 2nd century A. D. which has been fixed as the last days of the 3rd academy.

(4) While commenting on the third sutram of Karpiyal in Porulatikaram;²³ the commentator, Naccinarkkiniyar says that in conformity with the other authors of the first academy in its last stages, Tolkappiyar too made, in his work, married

¹⁸ Silappadikaram Venirkatai LL. 1-2. commentary.

¹⁹ Kalithokai — Mullai — ‘மலிதிரை யூர்ந்துதன் மண்கடல் வெளவலின்’ — 104.

²⁰ இறையனார் களவியல் உரை “அக்காலத்துப் போலும் பாண்டிய நாட்டைக் கடல் கொண்டது”.

²¹ தொல். பொருளதிகாரம் கடலகத்துப் பட்டுக் குமரியாறு “பனைநாட் டொடு கெடுவதற்கு முன்”.

²² “கடல் கொள் வதன் முன்பு பிற நாடும் உண்மையில் தெற்கும் எல்லை கூறப்பட்டது”.

²³ தொல். பொருள் : கற்பியல் நூற்பா 3

பொய்யும் வழுவும் தோன்றிய பின்னர்

ஐயர் யாத் தனர் காணம் என்ப” — commentary.

wedlock succeed necessarily furtive love and he insisted on the ceremonial marriage, because steadfastness and loyalty in marrying the one loved slowly diminished owing to infidelity and desertions. The end of the first sangam evidently means at least some centuries before the last days of the 3rd sangam which are fixed for the middle of the 2nd century A. D.

(5) Naccinarkkiniyar has again in his commentary²⁴ on the preface of the book stated that Tolkappiyar wrote this book even before Vyasa codified the vedas into the existing four. Before they were codified into these four (Rig, yapu, sama and Atharva) they were called Daitriya, Poudiya, Talavakara and sama. Veda Vyasa lived probably between 1500-1000 B. C.

(6) Another piece of external evidence to fix the age of this work at least some centuries earlier to the last days of the 3rd academy is available in the Payiram again, given by the author's classmate Panamparanar²⁵ who says that Tolkappiyar was versed in Aindram the grammar of India which is supposed to have preceded Pandnis vyakarna and held the field then. The grammar of India is said to be anterior to Panini and there are, it is said, fundamental differences between the two. If Aindram, the grammar of Indra was holding away before Panini's grammar and if Tolkappiyar, as he is reported, was versed in Aindram school of grammar and evidently not the Panini School of grammar, then Tolkappiyar must have lived at a date earlier than Panini himself. If he had been acquainted with Panini's grammar his classmate would have mentioned it, and not Aindram for purposes of comparative study with the Tamil grammar. Paninis age has been fixed from 5th to the 7th cent. B. C. Professor Dikshitar²⁶ following Goldstucker opines that Panini must have lived in the 7th or 8th cent. B. C. If Tolkappiyar preceded Panini we have to look for a period anterior to the 7th century B. C. or somewhere near about it. The grammar of Indra finds

²⁴ Thol. பாயிரம் நச்சினர்க்கினியர் ; உரை “நான்கு கூறுமாய்”...etc.

²⁵ Thol. பாயிரம் “ஐந்திரம் நிறைந்த தொல்காப்பியன்”.

²⁶ V. R. R. Dikshitar — Pre Historic India Page 213.

also reference occasionally in Tamil classical works as for instance in a stray sutram²⁷ attributed to Tolkappiyar's master Agattiyar, quoted by Senavarayar in his commentary on Tolkappiyam in connection with the vocative case. Ilangovadigal (2nd century A. D.) also in unmistakable terms refers to the existence of this old grammar of Indra in *Silappatikaram*.²⁸

Tolkappiyar has not described the Etymology of words and has dismissed that line of enquiry summarily stating that the apt reason for the meaning of words will not be apparent from a casual reading of the same (மொழிப் பொருட் காரணம் விளிப்பத் தோன்ற) and this reason alone must lead us to place this grammarian before Panini who has given us the notes of words.

(7) Now, this Panini is said to have been the disciple of Varsa who along with Upa Varsa was the court poet of the famous Chandragupta Maurya (400-300) B. C. and according to the traditional account, Panini, one of the many pupils of Varsa who lagged behind in his studies, as he could not keep pace with his classmates was given by his teachers wife menial duties to perform. Unable to reconcile himself to his lot, Panini is said to have resorted to the Himalayas and offered penance to Lord Siva, who, pleased with the devotee appeared before him and taught him the principles of Sanskrit grammar which collected and codified in his famous grammar book. Giving credence to the learning of Sanskrit grammar at the feet of Lord Siva, Tamil poets of later days began to attribute the same kind of story. . . . of learning grammar²⁹ at the feet of Siva, — to the earliest Tamil grammarian

²⁷ “எழியல் முறையது எதிர்முக வேற்றுமை, வேறென விளம்பான் பெயரது விகாரமென்று, ஒதிய புலவனும் உளன் ஒருவகையால், இந்திரன் எட்டாம் வேற்றுமை என்றான்”.

²⁸ (i) “புண்ணிய சரவணம் பொருந்துவிராயின்
விண்ணவர் கோமான் விழுதூல் எய்துவார்” — (சிலப்.: காடு
காண் : 98 : 99).

(ii) “கப்பத்திந்திரன் காட்டிய நூலின்
மெய்ப்பாட்டியற்கை விளங்கக் காணாய்”

Ibid. L. 254—55.

²⁹-(A) Tolkappiyam Cilladikariyam Sutram 294.

Agattiyanar who was Tolkappiyar's master, since in their opinions such tutorship would confer equal status and dignity on the Tamil language as it did on Sanskrit.

(8) We may indirectly find a clue to fix Tolkappiyar's age by reference to the Vartika and the Maha Bashya on Panini's grammar. Vararuchi or Katyayana (4th century B. C.) wrote his vartika (succinct commentary with) emendations and Patanjali (3rd century B. C.) his Mahabashya (elaborate commentary) on Panini's grammar. These two were followers of Panini and must have written their commentaries on his grammar, at least some centuries after Panini. Tolkappiyar, if he lived before Panini, preceded all these people, and must be placed at a period above 500 B. C.

(9) Another piece of indirect evidence is also available through Kautliya, the famous Minister of Chandra Gupta Maurya who in his *Artha sastra*²⁹ mentions "Pandya Kapātaka." We may take it to mean pearl from Kapata (*i.e.*) Kapatapuram the seat of the second academy. Kapatapuram therefore as a place of pearl fisheries must have existed before 3rd century B. C. as a flourishing sea-port and capital and it was in this place that Tolkappiyar was supposed to have composed his grammar. On the other hand, Dr. Shama Sastri interprets it as 'that which is obtained in Pandyakavata, a mountain known as Malayakoti in the Pandiyan country; as well as Ganapatti Sastri.'

(10) Apart from these oft quoted allusions in the sanskrit works, there are less doubted and more authentic material of Asoka's inscriptions and Megasthenes' writings of the 3rd and 4th century B. C. which refer in unmistakable

²⁹ (i) விடையு கைத்தவன் பாணினிக் கிலக்கணம் மேளுள் etc.

பாஞ்சோதி முனிவர் திருவிளையாடற் புராணம்.

(ii) வடமொழியைப் பாணினிக்கு வகுத்தருளி. — திருவிளையாடற் புராணம்.

(iii) இருமொழிக்கும் கண்ணுதலார் முதல் குரவர் — காஞ்சிப் புராணம்.

³⁰ i. Kautilya - Arthasastra Dr. Shama Sastry Book II. Chap. 11. examination of gems that are to be entered in the treasury P. 83.

ii. Arthasastra V. Ganapathi Sastry P. 179.

terms to the Pandiyan capital and the Tamil citizens in eulogistic language, which exactly fit in with the traditions of the Pandiyan culture and civilisation. The Ceylon chronicle Mahavamsa also tells us that the Magadha Aeneas³¹ (a) who led the first Aryan colony into Ceylon and founded the Lanka dynasty sought the hands of a Pandiya Princess in the 6th century B. C. as worthy of being his bride.

Let us now focuss our attention for a while on some pieces of internal evidence as for instance on the words, style and forms of expression in the work itself. (1) First of all *Tolkappiyam* undoubtedly shows a fusion of the Dravidian and Aryan institutions and a distinct trace of the influence of Aryan immigrants and it would naturally lead us to think that it must have been composed at a time when the Aryans had already come to south India and had even introduced their ceremonials and institutions. In fact Tolkappiyar himself is supposed to have been one among them according to legend. Without going into his origin, it is possible to say that the colonisation of the South by the Aryans, as it is held, commenced about the 10th century B. C.³¹ and it would be reasonable to regard *Tolkappiyam* as a work composed after two or three centuries of fusion of these two cultures.

2. We find, again, that fewer Sanskrit words are to be found in it than even in the extant third sangam works. Though in his age, Tamil writers were sufficiently conversant with Sanskrit and though Tolkappiyar is said to be a great scholar in Tamil and Sanskrit, yet at the time of his writing the grammar, not many Sanskrit words were used in spoken Tamil, a few were used in literary works and fewer still in standard grammar works and this fact of the absence of many Sanskrit words in the work itself is considered to be proof of its antiquity — its being too far removed in age from the 3rd sangam works for which it was the acknowledged standard grammar.

³¹ (a) தமிழ் இலக்கியம் Sangakalam by, ஞா. சா. துரைசாமி பிள்ளை 1923.

³¹ Dravidian India. T. R. Sessa Iyengar. P. 156 & 170.

3. It is possible in this connection to offer a definite piece of internal evidence to prove the antiquity of this work and to state that at least some centuries must have elapsed before the extant Tamil classical works of the third sangam were written, collected and codified. The third sangam had its palmy days long before Christ was born and its evening was in the days of the 2nd century A. D. The works now generally called 'Sangam works' were not all written in a particular period but ranged between some centuries, and they were carefully collected and codified into the existing anthologies. In these anthologies one comes across a host of words which may be considered serious violations of the rules laid down by Tolkappiyar. If Tolkappiyam had been written at a time nearer to these works, then the rules might have been strictly observed in the use of these words and Tolkappiyar himself would not have made rules outcasting these words enshrined in them. As he should have deduced his principles from the standard literary works held in esteem in his times, he should have made provisions for them in his grammar in accordance with the literary tendencies of the times and not traversed the sanction of the great authors of the times.

So in all probability Tolkappiyar made these rules at a time far anterior to the third sangam days and a number of centuries should have passed by before these prescribed words crept slowly and stealthily in the third sangam works, after having lingered long in the background before they were actually introduced in literary works. For, after all, words are not smuggled into a language in waggon loads and in the teeth of its grammar in a single season. ³²Such rules of *Tolkappiyam* may be mentioned here, which prescribe the restrictions for the occurrence of the letters ச, ஞ and ய, (c, n and y) in the beginning of words. The letter C³²(ச) would not combine with the vowels a, ai, and aw, the letter n³³(ஞ)

³² சகாக்கிளவியும் அவற்றோற்றே, அ, ஐ, ஒளவேனும் மூன்றலங்கடையே—
தொல்—எழுத்து—மொழி மாபு—29.

³³ ஆ, ஏ, ஞ வெனும் மூவுயிர் ஞ காரத்தூரிய. Ibid. — 31.

³⁴ ஆ வோடல்லது யகா முதலாது Ibid. 32.

will combine only with the vowels a, e and o and the letter y (ய) will combine only with a and with nothing else, when they initiate words. If these rules were made about the time of the third sangam works, they should have been strictly observed in them. But we find quite the opposite. The prohibited words occur in plenty that is, these letters combine with some of the prohibited vowels at the beginning of words. For instance (1) the letter C (though prohibited) combines with a in the beginning of words like Camaittu (சமைத்து) in Silappadikaram, சண்பு (canpu) in Maturaikanci (l. 172) சலம் (calam) in Maturaikkanci (l 112) Patirrupattu (84) in Sliappadikaram (l. சலம் புணர் கொள்கைச் சலதி) in Tirukkural (சலம் பற்றிச் சால்மில் செய்யார்), சந்து (cantu) in Malaipadu kadam (l. 393). சதுக்கம் (catukkam) in Tirummurukarruppadai (l. 225) சந்தி (canti) in the same, சமம் (camam) in the same and in Tirukkural etc (2) The letter (ஞ) n though prohibited, occurs in words like ஞமலி n Purananuru 74 and Pattinappalai in 140. ஞசலல் in Patirupattu 30 and Tirumurkarruppadai 120, ஞமனங் Purananuru 6, ஞி, in ஞிமிது in Puram 93, and (3) ya and yu though prohibited occur in யவனர் (yavanar) in patirupattu 2nd Padigam, Nedunal-vadai 101 and Mullaipattu 61 and yupam in Purananuru 15 and 224 Pattirupattu 67, Maturaikkanci 27 and yukam in Tirumurukarruppadai 302 respectively. Even among these violations they are less frequent in Purananuru and Ainkurunuru, Patirupattu etc. than in the comparatively later works like Manimekalai and Silappadikaram.

Commenting on this violation, Naccinarkkiniyar,³⁵ the commentator says that (though at the time of the composition of the grammar the trend was like that) the rule was violated, in later times and brands them as bad usage (இழிவழக்கு) and Sanskrit corruptions, while Ilampuranar³⁶ also betrays his inability to appreciate these changes which time had brought slowly into Tamil Literature. In his attempts to reconcile these rules with the usages in later works, he was foiled by the refusal of some recalcitrant words to be forced into har-

35 & 36 Vide their commentaries on Sutrams 29, 31 and 32 of Moli-marapu of Elutatikaram of Tolkappiyam respectively.

mony, and he brands them straight way with all the force of his orthodox faith in the inviolability of *Tolkappiyam* rules, could summon to his aid, as of ungrammatical and bad usage and as Sanskrit corruptions. Though he felt satisfied that he had disposed of all the usages which had crept in third sangam works in this way, the inadequacy of the easy explanation will be patent if we look into some other rules which Tolkappiyar himself has introduced deliberately welcoming possible accretions to the Tamil vocabulary. He has provided for the inclusion of Sanskrit words and idioms changing their form of letters to suit Tamil Phonology so that they might not militate against the genius of the Tamil language, even though the Sanskrit forms may appear mutilated. So the commentator could not take shelter under his condemning those changes as mere corruption of Aryan forms and could not pretend that Tolkappiyar did not contemplate the assimilation of Sanskrit words like யவனர் into Tamil literature. But he could not avoid the difficulty by merely saying that his rules were meant only for pure Tamil words and would not militate against the use of Aryan words in the Tamil language. Tolkappiyar himself has used Sanskrit words though stintingly in his work and has made provision, for bringing³⁷ Sanskrit words into the Tamil language as far as his times called for. A number of non-Sanskrit new words are also found in later Sangam works which also do not square with particular rules of *Tolkappiyam*. Neither could Ilampuranar pluck up courage enough to repudiate these usages in later poems that did not accord with *Tolkappiyam* rules and to brush them aside as ungrammatical usage.

So the simple truth is that *Tolkappiyam* was written long prior to the third sangam works, and the later usages that grew up since the days of *Tolkappiyam* could not be condemned for want of harmony with his archaisms. Language

³⁷ (i) வட சொற்களவி வட வெழுத்தொரீஇ
எழுத்தொடு புணர்ந்த சொல்லாகும்மே.

(ii) சிதைந் தனவரினும் இயைந்தன வரையார். *Tolkappiyam*. colladi-
karam, eccaviyal. 5-6.

like man is organic and grows, and as long as it preserves its vitality it must continue to grow and change in its incessant growth ; for is not change the essence of language as it is of life ? The cradle of the child should not cramp the growing limbs of the baby.

4. Another such instance comes to our notice in *Tolkappiyam* which might enable us to assign if a much earlier date than the third sangams works. At the time of *Tolkappiyar*,³⁸ syllables like *lya*, *lya* ; *nya*, *nya* ; *mya*, *vya*, and *mva*, could occur in the middle of words. This principle of syllabation is not traceable in any of the works assigned to the third sangam and this rule has become obsolete already at this time and evidently some centuries ought to have gone between these third sangam works and *Tolkappiyam*. In the *Tirukkural* supposed to be a work of the 1st century A. D. these are not found. The period when such syllables were in vogue ought to be therefore some centuries before the Christian era.

5. One more internal evidence may be offered in support of the antiquity of the work. *Tolkappiyar* treats prosody as a minor section of *Porulatikaram* dealing with matter, whereas by the third sangam prosody has claimed enough importance as not to be incorporated in *Porulatikaram* itself, but to be treated as a separate division of grammar, and separate treatises like *Kakaipadiniyam* were written on prosody.

6. Finally it may be pointed out *Tolkappiyar* directly supports the tradition that there had been numerous literary writings and more than one treatise on grammar before his days. The significant portion of *Seyyuliyal's*³⁹ opening sutram

³⁸ (i) ல, ளகோன் முன்னர் யவ்வுந்தோன்றும். Tol — *EluttTudikaram*

(ii) ஞ, ந ம, வ, என்னும் புள்ளிமுன்னர், யகோன் நிற்கல் மெய் பெற்றன்றே — *Ibid.* 27.

(iii) மல்கோன் புள்ளிமுன், உவ்வுந் தோன்றும் *Ibid.* 28.

³⁹ Tol. *Seyyuliyal.* 1. “.....

நல்லிசைப் புலவர் செய்யுள் உறுப்பென வல்லிதிற் கூறி வருத்துரைத்தனரே” —

may be given as a typical evidence for this view. In it the author stresses that "poets of good fame have stated the foregoing as elements of a poem emphatically and in an analytical way." There are innumerable places in the whole range of *Tolkappiyam*, wherein Tolkappiyar refers to numerous authors and grammatical works in a general way that have preceded him and that have undoubtedly served as models for him. For instance the author has used the terms 'என்மனார் புலவர்' (the poets say) in about 56 places, மொழிப (they state) in about 45 places. என்ப, (they say) in about 24 places, எனப் படும் (has been said) in about 6 places. சொல்லவும்படுமே (has been mentioned also) அறிந்திகிணோர் அறிப (the learned know) யாப்பறி புலவர் மொழிப (those versed in prosody call) நூனவில் புலவர் நூவன்றறைந்தனரே, (Those who have studied grammar declare emphatically) சொல்லினர் புலவர் (The poets have told us) யாத்தனர் புலவர், (The poets have composed) நூனங்கு மொழிப் புலவர் மொழிப, (The keen philologists state) உயர் மொழிப் புலவர் மொழிப, (The great philologists state) இயல்புணர்ந்தோர் மொழிப, (Those who know the nature of language state) புலன் நன்குணர்ந்த புலமையோர், (The poets keen in intellect) வரையார், (They don't exclude) கிளவார், (They don't say) etc.

These innumerable examples detailed above predicate the existence of a number of Tamil grammatical works furnishing him with the materials for several parts of his grammar. Sivagna munivar⁴⁰ in his 'payira virutti' says that Tolkappiyar followed the trends of the vast number of works that preceded him in formulating his grammatical theories. The Tamils should have therefore made considerable literary progress long before the 7th century B. C. to develop a civilisation and culture reflected in works like *Tolkappiyam*. Theories of grammar are based on the mass of literature available before a treatise of grammar is written and centuries of culture and civilisation should have gone in turn before they are embedded in the mass of Literature that followed. A great antiquity should therefore characterise a grammatical treatise reflecting this culture and civilisation.

⁴⁰ Sivagnana munivar the all round poet, critic, grammarian, logician, and philosopher and the author of a number of works varied has written an elaborate commentary in the preface of *Tolkappiyam* called *Payira virutti*. He belonged to the 18th century. A. D.

TAMILIANA-NEWS & NOTES

INDIAN LANGUAGES DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE
AT POONA

*(Report by Mr. V. I. Subrahmaniam, Delegate of the
Tamil Literary Society, Tuticorin, & The South Zone
College Tamil Teachers' Association, Tirunelveli)*

"Tamil Literature is as ancient as any of the other Indian Languages including Sanskrit. Their *Thirukkural* and *Kamba Ramayanam* are unique examples. So let not the protagonists of Hindi forget the claims of the Regional Languages," declared His Excellency Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai, the Governor of Bombay, in the concluding session of the Indian Languages Development Conference convened in Poona, by the Poona University on the 23rd, 24th and 25th of May 1953.

The S. P. College on the northern part of this historic city was the venue of the conference which considered the building up of technical vocabulary, development of the official language of union and the development of the regional languages of India. The inaugural and concluding sessions of the conference were conducted in the gaily decorated Lady Rama Bai Hall. Nearly five hundred delegates attended. The Honourable Minister for Education, Mr. M. V. Krishna Rao represented the Madras State, Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai the Madras University and Sri V. I. Subrahmaniam the Tamil Literary Society, Tuticorin, and the South Zone College Tamil Teachers' Association, Tirunelveli. The Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar, the Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University, after stressing the importance of the conference drew attention to the interest shown by the Central and State Governments, the Indian Universities and Cultural Associations by delegating men of great talent to participate in the conference. A warm welcome was accorded to the Delegates. Then he requested

Mahamahopadyaya P. V. Kane, the former Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University to preside over the sessions. The reputed Sanskrit scholar P. V. Kane, discussed in detail the articles of our Constitution regarding languages and brought to light the predominant position occupied by English over the Union Languages. He requested the Delegates to seriously consider the recommendation of Sir S. Radhakrishnan in the Report of Education. Finally he appealed for a dispassionate consideration of all the proposals. 'The great ideal, that we have to place before us,' he observed, 'is how to reconcile the claims of National Unity with the diversity of Regional languages and how to successfully evolve a uniformity in the use of Scientific and technical words throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent.' With this the morning session concluded at 11 a.m. to resume in the same place at 3 p.m.

To facilitate effective discussion the conference branched off into three sections each under a president. The first section dealing about Technical vocabulary, was presided over by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji. In his address he pleaded for a 'go slow policy' in the attempt to Sanskritise completely, the technical terminology urged by Dr. Reguvira and requested to adopt the suggestions of the late R. L. Mitra of Bengal. "Indian Science has the base in Modern Europe and naturally with its Laboratory and all the various apparatus, its technical vocabulary also has come to stay at least to a certain extent. We should try to Indianise by, first, making science an integral part of the mental make up of the Indian citizen. With that if we have both the English terms and the Indian equivalents, and if we take sufficient care for the study of the mother tongue through its literature, the fullest Indianisation of our scientific and technical vocabulary will come in as a matter of course" was his concluding remarks in his lengthy address.

This was followed by the humorous speech of Masthi Venkatesa Iyengar, the president of the second section to consider the development of Hindi. "Since Hindi is the National

language the other languages spoken are not less national. Equally with Hindi, they are National languages. Hindi is not to replace English. The Regional language will be used in all offices and courts in each region. Hindi will be used only for inter-provincial and centre Vs : provincial communications. Persons whose mother tongue is Hindi should select a South Indian Language as a subject for the competitive Examination." Dr. Ragu Vira, the President of the third section dealing about the development of the Regional languages, spoke in Hindi. From the high pitch of his voice and emotional gestures he appeared to have violently refuted Dr. S. K. Chatterji's suggestion 'to go slow'. In the second half of his address, he mainly dealt with the methods of familiarising one language by the other to preserve the national unity. "There should be no mutual jealousies. These will benefit no one but the foreigner. Hindi should not encroach on the sphere of the regional languages. As long as English dominates no Indian language can develop. It will continue withering. Hindi must be taught as an optional language to all school going children. No student should be compelled for the study of Hindi as for any foreign tongue. Mono-lingual states will be helpful in the development of the Regional languages. The lurking idea which finds expression in private conversation, that English will remain for ever must be definitely abandoned. Emphasis on English must be replaced by emphasis on the mother-tongue. Very little is known in North India about Tamil literature. The Tamil Universities and the Ministry of Education in Tamil Nad or the Tamil Academies should undertake the translations of the Tamil classics into North Indian Languages and from other Indian languages into Tamil." These are the other important points of his address. With an invitation from the Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University to tea, in the beautiful lawns of the University Gardens the evening session concluded.

Next day the sectional meetings were conducted in the Lecture Halls of th S. P. College. Discussions were very lively. Rapporteurs were appointed to take note of the discussions

and to report to the President of the Conference. Twenty-seven papers were submitted for the first section which included those of Prof. C. R. Sankaran and R. P. Sethu Pillai. The representative of the Central Government Dr. Humayun Kabir, took keen interest in this section. After two sittings four recommendations were made to the president (which are attached below). The second section under Sri M. Venkatesa Iyengar earnestly considered the suggestions for the Delegates. Hon. Minister M. V. Krishna Rao remained throughout in this section and represented the views of the Madras State. Six papers were received. Sri C. J. Joshi of Dharwar, pleaded for the utilisation of the Dravidic stems along with Sanskrit ones, in building up the technical vocabulary. The third section considered the development of the Regional language. It was active under the chairmanship of Dr. Ragu Vira. Fourteen written contributions were received which included the one from the Delegate of the Tamil Literary Society. It was very refreshing to hear a good many Delegates, particularly those from Bengal speaking high of the cultural antiquity of Tamil Literature. Nine recommendations were made by this section.

On Monday the 25th of May the concluding session of the conference was conducted again in the Rama Bai Hall. His Excellency Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai was expected to say a few words in this session. Due to an urgent call from the Prime Minister he left for Delhi on the previous day and came late to the conference. In his shrill but commanding tone he stressed the need for viewing things in the light of world developments. 'To isolate English from the curriculum is to isolate Indians from the world. Should we do it? Those who desire Hindi do not realize the others point of view. There are languages more cultured and more ancient than Hindi. Tamil literature is as ancient as any other Indian languages including Sanskrit. Their *Thirukkural* and *Kamba Ramayanam* are unique examples. So let not the protagonist of Hindi, forget the claims of the Regional language. In view of all these difficulties let me ask you to proceed slowly and cautiously. We

shall not be shy of English " concluded the Governor of Bombay and left immediately the conference Hall. Before his arrival the conference unanimously passed the following resolutions.

SECTION A

(1) All technical terms for all Sciences should be drawn as far as possible from Sanskrit sources.

(2) All international Symbols, signs and formulae should be retained for use as they are in use at present.

(3) International Scientific terms and expressions should be retained if suitable Indian Equivalents cannot be found.

(4) Scientific and technical terms should be uniform throughout the union as far as possible.

SECTION B

(1) One of the existing obstacles to a ready spread of the official language of the Union is the apprehension that it will encroach on the sphere of regional languages. It should therefore be made clear that the regional languages should each in its area be the language in which all the affairs of the area are conducted and all instruction is imparted.

(2) Hindi having been chosen as the official language of the Union, the States in which the other languages of the country are spoken should take steps to spread a knowledge of the official language of the Union among their population.

(3) The development of the official language of the Union in accordance with the directives of the Constitution is the common concern of the speakers of all Indian languages. This conference called upon the universities Language and Literary Associations, Academic Institutions and State Governments to take up immediately the study of concrete action on lines indicated by Section 351 of the Constitution. It is hoped and expected that the official language of the Union that will develop as a result of these efforts will conform to the genius of the parent stock and, therefore, will be easily and naturally acceptable to those whose mother tongue is Hindi.

SECTION C

(1) That the Regional Language or the mother-tongue be the first language of our school going children.

(2) That provision be made for the teaching of Hindi at Secondary Schools.

(3) That provision be made, wherever possible for the teaching of another Indian Language at Secondary Schools.

(4) That advanced courses and research in Indian Languages and literature be instituted at all our Universities.

(5) That Bureau for translation of literary and scientific works from one Indian Language into another be instituted at State Education Ministries, Universities and Language Societies.

(6) That as the first step, grammars, conversation books and bilingual dictionaries of Indian languages be prepared.

(7) That every regional language should have one (all literature) Magazine, in which the users of that language should find information about currents in other Indian Literatures.

(8) That the Central and State Governments should establish Indian Languages Teachers Training centres to serve the needs of schools.

(9) That the Central and State Governments should institute prizes, scholarships, grants and funds to encourage writers, societies and universities to take up and accomplish the items detailed above.

The President P. V. Kane insisted that the representatives of the various Governments should try to carry out the recommendations of this conference. With a vote of thanks proposed by Prof. D. V. Potdar, the chairman of the organizing committee the conference was dissolved. One notable feature of the conference was the sincerity shown by all the Delegates in finding an acceptable solution to the language problem and to put into practice what was arrived at. Many

of the delegates left Poona on that day itself. Those who were linguisticians remained to attend another conference on 26th of May convened by the Deccan College with the aid of the Ford Foundation to give a fillip to linguistic studies in India.

SCIENTIFIC TERMINOLOGY

POONA, MAY 24.

Sri Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Chairman, West Bengal Legislative Council, today said in the matter of scientific and technical terminology, India, at least for the present, ought to have a bilingual vocabulary both in English and the mother tongue.

Indian science has had its basis modern Europe, and, naturally, with its laboratory and apparatus, its technical vocabulary also has come to stay — at least to a certain extent," he added.

Sri Chatterjee, who was presiding over a sectional meeting of the Indian Languages Development Conference dealing with "the vocabulary of technical terms," added that English had become a unique vehicle of world Culture at the present day. Indians could always acquire it with greater facility than any other European language.

KEEP WAY TO ENGLISH OPEN

"Since in India's higher scientific life, and international relations English will retain a place which cannot, within a reasonably near future, be replaced by any Indian language, we should keep the way to English open by making the study of the sciences through English optional.

He referred to the policy of Nagpur University, which has adopted a number of text-books in Marathi and Hindi on Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Botany in which totally new Devanagiri symbols and symbolic representations have been introduced, and said that if such a course was followed in the different language areas in India, it would effectively isolate India's science not only in Hindi, but also in other regional languages.

"This kind of isolationism, he said, "would be disastrous to Indian science.

"For whatever we might say and do, in India scientific knowledge is not so well spread among the people, and it is not very much advanced either.

"For years and years, before an adequate scientific education can spread among the masses, we shall have to link up ourselves with the scientific world of other advanced countries in order to ensure our own progress and for this a common set of symbols is one of the primary necessities," he added.

Sri Chatterjee posed the question — should we try to create and impose upon all our Indian languages a common scientific vocabulary? If so, to what extent will that be possible or, should we, he asked, have the principle of "laissez-faire" for each language, allowing its own writers, who are its true custodians, to follow the native trend in this matter and create for each language its own vocabulary independently?

He pointed out that it had been generally admitted that for the greater part of India a cultural vocabulary derived from Sanskrit would be a most potent bond of unity, and for this reason a very widespread "Sanskritisation" of Hindi was sought to be effected within a decade, or even less than a decade. The use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction in school and college to the fullest extent possible had also been accepted as a great principle. The conflict bet-

ween Hindi as the Pan-Indian, inter-State language, and the official language of the Union, and the regional languages as had been sought to be mitigated by fostering the greatest amount of unity possibly between Hindi, on the one hand, and the various regional languages, on the other.

Such unity could only be achieved through a common scientific and cultural vocabulary, as nearly as possible, for all the languages of the Indian Union, a vocabulary of words derived from Sanskrit.

CULTURE INDIVISIBLE

"We should, however, consider the great fact," he added, "that human culture at the present day is one and indivisible, and there has been, ever since man began his quest for the discovery of the unseen, co-operation among different groups of peoples of diverse races and languages. We have also to remember that the present day physical science is a creation of modern Europe, and its greatest exponents are the European peoples, particularly the English-speaking peoples.

"It should not be in any way derogatory to our national self respect to have borrowed, along with European science, some of its words — particularly its English words."

Presiding over the section which deals with "the development of Hindi as the common language of India," Sri M. Venkatesa Ayyangar said Hindi should be called the "Federal language," and not "national language," as the other languages spoken in India were equally "national languages."

While agreeing with the decision of the Government in choosing Hindi to serve as the common language for communication between State and State and the States and the Union, he said there, however, had been much misunderstanding in the country of the implications of this choice. One misapprehension among large sections of the population was the

idea that in calling it the "national language," a higher status had been given to it than regional languages.

A second misapprehension was that Hindi had been selected to take the place that English had under British rule. While this was partly true, Hindi, he said, was not intended to displace English. Just as all living Indian languages were national languages, so Hindi was a regional language.

A third misapprehension which should be cleared was that people speaking one of the other regional languages should in future use only Hindi to get into touch with people living in other language areas.

A fourth misapprehension was the belief of some Hindi propagandists that Hindi was understood by very nearly all the population of India.

STUDY OF HISTORY OF LANGUAGES

POONA, MAY 29.

A conference of prominent educationists held under the auspices of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, to-day expressed the opinion that it was necessary that a knowledge of the history of a language should form an integral part of the study pertaining to that language. A resolution passed at the conference recommended that universities should include the scientific study of languages in their curricula for the Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degrees and provide for this teaching by the creating of departments of linguistics.

The conference, which concluded its four-day deliberations to-day, was called for the purpose of planning of a project for a scientific study of Indian languages and with a view

to preparing basic vocabularies as a possible solution of the problem of inter-communication among the different regions of India. The conference which was inaugurated by Sir Ralph Turner, Director of the School of Oriental and African studies, London, was attended among others by Dr. S. K. Chatterji, President of the West Bengal Legislative Council, Dr. Raghu-vira of the International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur, Dr. Baburam Saksena, Dr. Vishwanath Prasad, Dr. Murray Fowler and representatives of various universities in India.

The conference further recommended that the following fundamental tasks in connection with the immediate needs of Indian linguistics be undertaken : (1) a new linguistic survey of India on a comprehensive and modern lines on an all-India level ; (2) establishment of a bibliography service for linguistics—specially Indian ; (3) critical editions of important texts in the principal Indian languages ; and (4) translation into principal Indian languages of the most important standard books on general and Indian linguistics written in foreign languages.

Discussing the subject, " the project for common vocabularies of the principal Indian languages ", the conference was of the opinion that the project submitted by the Deccan College was one of great significance to the scientific study of Indian linguistics as well as to its application to practical problems. It, therefore, recommended that the project should be undertaken as early as possible with the co-operation of scholars from all parts of the country.

A standing committee consisting of Sir Ralph Turner (Chairman), Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Prof. Baburam Saksena, Prof. D. N. Shri Kanthayya and Dr. S. M. Katre (Convener) was constituted to advise the Director of the Deccan College on matters of organisation and direction of work on the project. Among the works that will be undertaken by the college will be the preparation of descriptive grammars and bilingual dictionaries of regional languages on a uniform basis following scientific methods of phonemic and

morphenic analysis and the study of the common vocabulary between Hindi and the regional languages as also of the semantic changes of loan words (from Sanskrit and other sources) in regional centres.

The conference also requested the authorities of the Deccan College to extend the training facilities designed for the special staff to be recruited for the project to other scholars interested in Indian linguistics and recommended that a summer training school be inaugurated at the college premises in which Indian and foreign experts could give intensive training in principles and methodology of modern linguistics as applied to Indian languages.

BOOKS IN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BIBLIOGRAPHY TO BE PUBLISHED

MADRAS, JUNE 17.

A national bibliography of books, published so far in all Indian languages, on the lines of the British National Bibliography, is to be compiled at the National Library of India, Calcutta, according to Sri B. S. Kesavan, President, Indian Library Association, and Chief Librarian of the National Library.

Sri Kesavan, who is touring South India to see that a copy of each book published in the four principal South Indian languages, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada, is automatically sent to the National Library soon after publication, conferred with officials of the Madras, and Travancore-Cochin Governments in Madras today. He will leave for Bangalore on Thursday.

In an interview, Sri Kesavan pointed out that during the last seven years, the Government had made no provision to

ensure that publications in various languages in the States automatically accrued to the Central Library. Before that the British Museum in London, and the India Office were given this privilege of selecting whatever books they liked from the publications in the several States as gazetted periodicals. With the new realignment of States in India the Registration Act of 1867 was to be revised, so that publications could automatically be sent first to the State Library, then to the Parliamentary Library, and finally to the National Library.

Sri Kesavan praised the Madras Government for its co-operation in regard to the carrying out of the provisions of the Act of 1867.

MALAYALAM TYPEWRITER

CALCUTTA, JUNE 18.

A typewriter in Malayalam will be on sale in India shortly, and its component parts are now on the way from the United States, for assembly in a Calcutta factory.

This Malayalam typewriter represents the successful culmination of 20 years of efforts to design a satisfactory keyboard in this language. The major technical difficulty of typing vowel signs immediately above and below the characters was resolved with the use of dead and offset keys thus eliminating tedious back-spacing.

The typefaces for a prototype Malayalam typewriter were etched by hand in Calcutta. When the prototype proved practical, an art drawing of the characters was made for the final die-making and type-casting in New York.

Typewriters are at present available in Tamil, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Gurmukhi, Urdu, and Sinhalese.

Development work on Canarese, Oriya and Telugu typewriters is at present in progress.

TAMIL FESTIVAL IN DELHI

NEW DELHI, Aug. 29.

President Rajendra Prasad today expressed the hope that "the different languages of the country will grow and enrich the rich culture of India as a whole."

The President gave an assurance that "there is no attempt on the part of anybody to impose Hindi on the south or to suppress any of the other languages of India." "On the other hand," the President said, "we wish them all prosperity and we wish them to grow and enrich the rich culture of the country as a whole."

The President was inaugurating the three-day sixth Tamil festival here this morning. The Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan presided.

For a brief moment the Regal Theatre in Connaught Place where the function was held breathed the South Indian atmosphere. While on the one hand the nagaswaram was being played, priests on the other with "Poorna Kumbham" in their hands chanted the Upanishads in a loud voice ready to receive the President. These were features in the Capital unknown to the common folk of the North and naturally attracted a great deal of visitors. Earlier, there was a procession from the South Indian School to the Regal Theatre with Vidwan R. Subramaniam and party playing the nagaswaram.

The President, on arrival, was welcomed by Dr. K. S. Krishnan, Chairman, Mr. O. V. Alagesan and other members of the Reception Committee.

PRESIDENT'S APPEAL

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, while emphasising the need for a common language which would bind the people from all parts of the country together, was sceptical of the success of the movement to have a National Hindi different from the Hindi

they all knew. What was really necessary, the President was that the various languages of the country should make their contribution to the Hindi of the present day and should enrich the language which would ultimately not be a Hindi of the Northerners alone but one created, fostered and nurtured by all Indians.

The Central Ministers, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Mr. K. C. Reddy, and Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, and Ceylon's High Commissioner, Mr. C. Coomaraswami, were among the distinguished guests present. A large number of delegates from different parts of India attended the festival.

Dr. K. S. Krishnan, on behalf of the Reception Committee, welcoming the guests, said, "I have much pleasure in extending to all the distinguished delegates and the participants in this festival a very warm welcome. We have been particularly fortunate in having with us at the inauguration ceremony our revered President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, our great philosopher-statesman, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Republic of India, and His Excellency Mr. Coomaraswami, High Commissioner for Ceylon in India, who is a great lover of Tamil. I am sure that the festival inaugurated under such distinguished auspices, along with so many great poets and scholars participating, will be a great success. We are indeed very grateful to the many distinguished delegates who have come from different parts of India and Ceylon.

"Festivals like the one we are inaugurating today, will, I am sure, greatly help not only in developing the languages, but what will be of lasting benefit, in developing in us a proper sense of values."

DR. PRASAD'S ADDRESS

Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his speech said : "I think it will be best for me to begin with a confession and an apology. The confession is that I am completely and utterly ignorant of Tamil and the apology is that I have not been able to learn it.

That apology is not only on my behalf, but I think I can offer it on behalf of all Northerners of this country. We have been thinking of having a common language for our country, a language which will be used for our national purposes. We are expecting and hoping that our brothers and sisters in the South will learn that language. Unfortunately I have not noticed any movement in the North for acquainting ourselves with the languages of the South. The losers are not the people of the South but the people of the North, and I only hope that they will soon realise the great loss which they are sustaining on account of their not being acquainted with the big literature that is enshrined in the languages of the South.

CONTRIBUTION TO RENAISSANCE

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, who presided, hoped that the deliberations of the Sixth Tamil Festival would give a great impetus to the work of Tamil scientists, scholars and artists, and others and thus contribute also to the renaissance through which our country is passing.

"The great charm of our country," Dr. Radhakrishnan said, "is its diversity. It is also its main problem. From the beginning of our history our thinkers have tried to adjust and harmonise the different traditions which arose from the many different peoples of our country and make them blend into a happy harmony. Through interchange of men and ideals we were able to achieve a cultural solidarity which transcends the distinctions of languages and races. If you look at the history of Tamil literature, of Tamil archaeology, Tamil art, you will discover precious tokens of past ages, great memorials of the march of the human mind in this country. It reflects, so to say, the progress of the resurgent India. The earliest work of the Tamils, as Mr. Avinashilingam said, is the *Tholkappiyam* of the fifth century. It refers to Vedic codes which are identified with local deities. You find in the rock edicts of Asoka that he sent Buddhist missions not only to Hellenic potentates but also to the Tamil Powers. Early works like *Thirukkural* and others showed the enormous influence of Jain

and Buddhist thought on Tamil works. The Chinese travellers referred to Buddhist shrines and Buddhist stupas. They point out how some of the great works on Buddhism hail from South India. Bodhi Dharma came from Kancheepuram. Buddha Ghosha and Dharmapala were people from the South, from Tamil Nad. Later on great Acharyas, Saints—Saivaites and Vaishnavites—these have made a profound contribution to the growth of Indian literature. Their names are well-known throughout this country and even outside. We cannot say that Islam and Christianity have not left their mark in South India. In other words, the history of Tamils is a reflection of the history of the rest of India passed through different phases, Vedic, Jain, Buddhist, Hindu revival and Islam and Christianity”.

FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS

Continuing, Dr. Radhakrishnan said : “Let us not think that the Tamils are living merely on past inheritance. They have great things of which they can be proud even today. The contribution which they make to politics and administration, to science and art, these are very impressive and I will only say that the Tamil Academy will do better by publishing biographies of eminent Tamilians and also bringing out short series like the Lexicon series which the Oxford Press is bringing out. The Tamil Academy is giving a great encouragement to artistes, scholars and others who are interested in the revival of our culture. It is well known that the artistes are the unconscious legislators of mankind. They are the people who help considerably in bringing about a different climate of opinion which is fostered through democracy and which will enable us to live up to the great ideals which are embodied in our Constitution. We cannot help saying that throughout this country while ideals are proclaimed in our scriptures, and are embodied in our Constitution—they are great—we do not actually live up to them. The South Indian teachers have emphasised the truth of democracy in the Upanishad as “Thathwamasi”. It does not mean that men are equal in their physical form or psychological attitude. It

affirms the claim to equality of every human individual. Deep down in the human soul there must be a road open to all individuals to rise to their highest stature. It is that kind of spiritual equality which the Upanishadic statement affirms. You find a great Tamil work saying "One God and one human community", the community of mankind. Similarly another great South Indian teacher, Sri Vedantadesikar, has stated that the only test of civilisation is either you believe in God or you believe in human equality ; if you believe in these two things, you are civilised whatever may be the caste to which you belong. If you do not believe in them, then to whatever caste you belong, you are not civilised. These are the great ideals of human equality and brotherhood affirmed by the Upanishads and by great South Indian teachers. If today social relations are somewhat spoiled in South India, it is due to a lack of appreciation and lack of implementation of these fundamental concepts, which are handed down to us. It is possible, therefore, for our artistes, for our literary men, to produce a different atmosphere altogether and to see to it that the sense of equality is implemented to a greater extent in South India.

VITALITY OF TAMIL

Mr. C. Coomaraswamy, High Commissioner for Ceylon in India, who spoke next, said : "It is a great and opportune idea on the part of the Tamil Academy of Madras to hold a Tamil Festival annually for the promotion of Tamil scholarship and literature including music and fine arts and to hold these festivals in different places. Two years ago this festival was held in my own country and in my homeland of Jaffna, while I was here in Delhi. I think we should congratulate the Delhi Tamil Sangam for arranging to hold the Festival this time in the metropolis of India and bring home to the people of Northern India the richness and beauty of our language. The Tamil language is said to be one of the oldest in the world and some even go to the extent of saying that it is the oldest and sweetest in the world. The fact that it has stood the onslaughts of time and survived, retaining its purity, shows that it has a vitality of its own which cannot be subdued. But it

has had its own bad time. In common with other indigenous languages in India and in my country, it had suffered a setback on account of the domination of these countries by foreign Powers. The damage done in my own country may be said to be even greater than in India. Being a small country, the foreign influence was able to extend deeper into the life of the people there than here. I still remember in my school days the cry was for English and more English. The result was that our national languages were badly neglected and did not receive the attention they deserved. But with the attainment of independence we may look forward to a bright future for our mother tongue. In my own country Sinhalese and Tamil have been made compulsory in schools for children of the respective races and efforts are being made to impart even university education in their languages. I will not take upon myself to say anything on the possibility of complete elimination of English in higher education. But under the present policy, there is no need to fear that there will be any more difficulty in the promotion and progress of our national languages."

TRIBUTE TO THE TAMILS OF CEYLON

"Fortunately, in India the establishment of the Madras University had an encouraging effect on the study of Tamil and candidates from my own country used to go there for their studies and also acquired great proficiency in the Tamil language itself. It may be of interest to know that the first graduates of the Madras University are said to be Jaffna Tamils from Ceylon. We, the Tamils of Ceylon, regard the Tamil culture in the South of India as the fountainhead of our language since the greatest Tamil classic came from there. We still look to the great poets and writers of modern times to lead and to give inspiration in literary activities in the Tamil language. Even before we attained independence we have from time to time invited leading scholars and exponents of arts and music to visit our country and to give us the benefit of their achievements in their various subjects. I have no doubt that this will be continued in the future.

“I may emphasise the fact that the people of Ceylon, though belonging to the two major communities, Sinhalese and Tamil, are of the same stock as the people of India. The Sinhalese are descendants of the people in India who went from Northern India and although their language is now spoken only in Ceylon, there can be no doubt that it was originally of Indian origin. They received the greatest gift, the Buddhist religion, from the great Buddhist Emperor, Asoka. The Tamils of Ceylon, on the other hand, came from South India and have always maintained the cultural and religious connection with the Tamils of South India. It may briefly be said that the Tamils of Ceylon form a permanent and indissoluble and living link between India and Ceylon. In this connection, I may be pardoned if I refer to certain differences that have been arisen between the two countries over the attainment of independence. I can assure you that these are only a passing phase. There is the underlying unity of interests between the two countries which will always bind them together. These differences were magnified and adversely commented upon due to misunderstandings and at the instance of vested interests for their own purposes. But your great Prime Minister and our own Prime Minister are very anxious to see that these differences are settled soon. It is fortunate that by their recent talk they have understood each other's position and appreciate the difficulties. I have no doubt that at no distant date, they will arrive at a settlement satisfactory to all concerned and the two countries together, hand in hand with a common culture and identity of interest will work for the common good.

“I hope the Tamil Festival will be held in different places in rotation and there will be many occasions when it will be held in different parts of Ceylon, and it will no doubt have a beneficent effect in bringing the two countries together.”

VERY ANCIENT CULTURE

Earlier, Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, President of the Tamil Academy, welcoming the guests, said : “Our great

Indian civilisation is a mighty river formed by the confluence of many streams. Its rise is almost coeval with the birth of man. The earliest stream that could be traced back as near to the source of the river as possible at the present state of knowledge is the Tamil civilisation. Tamil literature reflects this culture and civilisation of the Tamils through these thousands of years. Among the spoken languages of the world, Tamil is perhaps the most ancient.

“The relationship of the Tamil language with the other languages of the world has not yet been fully studied. That it belongs to the group of languages called the Dravidian languages and that it is the oldest, richest and most highly organised of them is admitted on all hands. Researches have shown that the Tamil group of languages had once spread all over India. The language of the mountaineers in Rajmahal abounds in terms identified with Tamil. What is still more surprising is that names by which ivory, apes, peacocks, etc., are known in the Hebrew Bible are the same as still used in Tamil. Teak from the Tamil land has been found to be used in Ur of the Chaldees about 3000 B.C., and there seems to have been commercial intercourses between the Tamils and Mesopotamia about 4000 B.C. Tamil, consequently, has also a very ancient literature.

“The earliest literature now available is *Tholkappiyam*, about 500 B.C., the earlier books referred to in it and other books having been lost. Belonging to about the same age is the *Thirukkural*, about 200 B.C. which is famous for the very great truths it inculcates and so has been translated into almost all the great languages of the world. The Saivite and Vaishnavite saints and the great hymns they sang belong to a later age, namely, from about the Seventh Century A.D., while the great *Kamba Ramayana* belongs to the Eleventh century. Then came the age of the commentators and latter day poets and writers, until in the modern age, we have Subramania Bharati, the great poet of modern Tamil renaissance.

CHARACTER OF LIVING LANGUAGE

“But mere wealth of ancient literature will not give a great place to a language in modern times. Language is a living embodiment of the needs and aspirations of the people, while in a large measure it also reflects the progress of the people. And so as a living language, it is essential that Tamil should be enriched with modern knowledge, in addition to our great ancient literature. It must have within itself the scope, ability and capacity for self-expression of the people in various ways ; it should also provide aspects of knowledge including the highest sciences. The national movement and the freedom struggle have given an impetus to the development of our languages and the achievement of freedom has given the fundamental background necessary for their growth. It is with this great objective in view that the Tamil Academy was founded on the eve of independence in 1947.”

Mr. Avinashilingam Chettiar mentioned that the Tamil Academy was now engaged in the preparation of an encyclopaedia in Tamil and that it had been proposed to bring it out in ten volumes of about 750 pages each at a cost of about nine lakhs of rupees. After seven years of very hard and continuous effort, the first volume had gone to the Press and was expected to be published soon.

Speaking next, Dr. S. R. Ranganathan described the Tamil Academy as a multi-purpose organisation and said that the Academy had a duty to render to the Tamils scattered all over the world who were very anxious to get into touch with their motherland. India, he said, had got to solve the problem of integrating the various cultures of the country while preserving the individuality of each unit.

TAMIL CULTURE

Subscriptions, advertisements, and remittances should be addressed to : The Manager, Tamil Literature Society, 52 New Colony, Tuticorin, South India.

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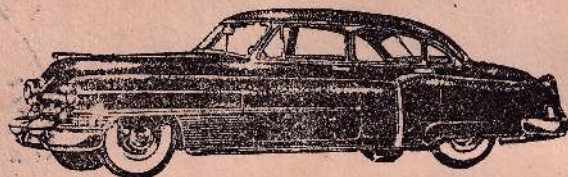
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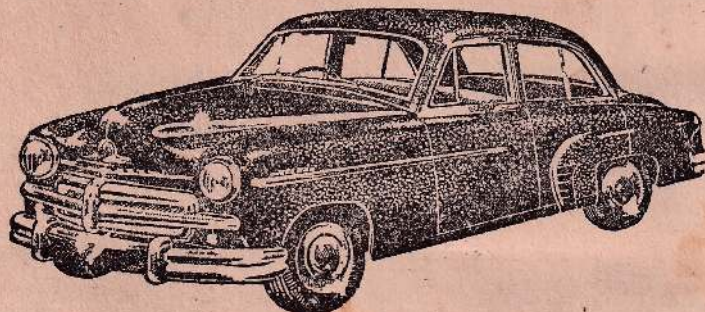
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