

TAMIL CULTURE

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. P. Joseph has done research work under Fr. Heras in St. Xavier's College, Bombay and has contributed several articles on Indian History to the *Journal of Bombay University*, *New Review of Calcutta* and other research periodicals.

Dr. V. I. Subramoniam is Professor of Tamil at Kerala University. He recently returned from the U.S.A. after two years of research work on Linguistics at Universities in U.S.A.

Dr. A. Sathasivam is Lecturer in Tamil, University of Ceylon. He recently returned after a D.Phil. at the University of Oxford. He specialised in Structural Linguistics.

Mr. A. C. Paul Nadar is a keen Tamil Scholar and research worker.

Mr. V. S. Mudaliyar is a retired Government Official who has made Kamba Ramayanam his main study over a period of years.

Mr. K. Nesiah is Lecturer in Education, University of Ceylon.



Lost Lemuria—Fresh Evidence ?

P. JOSEPH

Among the Tamils there has been a persistent tradition that their ancestors originally belonged to a continent, large portions of which were swallowed up by the sea. Details are given of all the countries of the lost continent with their names and areas, their mountains and rivers. Mention is also made of the specific regions that disappeared at each stage.

The tradition was committed to writing in detail after the 10th cent. A.D. by commentators on the Tamil classics. The first to record it in detail was Nakkirar in his commentary on Iraiyanar's Ahapporul. Nachchinarkkiniyar and Adiarkkunallar merely followed suit. To deny that in the course of ages the puranic tale gathered accretions would be rash; but to try and pick them out would be equally rash. This is the fate of all ancient lore. Anyway one may reasonably accept the basic fact of a land submerged by the ocean in times gone by, — which is the hard core of the tradition. To it scientists like Haeckel, Topinard and Huxley lent their support and writers like Samuel Laing (*Antiquity of Man*), Holderness (*Peoples and Problems of India*) and Scott-Elliott (*Lost Lemuria*) paid more than passing attention.

Confirmatory evidence pointing to a lost continent seems to arise from an enquiry into the original home of the dark races of the world. William Howells, in his excellent book *Mankind So Far**, does confess that the dark-skinned peoples present a formidable puzzle especially in regard to their place of origin. He has, nevertheless, made

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a bold bid against heavy odds. His study covers not only the Australian and the Negro races but also the Negrito, which is only a specialised descendant of the latter. Incidentally, the dark peoples comprise the main ethnic group, the black, which is only one of the three branches of *Homo sapiens*, the other two being the white and the yellow.

To start with the present distribution of the dark races, one notices traces of the Australians in Arabia (on the southern shore), India, Indonesia and Melanesia, while in Australia they dwell in the purest state, unmixed with any other element. The Negritos are found mixed with other elements in India, Indonesia and Melanesia and in an undisturbed state in the Philippines, the Andamans and the Congo basin. While the Negroes live mostly unmixed in the Congo forests, they have fused with other races in almost all the rest of Africa and in Indonesia as well as Melanesia.

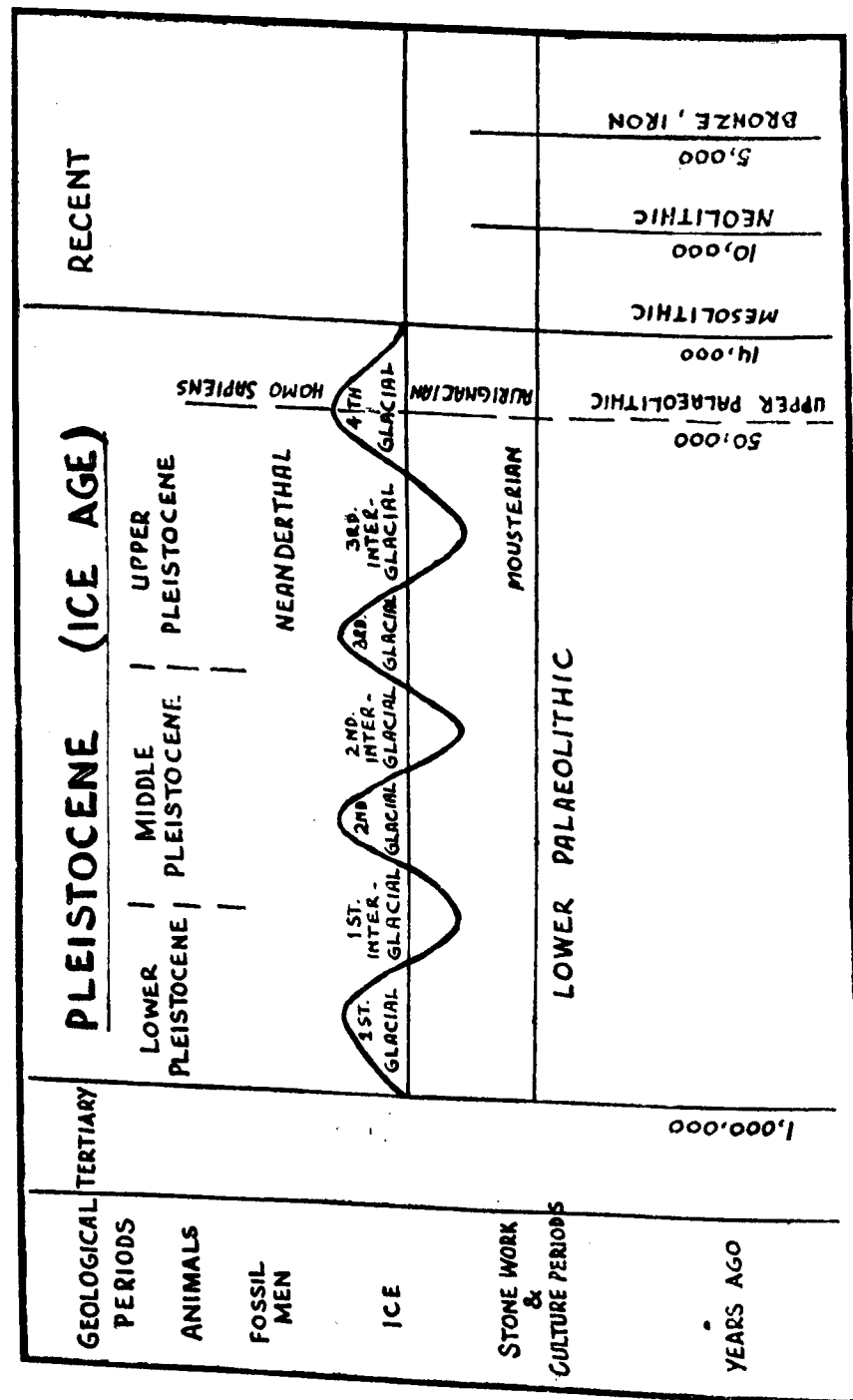
One thing that stands out prominently in the pattern of distribution of these races is that the weaker one, namely, the one in a lower stage of culture has been pushed into the most inhospitable places or refuge areas by the stronger, which in some cases has actually surrounded the weaker. For example, the Negritos live in New Guinea and the Congo completely hemmed in by the Negroes. The Australians, everywhere except in Australia, have been quite absorbed by the superior elements, for instance, both by the Negrito and the white in India, and by the Negrito, the Negro and the Mongoloid in the eastern islands.

Howells does not consider Australia as the original home of the Australian race. Neither does he think that the Negroes and the Negritos originally dwelt in Africa. In tracing the original home of these races by working back from the places where they are now found and by studying the pattern of their fusion and distribution in mixed areas, Howells arrives at the conclusion that these races started from India. He quite soundly argues that

the Australians in view of the fact that they live in a most primitive state, in fact in a palaeolithic stage of civilization, should have been the first to move out, as otherwise they would have had to penetrate through a race in a higher stage of development, which they could not have done. By the same criterion the Negritos should have preceded the Negroes, as the former are only a class of high grade hunters, whereas, the latter boast of a neolithic stage of culture.

Before we come to the time of departure of these races to their destinations, it is necessary to have an idea of the last of the geological ages, namely, the Pleistocene or the Ice age and its correlation with archaeological times. The following diagram should help.

The periods shown in the sketch have been worked out primarily for Europe, but they are applicable to the tropics as well with the proviso that the European glacial periods correspond to those of heavy inundation in the tropics. The Ice Age is really a misleading name. While the glaciers covered almost the whole of Europe, the climate was extremely cold and all living things migrated to the warm lands of the south. But when the ice sheets melted the temperature became extremely warm and flora and fauna typical of the warm belt were seen in northern Europe. Hence the Pleistocene was really an age of extremes of climate, with the extremes getting moderate as time progressed. Thus the last glacial period was not so cold as the previous ones and the last inter-glacial not so warm as its predecessors. As can be seen from the diagram, four times ice covered Europe and the warm periods in between, namely, the inter-glacials were three. At present the earth is passing through a warm stage following the fourth glaciation; whether the modern phase is an inter-glacial, only to be followed by another long cold spell, or we have seen the end of glaciation, none can say.



Now, to follow Howells in fixing the time of the migrations of the dark races, we have already noticed his contention that the Australians were the first to move out of India. They have left some traces of their journey. Eugene Dubois, who threw a bomb-shell into anthropological circles with *Pithecanthropus Erectus*, popularly known as Java man, had found also two other skulls at Wadjak in Java. They were those of a male and a female and were found in a level equivalent to the upper palaeolithic in Europe. They belonged definitely to the ancestors of the modern Australian. These Australians, hence, must have left the Asiatic mainland at least in the upper palaeolithic period, which corresponds to the final phase of the Pleistocene. Their progress was apparently slow. To reach Australia, their final resting place, they had to cross the sea quite a few times and should have done so in mesolithic times, since man acquired boats as an accessory to his travels only in the middle stone age. The Negritos should have migrated from the mainland after the Australians in the mesolithic age, as they should have had good boats indeed to cross over to the Andamans and Africa. Finally the Negroes should have followed the others in neolithic times with their garden culture.

Plausible as this story appears, it has its drawbacks and Howells himself was conscious that there was some loop-hole. First of all the Australians have to be given boats to reach their present abode, and it is rather difficult to establish their knowledge of seamanship from the kind of life which they now lead. Secondly, if the theory were true, there should have been some trace of the Negro race in India, but there is none. Howells is hard put to explain this contingency but he rather naively dismisses the whole problem by saying in effect that the Negroes left the shores of India *en masse* and thus vanished completely from the scene. Thirdly, the most serious objection to the theory is that the Negrito arrival in Africa in mesolithic and the Negro arrival in neolithic times run counter to

other evidence. They do not, for example, fit in with the fact that two Negro skulls were discovered in the cave of Grimaldi in the Riviera in upper palaeolithic levels. These skulls obviously belonged to Negroes who crossed over from northern Africa to Europe. Moreover, if the dark races arrived in Africa as late as the time allotted to them, how can the present distribution of races in the continent be explained in relation to what is known regarding the migrations of the white race? In the third inter-glacial the Neanderthals, a branch of Hominids, with their mousterian lower palaeolithic culture had spread all over Europe and north Africa and the white race of *Homo sapiens* had actually arrived by the end of the 3rd inter-glacial in Africa and Asia at the outer fringe of the Neanderthal stronghold, ready to go in numbers into Europe and establish there their superior aurignacian upper palaeolithic culture. This white race consisted chiefly of the Cro-Magnon and Combe Capelle peoples, named after the places in France where their remains were discovered. At the same time that the white race marched into Europe it descended from the north and east into Africa. If the dark races came into Africa long after the white race, they should have been responsible for a reversal of the present pattern of distribution of races in the continent. The whites should then have been in the Congo basin and the Negroes and Negritos should predominate in northern and eastern Africa, whereas actually things are the other way round. The white element occupies northern and eastern Africa largely; as we proceed towards Central Africa the zone of mixture extends as a belt almost all round the inhospitable equatorial forests, into which the Negroes and the Negritos have been pushed and where they dwell without any disturbance from the whites.

In the search for an alternative theory we are forced to acknowledge that the dark races, in view of their stages of cultural development and their distribution, could not have originated in either Asia or Africa or Australia as we

know the continents today. If we make them start from the ends of the arc, the Negritos and Negroes from Africa and the Australians from Australia, we are beset with the same difficulties as Howells encounters. We have to give boats to races who apparently did not know of their existence and we have to upset not only the mode of distribution of the races but also the relative chronology of their migrations.

While discussing the question of the original home of the American Indians, Howells avers that he is not going to fish up the lost continent of Atlantis, having no space for sheer invention. However, in discussing Indonesia he admits that it looks like a bulge of Asia, that the islands enjoy Asiatic flora and fauna, and also that they have somewhat sunk and got partly flooded and finally appear to have broken away from the mainland in late Pleistocene times. This shrewd guess regarding the extension of the Asiatic mainland in times gone by could lead to a suitable theory for the original home of the dark races. An admitted geological fact is the uplift of the Himalayas in late Tertiary, a fact which Howells and a good many other anthropologists use for fixing approximately the *point de la depart* from ape to man. This geological upset, which pushed up the world's loftiest mountain range to a height of over 29,000 ft. could hardly have happened without causing any comparable disturbance elsewhere. Perhaps, the very nature of the age that followed, namely, the Ice age, with its vast changes of temperature in the north and its huge periodical inundations in the tropics, was a direct consequence of the Himalayan uplift. In the Tertiary a land mass could have connected Asia, Africa and Australia. It would have sunk as the Himalayas shot up, and would have got submerged by the sea as the inundations poured unceasingly and as the sea-level rose. Apparently then the islands of the Indian ocean and of Oceania came into existence, and the shores of Africa, Asia and Australia came to take more or less the shape they have at present.

The Indian Ocean is admittedly young in relation to the Atlantic and the Pacific and not so deep as the other two. The land bridge, therefore, that once joined the three continents involved must have ceased to exist in Pleistocene times. Of course, the process of sinking of land and invasion by sea was gradual, though not quite continuous, for the deluges occurred with three interruptions.

There is another angle to the problem. Were the waters now locked up in the polar and the mountain glaciers to be released, the sea, geologists estimate, would rise by about 200 ft. During the Pleistocene, at the height of the last glaciation, i.e. the fourth glacial, the sea-level, as compared with the present day, was approximately 300 ft. lower. It must have been far lower still in the first glacial, since glaciation was severer as we go backwards. A very much larger land mass, therefore, must have been visible at the beginning of the Ice Age than subsequently. As glaciation became less intense with the progress of time, more and more land was getting submerged. This process was inherent in the very pattern of Pleistocene glaciation and, hence, went on quite independent of, though vastly aided by, the Himalayan uplift as well as the tropical inundations.

If the dark races lived in the land that was sinking, they would have gone forward to places where they now are; and obviously they went by land. No doubt the Australians, being the most primitive, would have left first. It can even be conceded that while these changes were taking place the Australians were already to a large extent in the places in which they are now found. They would have been followed by the Negritos and finally the Negroes. On this hypothesis the existence of the Negritos in the Andamans, completely isolated, is easily understood. Here apparently was a batch that was caught napping while the sea was closing in on them all round. The total isolation of the Andaman Negritos

right in the middle of the ocean actually gives added point to the plausibility of the theory of a lost land area. Moreover, with the suggestion put forward here to postulate that the Negroes did not proceed towards India but only to Africa and Melanesia involves no difficulty.

As regards the timing of the appearance of the dark races in Africa, they would have been there before the end of the third inter-glacial well ahead of the arrival of the whites in northern and eastern Africa. The Negritos should have preceded the Negroes who must have been in a higher stage of cultural development to have been able to surround the former. The whites having been in a yet higher stage of culture pushed the Negroes and the Negritos into Central Africa, thus causing the present pattern of racial distribution. At that time the Negroes could not have attained a neolithic stage of culture; that apparently developed *in situ* much later.

Incidentally, there has obviously been a confusion between the tradition of Lost Lemuria and the one regarding the Tamil Sangams or Academic periods which were marked by lands being swallowed up by the sea. The Sangam tradition too was put down in writing after the 10th cen. A.D. by the commentators on the old classics. The events covered by the two traditions can have no possible connection in point of time. While the continent south of India was lost in palaeolithic times, the washing away of the sangams by the sea must have been comparatively recent. Palaeolithic man's culture was hardly more than rudimentary. He lived in caves and gathered food. His mind was immature and language elementary. None can seriously maintain that man was advanced enough then to produce works of such literary excellence as would pass scrutiny by a board of censors. Cultivation of literature and allied arts and crafts postulates the existence of special social classes that did not directly produce food and that, therefore, could be maintained by

the community only when the economy had so advanced as to bear the burden. That stage is noticed among ancient peoples only when they had started living in cities during the bronze age. It is then that we find written records. Some writers even today affirm that the first Tamil Sangam at least was washed away during the Ice Age. The cause of Tamil is not served by making claims that are palpably unsound. The greatness and antiquity of Tamil literature can be fully assured without pushing it down to such dizzy depths as the Pleistocene.

The trouble with the hypothesis of a lost land is that it side-tracks the issue; instead of explaining things it postpones the explanation until such time as it can be tested by the necessary scientific data. It, nevertheless, opens the way to look at the dispersion of early man in a new light and is calculated to stimulate interest in the study of Geology, Palaeontology, Oceanography, Marine Archaeology and allied sciences, specially as applied to Africa, Asia and Australia and the ocean in between, — branches of study all too meagrely indulged in so far. Meanwhile a probe into the folk-lore of the Negroes, the Negritos and the Australians might yield results about an old abode from which their forebears fled before an on-rushing sea. Such a finding would admirably confirm the basic element of the Tamil puranic tradition. In any case the kind of indirect evidence on Lost Lemuria, thrown up by an enquiry starting from the present pattern of distribution of the dark races, should by no means be unwelcome.

The Need for Linguistics

V. I. SUBRAMONIAM

Linguistics is not altogether a new science to Indians. It is simply a modern grammar, founded on certain objective principles. Linguists of the Western world consider an Indian, Panini, as their fore-runner. They owe Panini the concept of zero in linguistic analysis and the algebraic brevity which characterize their linguistic descriptions. Linguistics unlike old grammars is not intuitive. The grammarian of olden days did not explain how he arrived at the various sets of rules. It may have been by trial and error. But in all these years we have faithfully followed his prescriptions not knowing how he has prescribed them. For the first time in the history of grammar, linguistics demonstrates clearly the objective method of evolving a grammar. In this method, the linguist does not imitate or project one grammatical system on another language, but arrive at a grammar according to the nature of the language.

In the U.S.A. this science has acquired an unprecedented importance in recent years. The Government, particularly the Defence Department of that country, encourages linguistic studies for two reasons. They feel that the army personnel should know foreign languages for effective contacts with foreigners. The teaching programmes designed by linguists being easy, they are immensely popular with soldiers. The second reason is that linguistic principles help the secret service men to break the secret codes which are important for military purposes. Another institution which helps in the growth of linguistic studies is the Church. Still there are quite a number of tribal languages in distant jungles of Africa and South

America or Australia, unknown to scholars. Evangelists in America have a strange attraction towards these people, and most of them go there after a sound training in linguistics. Invariably a tape recorder operated on battery would also accompany them. They establish contacts with the natives and lure them through a contact man to speak into the microphone. Slowly and steadily these missionaries pile up words of the strange language and evolve a grammar. They devise a script also if that language did not have one before. The very first thing they do after this is to bring the word of God to the people by translating the Bible. The third institution which promotes linguistic studies in U.S.A. is the University. It feels that the old type English grammars in use in schools are a result of the projection of Greek and Latin grammars. They are not based on actual facts found in the English language. Teachers attribute the unnaturalness of the grammatical categories and irregularities in the English grammars to their imitation of Greek grammatical models.

It is also said that an equal importance is given to linguistic studies in Russia as in the U.S.A.

Linguistics though greatly developed in the 20th century, has roots in the 18th and 19th centuries. It has grown out of comparative and historical studies of languages. The chief contributors to its theoretical development are mostly from America, Switzerland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia and Russia. It has developed a rigorous method for describing languages useful for further linguistic research and technological advancement.

What then is its descriptive method? A linguist to start with, undergoes training in certain basic courses. He is taught the different set up of languages, their sounds and their morphemes, their words and their grammatical categories. He may not know these languages in the sense we now use that term i.e. to read and write but he will

know their structures. To become a linguist it is not necessary to know many languages. Once it was so believed but not now. One fundamental idea which is drilled into a linguist is that the structure of each language differs from the other and the grammar of one cannot be extended blindly to another. He will have none of the common phobia that a language other than his cannot be comprehended. The Swahili language of distant Africa or the Maori language of New Zealand tribes form as much an important subject for his study as English or Sanskrit. To him no language is superior to the other and no dialect inferior to the other. Sometimes an unimportant dialect spoken by a few on the fringes of a language-area may throw light on a linguistic riddle presented by a fully developed language.

His main concern is the spoken language at a particular time level. Even in his analysis of written language he adopts the same technique on the assumption that it was also once spoken.

The linguist with his training and background goes to a language community, usually speaking a strange language and selects a man of clear speech as a sample for his study. He speaks through a contact man in the initial stages and records the basic words like face, nose, hands etc. of the new language. Usually he carries with him a tape recorder to record at once the words with their meaning. From the tape he transcribes those words in a special script called phonetic script. This is a special kind of script devised by the International Phonetic Association for recording speech forms as accurately as possible. The recorder provides him with certain advantages for transcription. He can play and replay the tapes to verify his transcription without recourse to the human speaker. The human speaker might hesitate and sometimes even refuse to repeat the same word several times. The repeated forms of the human speaker, may sometimes vary and

thus cause embarrassment to the investigator. If the nature of the place is such that a tape recorder could not be carried then the linguist takes down the words *in situ* in phonetic scripts. Thus he gathers a fairly large number of words and sentences and arranges them in the necessary order for further analysis.

Not all sounds recorded in the phonetic script are meaningful in that language. There may be sounds which are produced by the speaker due to physical indisposition. There may be sounds which can be displaced by another word *pavaḷam* — coral which can be pronounced as *pavaḷam*. Still there are sounds which occur only in certain positions. To illustrate this the famous English phonetician, Daniel Jones refers to the Tamil sound *k*. Pronounce clearly and naturally the following Tamil words and see how the *k* sounds in *kaarru* — wind, *nakam* — nail, *tanku* — to stay, *paakam* — division, *aruki* — rare. If you hear minutely the sound of *k* when you pronounce the five words given, *k*¹ is without voice i.e. there is no humming noise when you pronounce with your ears closed. In *nakam* for *k*² the air stream does not stop but comes out with a friction noise and it is voiceless. In *tanku* — to stay, *k*³ is voiced and the breath stops. In *paakam* — division *k*⁴ has friction with voicing. In *aruki* — rare, *k*⁵ is also a fricative but distinctly fronter than *k*² and voiceless. All these five sounds are actually altered forms of one sound. Note their positions of occurrence and environments. Each one is different from the other and no two sound segments occur in the same environment. *k*³ occurs after the nasal in the medial position. *k*² occurs after monosyllables containing short vowels and *k*⁴ occurs after monosyllables containing long vowels. *k*⁵ occurs before the front vowel “i” and *k*¹ in other places not specified above. All these sounds can be written by one symbol for they are actually one sound in different manifestations. That sound is called phoneme and its manifestations are called allophones or related sounds. No

alphabet is and can be phonetic. If it is so then it will be quite unmanageable for human beings as a writing system. If you were to provide a letter each for every sound we utter, the letters of our alphabet would be innumerable. It is not a defect if an alphabet is not phonetic. But it would be a serious defect if an alphabet were not phonemic i.e. if it did not represent all meaningful sounds of a language. When a linguist says “meaningful sounds” he includes also the pitch level of the sentence, the stress etc. Here is an English sentence, “He is a boy.” If it were a statement, the pitch level would be uniform until the last word and then drop below. The same sentence could be converted into a question if the falling pitch were raised in the final word. If you listened to a Chinese you will observe he speaks his language in a sing-song fashion. It is called tone. In their language it has meaning. The pitch, stress and tone which play a significant part in languages were not taken seriously by old grammarians: but linguistics does.

After discovering the phonemes of a language the linguist proceeds to the next level of analysis called morphology. In this he tries to find out the sequence of phonemes which are meaningful in that language. The method he adopts is similar in nature to the previous analysis. He usually arranges the words having similar shape and meaning into paradigms like walks, walked, will walk, walking (participle), walking (gerund). In this paradigm a part of each word has similar shape and similar meaning. It is the portion up to *k* — to step slowly. But, walks — step with reference to present time, is different from walked — step with reference to past time by its indication of past and present time. When you subtract that which is similar in form and meaning in the two words, -s and -ed remain denoting present and past time respectively. In other words, the linguist looks for the same item having identical meaning in the group of words and cuts them. Thus he gathers all meaningful items of a language.

Applying the same principle he followed in grouping sounds into phonemes, he groups these word-bits into item or morpheme and related items or allomorphs. In morphology the linguist limits himself to the analysis of words. He talks about bits of words and their relation. But in syntax which is the next level of analysis he deals with the inter-relations of words. In syntax the Americans have not advanced very much. There is a school of thought in that country which does not differentiate between morphology and syntax. The early Tamil grammarian Tolkaappiar too, seems to have had such a view.

This completes the grammar of the language. A necessary concomitant to linguistic analysis is a lexicon. Usually it takes two years for a linguist to produce a good grammar.

The science of linguistics is not limited to describing languages only. It includes other studies. Description is only one part of linguistics. Other branches are study of the language of children, aphasics and analysis of the language which is in contact with another. The development of the language of children throws light on the development of phonemes and morphemes of the language. The study of the language of aphasics enlightens the nature of language in its dissolution. It is said in aphasics the manner of language dissolution is just the reverse of the language acquisition in children. The last branch of linguistic study is about the change a language undergoes when it comes into contact with another language. Malayalam spoken in Kasarkode is different from Malayalam spoken in Trivandrum. It is mostly because of its contact with Konkani and Tulu and probably also with Kanarese. Changes in the history of languages, to a great extent, are due to the influence of other languages through direct or indirect contact.

These four branches constitute linguistics and it is unnecessary to say here that a wide range of knowledge,

training in allied disciplines and a particular kind of personal capability are essential for a linguist. This is also an expensive branch of study. One may legitimately ask here whether such a study is worth its expense. Indeed it is. Its varied uses will justify the need for recognizing and encouraging this study.

A general knowledge of linguistics will create an atmosphere of language tolerance in our country. A professional linguist or a dilettante cannot have any linguistic narrowness just as a medical doctor cannot distinguish between his patients say, on the basis of caste. We have to-day developed a secret pride for our language. It is good if it does not lead us to look down on other languages. But in actuality it does. Linguists treat all languages as media of communication and their preference for a language is only on the basis of its effectiveness in communication at maximum efficiency and minimum cost of labour or money.

Some of the prevalent conceptions about language such as the concept of purity of language will vanish by the spread of linguistic knowledge. No linguist will think that languages can exist without borrowing. It is the inherent nature of languages to borrow and there is no language known to man which has not borrowed.

Translation of official papers and scientific treatises has become a necessity in India. Human translations are slow and cost heavily. Machine translations attempted in the western countries have as their basis an accurate and thorough description of the language to be translated and the language into which it is translated.

With the aid of the sound changes that occur in the basic vocabulary like 'face' 'nose' and 'hand' in related languages, a linguist in America has devised a method of determining the age of languages. This method commonly known as Lexico-statistics is now being tested widely in

that country. It can throw some light on the history of our languages.

Language is a reliable marker of culture. The race migrations on the basis of language evidence have been traced fairly successfully by American linguists particularly, in the countries speaking the Malayo-polynesian languages. This procedure may serve some useful purpose in ethnological and historical research in our country.

To enhance the effectiveness of communication linguistic knowledge is extensively made use of in the western countries. It is said that the Voice of America in the Czech language is very popular because even in minute details it is very near to the standard speech of Czechoslovakia. Our radio organisation can take this hint and make their relays more effective at home and abroad.

In coded communication the code consisting of symbols play a large part in the effective transmission of the message. The organization of these codes are largely based on linguistic principles. To break these codes also linguistic knowledge is necessary.

The success in the treatment of stuttering, loss of word power and difficulty of speech depends to a great measure on how the individuals react to their respective languages. Knowledge of linguistics is as essential for the physician who treats these diseases as his training in medicine.

Among the various uses of linguistics, its utility in language teaching stands foremost. The teaching methods devised by linguists have been tested in other countries and found efficient.

By this method, the teaching of any foreign language is organized in the following way. Let us take the teaching of Russian. A good linguist, making use of his own or others' analysis will explain to the class phonemes, morphemes and word order of the Russian languages. In some

cases this linguist may not know to converse fluently in that language. This does not affect the efficiency of his teaching provided he knows the nature of the language well. This class of his is supplemented by a class for drill in which a native Russian will be asked to give words and sentences from his language which will be imitated and memorized by the students. This drill class generally will be for six hours per week and the linguist teacher will guide it. It is called the mim-mem method. A student spending three to four hours in daily lessons could speak Russian as naturally as the native Russian and write fluently within the short period of nine months. Is it not well worth considering for our schools and colleges where we currently face an acute problem of teaching English and Hindi ?

This method can be extended even for the teaching of the mother tongue where the dialect differences are pronounced. The Malayalam taught in schools at Trivandrum is very near to the dialect spoken by the members of the Nayar community. A student of the Pulaya community having a distinct dialect of Malayalam would carry over his dialect habits when he speaks his school dialect. If the teacher is a linguist he can easily help the student to divest him from his native speech habits. This is possible by undertaking an analysis of the speech of the Pulaya and finding out the difference in the phonemic and morphemic set-up in that dialect. The differing elements would indicate the spot where the young Pulaya student may experience difficulty in adjustment. The teacher can explain to the student the causes of his difficulties and the method of correction. Linguistics thus holds a great promise for teaching.

In a country where there are 14 major languages and over 450 dialects, with a constitution assuring protection and preservation of all languages and cultures, is not the popularization of linguistics a matter of necessity ?

The Suffix 'Cin' (சின்) in Cankam Tamil

A. SATHASIVAM.

To a student of Tamil Philology the study of the verbal forms in Caṅkam Tamil and the changes which have occurred in the subsequent periods is very fascinating. The inflexional forms in which verbs occur in modern Tamil are very different from the forms in which these verbs functioned in the earlier periods. The modern verbs indicate time with the help of certain particles which are easily separated from the root and of other particles functioning as expletives, i.e., those which denote gender, etc. But it is not so easy to separate such functional particles in the verbs as employed during the Caṅkam period. The past adverbial participial forms of today were the finite forms in those early days. This can be proved by analysing some of the verbal forms used at that time. In this brief article, I propose to take the form which ended in *cin* (சின்) and indicate in what manner the finite verbs functioned in Caṅkam Tamil.

When we analyse the various verbal forms of that period and classify them, we find that all the verbs may be classified under two heads: Those roots forming the past adverbial participle in *-u* such as √ *vā* > *vantu* (வந்து) √ *cey* > *ceytu* (செய்து) may be said to belong to the First conjugation. Those roots forming the past adverbial participle in *-i-* such as √ *āṭ* > *āṭi* (ஆடி) √ *kūv* > *kūvi* (கூவி) may be said to belong to the Second conjugation.

But some of the verbs in the Caṅkam works had also the inflexional terminations similar to the expletives which

are used in modern Tamil verbs. The verbs ending in *-cin* may be cited as example of the verbs which took particles at the end. The Tamil grammarians did not include *-cin* in the list of the personal terminations. The author of *Tolkāppiyam* includes it in the list of the expletives of the second person:

மியா இக மோ மதி இகும் சின் என்னும்
ஆவயின் ஆறும் முன்னிலை அசைச்சொல்.

(Tol. Col. Cū. 276).

But in the following *cūttiram*, he states that *-cin* may also be used with the first and the third persons.

அவற்றுள்,
இகுமும் சின்னும் ஏனை இடத்தொடும்
தகுநிலையுடைய என்மனார் புலவர்.

(Tol. Col. Cū. 277).

It should be noted that the author of *Nannūl* includes *-cin* in the list of the expletives of all the three persons (*Cūttiram* 373).

To examine the functions of *-cin* in the verbs of Caṅkam Tamil, it will not be out of place to examine the *-min* termination which often appears as the termination of the second person imperative plural verbs. The close affinity between the expletive *-cin* and the termination *-min* may be noted. *Puṇarmin* (Narr. 224) is an example of verbs ending in *-min*. This form may be split into 'puṇarm' and 'in', i.e., *puṇarum* > *puṇarm* + *in* on the analogy of *puṇarumār* (Narr. 304) > *puṇarmār* (Pari. 11-67). In this case the Mas-Fem. termination *-ār* is suffixed to the Old Tamil verb ending in '*-um*'.

puṇarum + *ār* = *puṇarumār*

Similarly the second person termination *-in* is suffixed to the Old Tamil verb ending in *-um*.

Ex. : $\bar{e}rrum + in = \bar{e}rrumin$ (Patir. 2-8).
 $utavum + in = utavumin$ (Patir 2-8).

Thus when we analyse the $-m\bar{a}r$ and $-min$ ending forms, it is clear that $-ar$ and $-in$ are the personal terminations of the Third person Mas-Fem. plural and the Second person plural respectively. The initial $-m$ of $-m\bar{a}r$ and $-min$ is not part of the personal terminations but the final letter of the Old Tamil verbal termination $-um$.

From what we have pointed out in the previous paragraph, it is clear that $-in$ is a personal termination of the Second person. Now let us compare the following two words ending in $-in$

Ex. : 1. $utavumin$ (Patir.; 2-8).

Ex. : 2. $vanticin$ (Aimk. ; 175).

In Ex. 1, in is part of the termination $-min$

In Ex. 2, in is part of the expletive $-cin$.

According to Tolkappiyar both the termination $-min$ and the expletive $-cin$ refer to the second person. Since $-min$ could be split into '(u)m' and ' in ' it is likely that $-cin$ also consists of two parts : $-c$ and $-in$. We know that $-in$ is the termination denoting the Second person. If that is so, then the letter $-c$ which forms the initial element of the form $-cin$ must have been a separate particle which might have been a part of another particle which had come in between the base and the termination $-in$.

It is interesting to note that the commentators of the Caṅkam texts and of *Tolkāppiyam* refer to two forms $-cin$ and $-icin$ while the grammarians, both Tolkappiyar and Pavaṇanti refer to only one form $-cin$. Naccinarkkiniyar commenting on cūttiram 297 of *Tolkāppiyam* says : "என முற்றுச்சொல் சின் அசைக்கண் படுதலும், கொள்க." While commenting on the very next cūttiram (298) he says : "காதனம்மா நீ மற்றிசினே என இசிலும்" Thus

Naccinarkkiniyar refers to both $-cin$ and $-icin$. Mr. Auvai Duraiswamippillai commenting on the form ' $perricin$ ' (Puram 11) says that ' $-icin$ is an expletive of the second person. Here it is used in the Third person'.¹ The late Dr. Saminathaiyar observes : " $icin$ is generally used with the verbs of the first person in such forms as $vaṇipāṭal$ cūṇṭ $icin$ (K.T. 11) and $-cin$ is generally used with the verbs of the second persons in such forms as ' $urait $icin$ ' (K.T. 63).² It is obvious that Dr. Saminathaiyar also admits two forms $-cin$ and $-icin$. Now one may ask where did this "i" of $-icin$ come from ? A study of the $-cin$ (or $icin$) forms occurring in the Caṅkam texts may prove an answer to this question.$

There occur altogether sixty-three verbal forms with the suffix $-cin$, in 130 places in the Caṅkam Texts : The following are the texts in which these forms occur : Akanānūru, Kuruntokai, Aimkurunūru, Kuṇṇippāṭu, Maturai-k-kāñci, Narrinai, Patirruppattu, Paripāṭal, Perumpāṇāruppāṭai and Puranānūru. Of the 63 verbal forms with the suffix $-cin$, 46 forms denote the past tense : 9 are in the imperative ; 6 forms are used both in the indicative past and the imperative ; one form is a negative verb and in the remaining one form $-cin$ is suffixed to another expletive $-maru$. An interesting feature of these forms with the suffix $-cin$ is that not all of them are used as finites ; some are nominals. The finites mainly refer to the first person singular indicative past and the second person singular imperative. A few forms refer to the third person singular, i.e., masculine, feminine and neuter singular past. Thus it is evident that those verbs with suffix $-cin$ occurring in the first and the third persons singular indicative refer to the past tense only, whether in the indicative or the imperative, the $-cin$ finites do not occur in the plural.

¹ Purananuru, Vol. I, p. 34, Madras, 1952.

² Kuruntokai — nularaycci, p. 102, Madras, 1937.

The structure of the nominal forms is important. -cin appears in the past nominal forms both in the singular and the plural of the third person. In such nominals -cin is suffixed to the verbal form together with the personal terminations -ōn, ōl and ōr.

Ex : ōn : pukarnticinōn (புகழ்ந்திசினேன்) (Akam 210)
 ōl : pirinticinōl (பிரிந்திசினேள்) (K.T. 336)
 ōr : kaṇṭicinōr (கண்டிசினேர்) (Aimk 85)

In these forms, it is likely, the expletive -cin and the personal terminations (ōn, ōl or ōr) are later additions. If it were so, then it follows that *pukarntu*, *piriṇṭu* and *kaṇṭu* respectively, are the original past finites. Compare the following past finites : *aṇṭicin* (K.T. 247) ; *vanticin* (Puram 125). The fact that the author of *Tolkāppiyam* mentions -cin as an expletive, is itself enough to prove that 'aṇṭu' (cin) and *vantu* (cin) are the past finite verbs of the Old Tamil. Naccinarkkiniyar commenting on Cū. 297 of *Tolkāppiyam* says :

‘தண்ணென்றிசினே பெருந்துறைப் புனலே’
 ‘விசும்பிழி தோகைச் சீர்போன் றிசினே’ என்பன
 தண்ணென்றது, போன்றது, என
 முற்றுச்சொல் ‘சின்’ அசைக்கண் படுதலும் கொள்க.

Here Naccinarkkiniyar evidently splits *enricin* and *pōnricin* into 'enru' and 'cin', 'pōnru' and 'cin' respectively. He interprets the participle 'enru' as finite 'enratu' and the participle 'pōnru' as finite 'pōnratu'. Again there is ample evidence in the Caṅkam texts to show that the modern participial forms were then used with finite meaning :

Ex : Vayalai - c - ceṇkoṭi - p - piṇaiyal taii - c -
 Cev - viral civanta cēyari maṇai - k - kaṇ
 Cev - vāy - k - kuṇumakaḷ inaiya
 Ev - vāy mun ninru makiṇa nin tērē
 (Aimkurunūru 52)

வயலைச் சொங்கொடிப் பிணையல் தைஇ
 செவ்விரல் சிவந்த சேயரி மழைக்கண்
 செவ்வாய் க் குறுமகள் இனைய
 எவ்வாய் முன்னின்று மகிழ்ந நின் தேரே.

In this verse 'ninru' (having stood) is used to mean 'ninratu' (it stood). Thus the forms used in the Caṅkam Texts as past finite do not create any difficulty in analysing their structure. The only peculiarity as regards the "u" ending past finite verb is that the final "u" is elided when -cin is suffixed and its place is taken by -i.

Ex : vantu + cin = vant(u) - i - cin

It should be noted that 'vantu' like *ninru* as in the above poem, could function as finite without the addition of the -cin suffix. This expletive -cin is suffixed to the past finite for phonological reasons and it has no morphological value as such.

The structure of the forms used as imperative is important for these forms exhibit the character of the Old Tamil verb more clearly. As stated earlier, the same form with the suffix -cin may be used in the past tense or as imperative. The following six forms are used in the Caṅkam texts either as indicative past finites or imperative second singular : *kaṇṭicin*, *enricin*, *kēṭṭicin*, *cūṇṭicin*, *ānricin*, *vanticin*.

Nir kāṇku vanticin (Puram 125) means, "I came to see you". Here *vanticin* (I came) refers to first person singular past finite. The same form is used as imperative in 'men mela-v-iyali *vanticin* vāṇiyō maṇantai' (Aimk 175)

(மென் மெல வியலி வந்திசின் வாழியோ மடந்தை)

meaning : "My love of gentle gait ! Do come !". Here *vanticin* (Do come !) is in the imperative second singular. When *vanticin* is used as imperative, it should be split into 'vanti' and 'cin', cin being an expletive and 'vanti' a

second singular imperative verb. Forms ending in -i- are extensively used in the Caṅkam texts as second singular imperatives. Ex.: *enri* (Puram 300); *uṇṭi* (Kali, 85). This imperative form 'vanti' should be split into 'vantu' and 'i'. Here the second singular termination -i- is suffixed to 'vantu' a past finite verb. In the Caṅkam age imperative verbs were formed by adding the imperative terminations to the past finites. But the forms used as past finites, originally did not possess any tense sign in them. The particle -t- denotes the past tense by accident. It may also be noted that in such present-future finites such as *ariti* (Puram 10: Narr. 106), *taṇiti* (Puram 10), *uraiti* (Aimk 333), etc. the particle -t- has no morphological value at all. The only peculiarity in the structure of 'vanti' type forms is that the -t- is nasalized. In the Caṅkam language, the principle of nasalization is associated only with exhibiting the character of the verb as weak, and in no way should it be interpreted as showing the tense. This principle may be illustrated by the comparison of the following three forms:

vanti (cin) (Aimk 175) Come!

Vantī (Kali. 85) Come!

Vantai (Kali. 63) Come!

All these three forms are in the imperative second singular. Of these, the form *vantī* is a compound verb and the component elements are 'vantu' and 'ī'; ī is a verbal root used as imperative: It has lost its meaning 'to give' and here functions as auxiliary suffixed to the form 'vantu'.* Similar forms are *cenrī* (Akam 46; Narr. 360; Kali 79; 91; 93; 110) *Kantī*, (Pari 6-64; Kali 91), *Koṇṭī* (Kali. 147), *Kēṭṭī* (Kali. 47) *ceppī* (Kali. 93, 83). In all such -ī- imperatives the stem is very clear.

* This subject is dealt in detail in my unpublished D. Phil thesis, "The Structure of the Tamil Verb" presented to the University of Oxford, 1956.

The structure of the form 'vantai' is similar to that of 'vanti!'. It should be split into 'vantu' and 'ai'; ai is the second person singular termination as much as the -i- in vanti. *Kaṭam pūṇṭu orukāl nī vantai* (Kali 63).

(கடம் பூண்டு ஒருகால் நீ வந்தை)

Here *vantai* is used in the sense 'come here!'. Similar forms are *kaṇṭai* (Kali 105; 109; 110; 64; 103). *Uraittai -k-kāṇ* (Kali. 38), etc. In the language of the Caṅkam texts one type of optative is formed by suffixing the optative termination -ka to the old imperative forms ending in -ai.

Eg: *Marantai + ka = marantaikka* (மறந்தைக்க) (Kali. 27).

cenrai + ka = cenraikka (சென்றைக்க) (K.T. 383)

From the above analysis, it is clear that during the Caṅkam age, indicatives, imperatives and optatives were formed from the same stems such as *vantu* (வந்து), *kaṇṭu* (கண்டு), *cenru* (சென்று).

The following forms occur in the Caṅkam texts:

Past tense: Finites:

First Person: Singular:

Enricin (K. T. 217; Narr 55; 61), *kaṇṭicin* (Narr. 126; 177; 195. Puram 22), *kēṭṭicin* (Puram 150; Narr. 115), *vanticin* (Puram 125; 373; 139; 369; 371; patir 2-5; 2-6; 5-1; 6-4; 7-1; 7-4; 9-2; 9-10; Narr 50), *uvanticin* (K.T. 351), *maranticin* (Akam 38), *arinticin* (K.T. 247; Narr. 278); *teḷinticin* (Akam 466), *ayarnticin* (Akam 147; Puram 149), *paṭarnticin* (Puram 164), *kūrnticin* (K.T. 216), *āynticin* (K.T. 262), *cūrnticin* (Akam 76; K.T. 11), *anricin* (Kuri 34; Puram 151), *maruṇṭicin* (Akam 384).

Palitticin (Akam 303). Both pēṭurricin (Akam 135) and paiyānticin (Narr. 114) are compounds.

Third Person : Singular :

Mas : cenricin (Narr. 394), perricin (Puram 11).

Fem : Perricin (Puram 11)

Neu : pōnricin (Narr. 240 ; Amk. 74).

taṇ-ṇ-enricin (Amk. 73) is a compound.

Past nominals :

Third Person :

Mas : pukaṇticipinōn (Akam 210)

Fem : pirinticipinōl (K.T. 336)

iranticipinōl (Akam 306).

Mas : Fem : plural :

Kaṇṭicipinōr (Aimk 85), payanticipinōr (Puram 137), maranticipinōr (Narr. 118) iranticipinōr (Narr. 302), ciṇanticipinōr (Narr. 337), nayanticipinōr (Akam 103 ; Perum 425), pirinticipinōr (Narr. 241 ; K.T. 94 ; 350 ; Akam 183 ; 197), arinticipinōr (K.T. 18 ; 267), aṭainticipinōr (K.T. 268), uṇarn-
ticipinōr (Puram 365), māynticipinōr (Puram 27), cenricinōr (Narr. 314 ; Akam 34) akanricinōr (Akam 311).

Marutticipinōr (Patir 5-5), paṭaitticipinōr (Puram 18), munṭicipinōr (Patir 7-9) is formed from the foot of the second conjugation. So rarely the roots of the second conjugation form -cin verbs :

munti + cin + ōr = munticipinōr.

This example clearly shows that the expletive is -cin and not -i-cin.

Dat : perricinōrkku (Puram 125), pirinticipinōrkku (K.T. 35), urainticipinōrkku (Akam 200), uyarnticipinōrkku (Puram 214), puṇarnticipinōrkku (Akam 367), akanricinōrkku (K.T. 127), āṇṭicipinōrkku (Puram

357), uṭarricinōrkku (Patir 8-2) is formed from the causative root utarr :

uṭarri + cin + ōr + kku.

Imperative :

All the imperative forms in -cin are used only in reference to the second person singular.

Kaṇṭicipin (Akam 99 ; 369 ; Aimk 106 ; 105 ; Narr. 35, 177 ; 202 ; K.T. 112 ; 220 ; 359 ; 249 ; 240), pūṇṭicipin (Akam 7), enricin (Akam 375 ; Narr. 99), kēṭṭicipin (Matu 208 ; Narr. 78 ; K.T. 30 ; Akam 138, Aimk 59), nōrricin (Puram 202), vanticin (Aimk 175 ; K.T. 367), terinticipin (Akam 281), cūṇṭicipin (Akam 77), nuvanricin (Narr. 200), ānricin (Akam 69 ; 237 ; 267, Narr. 128 ; 286 ; 332 ; Aimk 430).

Uraitticipin (K.T. 63 ; 302 ; Akam 191 ; 200 ; 314 ; Narr. 103 ; 176) vaṭitticipin (Puram 180), naṭatticipin (Puram 255). The radical vowel -ā is not shortened in kānticipin (Akam 164 ; 376).

kān > kaṇ + tu = kaṇtu + i + cin = kanticin

kaṇṭicipin > kāṇṭicipin

Thus the root 'kaṇ' has two imperative forms :

ārricin (Pari 8-79) is the only imperative form formed from the root of the second conjugation.

-cin also appears in the following contexts :

It is suffixed to the negative verb anru : anru + cin = anricin (Puram 289). This expletive -cin appears suffixed to another expletive 'marru' :

marru + cin = marricin (Narr. 272).

In the following contexts 'ānku' the particle of similarity meaning 'like' is compounded with -cin forms which are in the past tense :

vaḷarnticipinānku (Amk. 44)

miḷirnticipinānku (Puram 130).

The Problem of the Life and the Age of Kamban—(Continued)

A. C. PAUL NADAR

III

THE EMPIRE OF THE LATER CHOLAS AND KAMBAN

It is relevant at this stage to consider what the champions of the 12th century have to say about the subject of Kamban and the empire of the later Cholas.

Prof. K. A. N. Sastry holds that Kamban belongs to the end of the 12th century, the period of its decline. This is what he says as to the reactions of Kamban to the empire :—

“Kamban imports into his narration the colour of his own time and place. Thus his description of Kosala is an idealised account of the features of Cola country, and when he wants to emphasise the glory of moonlight, he brings it home to his readers by saying that it spreads everywhere like the fame of his patron Sadayan of Vennai”

(*The Cholas* — Second Edition, page 671).

The instances the learned professor adduces to show the colour of his time and place do not necessarily apply to the period of the Empire. The country whose features are idealised in the description of Kosala is none other than the land of the Kaveri, which was always the homeland of the Cholas. On the other hand the empire covered the whole of South India at one stage and even in its decline it extended, nominally at least, over the whole of modern Tamilnad, Kerala and Nellore in Andhra Pradesh. The alleged time and colour of Kamban's time refers only to the time of

This article is continued from *Tamil Culture* Vol. VI, No. 2 page 112.

Sadayan, about whose time we have already discussed and pointed out that the earliest inscriptional evidence about Sadayan belongs to the pre-empire days in the 9th century. (Vide p. 111, Vol. VI, No. 2 *Tamil Culture*).

Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai cites the stanza beginning with “புவி புகழ் சென்னி பேரமலன்” with the reading “புவி புகழ் சென்னி போரமலன்” and other readings such as “சென்னி யோர் புகழும் பொற்புடை சென்னியோனமலன் தொல்புகழ்.” He thinks “அமலன்” is not applicable to any one particular Chola ruler. But he adds that the description “புவி புகழ் சென்னி போரமலன்” may apply to Vikrama or Kulothunga II, or Rajaraja II (1118-1163) in the age of the poet “Ottakuthan”. The reason that he gives is : கம்பன் காலத்திலிருந்த அரசன் உலகம் முழுவதும் போற்றும் பேரரசனாகவும், சிறந்த போர் வீரனாகவும், பெரும் கொடைவள்ளலாகவும் இருந்தான் என்பது இச்செய்யுளால் புலனாகிறது. It means that the Chola “Emperor” of Kamban's time must have been respected throughout the world as a valiant warrior and a generous patron. So he thinks that the term “amalan” is applicable to any one of the above said three emperors. The description of the Chola ruler as “Emperor” “பேரரசன்” is his own wishful thinking. There is nothing in the text to warrant it. After all, the description “புவி புகழ் சென்னி போரமலன்” meaning the war-like Chola praised throughout the world, is a poetic expression similar to Sundaramurthy Nayanar's “கடல் குழந்த உலகெல்லாம் காக்கின்ற பெருமான் காடவர்கோன் கழற்சிங்கன்” describing a Pallava ruler as the protector of the whole world surrounded on all sides by seas. It is interesting to note that the sheet anchor of Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai “வன்னிய நாட்டிய” etc., (Vide p. 37, VI, *Tamil Culture*) the stanza No. 58 of *Maruthumalai Padalam* refers to “சென்னி நாட்டெரியல் வீரன் தியாக விநோதன் தெய்வப் பொன்னி நாடு” which means the land of the divine Kaveri and not all the Chola Empire.

In another place Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai says :

“ At the beginning of the 12th century, the Chola power was at its height, and an imperial state was realised for the first time in the history of the Tamils. It looked as though Kamban appeared just then to give artistic expression to the sovereign power ”

(*Kamban Kavyam*, p. 153).

The two assumptions that the Chola empire was at its height in the beginning of the 12th century, and that Kamban appeared at that time are wrong and self-contradictory ; for, according to him, Kamban composed the poem at the end of that century. The decline of the empire, as already stated, had started even before the beginning of the 12th century. The learned Professor does not explain how Kamban gives artistic expression to that sovereign power, and does not correlate the poem to anything connected with the empire (Vide *Kamban Kavyam*, p. 153).

There is one indisputable piece of external evidence to show that Kamban must have lived earlier than the reign of Virarajendra (1063-1069). The Tamil grammar *Virasoliyam* by Buddhahmitra was composed at the time and in the name of that Chola Emperor 'Virarajendran'. In the introductory stanza No. 3, he says :—

நாமே வெழுத்துச் சொற்பொருள் யாப்பலங்கார மெனும்
மாமேவு பஞ்சவதிகாரமாம் பரப்பைச் சுருக்கித்
தேமேவிய தொங்கல் தேர் வீரசோழன் திருப்பெயரான்
பூமேலுரைப்பன் வட நூல் மரபும் புகன்று கொண்டே.

In the heart of the text under *Santhipadalam*, he speaks of :

எல்லா வுலகும்
மேவிய வெண்குடைச் செம்பியன் வீர ராசேந்திரன் தன்
நாவியல் செந்தமிழ்ச் சொல்லின் மொழி முதனன்னுதலே.

These stanzas show that the grammar was called *Virasoliyam* after the Chola Virarajendra, who was himself a scholar in the Tamil Language and that the work was

planned on the basis of a synthesis of the Tamil and Sanskrit systems of grammar and rhetoric. There is an old commentary by one Perunthevanar, who is said to be a pupil of the author. In the commentary he cites a stanza as an illustration under section 39 of *Alangara Padalam* which reads as follows :—

ஈண்டு நூல் கண்டான் எழின் மிழலைக் கூற்றத்துப்
பூண்ட புகழ் பொன் பற்றிக் காவலனே—பூண்டவரை
வெல்லும் படைத் தடக்கை வெற்றி புனை வீரன் தன்
சொல்லின் படியே தொகுத்து.

This reading is in accordance with the emendation made by Sadasiva Pandarathar (vide part I *The History of Later Cholas*, page 279). There is no evidence as to who composed the poem and on what occasion. It looks as though the commentator improvised a stanza for the purpose of an illustration. Whatever may be the origin of the stanza, it suggests that the composition of the grammar was at the request of Virarajendra himself and that the author of the stanza knew it as an eye-witness. If his conjecture is correct, there can be no doubt that both the author and commentator of *Virasoliyam* belonged to the time of Virarajendra. At the end of the commentary another stanza occurs, reading as follows :—

தடமார் பொழிற் பொன்பற்றிக் காவலன் றுன் மொழிந்த
படி வீர சோழியக் காரிகை நூற்றெண்பஃதோடொன்றின்
திடமார் பொழிப்புரையைப் பெருந்தேவன் செகம் பழிச்சக்
கடனாகவே நவின்ருன் தமிழ் காதலிற் கற்பவர்க்கே.

This is certainly the composition of the commentator. It shows that he felt in writing the commentary he discharged only a debt which he owed to the author. It is legitimate to infer that the commentator was a pupil of the author, and that if so, he must have been his contemporary. The conjecture and inference receive confirmation from another circumstance in the commentary. Most of the citations of a historical nature refer to Virarajendra himself or

his brothers, his immediate predecessors and his celebrated father Rajendra I such as the battles of Koppam (1054 A.D.) and Kudal Sangamam (1064 A.D.) in which the Tamils won resounding victories over the Western Chalukyas on the banks of the Tungabadra and the Krishna. There is not a single citation of anything later than the time of Virarajendra though the succeeding century saw so many events glorified in verse and song by such celebrated poets as Jayankondar of *Kalingathuparani* and Ottakuthar of the *Ulas*. Further in the nature of things it is reasonable to expect a commentary immediately as the text would be unintelligible without it. It breaks new ground of synthesising Sanskrit and Tamil grammars. There can be therefore, no doubt that the commentator also lived and wrote in the reign of Virarajendra or about his time.

Now this commentary makes a distinct reference to Kamban stating கம்பனாதிடப் பெருமை யுளது (there is greatness in Kamban) as an illustration of the 7th case in the grammar. It is said that there are some manuscripts in which the reading is நம்பனாதிடப் பெருமை யுளது instead of கம்பனாதிடப் பெருமை யுளது. But Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai says that the oldest manuscripts support the reading கம்பனாதிடப் பெருமை யுளது and accepts it as a reference to the great poet. The learned Professor however disputes the age of the commentator and holds that he must belong to the end of the 12th century. His reasoning is somewhat curious. He admits that the commentator refers abundantly to the incidents and names of the time of Virarajendra (1063 to 1069) and Rajendra I (1014 to 1044) and therefore he infers that the commentator would not be very much later than these rulers and so in his usual way he concludes that there should be a lapse of at least a century between the text and the commentary of *Virasoliyam*. It is only obvious that he post-dates the time of the commentator in order to support his own case of assigning the end of the 12th century as the age of Kamban. The postponement of the time is the only way of escape out of

the difficulties he has created for himself by assigning first the age of Kamban and then trying to explain away the evidence against it. This is putting the cart before the horse (vide தமிழ்ச் சுடர் மணிகள் 118 & 119). It is interesting to note that Prof. K. A. N. Sastry holds that the commentator was the pupil of the author and apparently concedes the contemporaneity of both from the citations in the commentary above referred to. (Vide Colas, page 683, Second edition, 1955). But the learned Professor ignores this piece of evidence afforded by the commentary of *Virasoliyam* for fixing the age of Kamban.

It may be noted that the commentator Perunthevanar refers to Kamban in the honorific plural as Kambanar and that he did not profess Vaishnavism but Buddhism. It is legitimate to infer that some time must have elapsed for such a recognition. It is difficult to say how long it must have taken for it in the absence of any clear evidence. Considering the difficulties of communications, paucity of manuscript copies of the poem, prejudices, rivalries and animosities of religious sects and the immense prestige which Sanskrit had acquired by that time throwing Tamil in the background, we shall not be far wrong if we allow more than a century. If this estimate be correct, Kamban must have lived not later than the middle of the 10th century of the Christian era, that is to say before the foundation of the empire under Rajaraja the Great (985-1030).

Apart from the evidence offered by the commentator of the *Virasoliyam*, the best evidence available is the text of *Kambaramayanam* to show whether the author had anything to do with the empire. However it may be remembered that the text we have has been meddled with.

Kambar is acknowledged to be a learned poet. The saying 'கல்வியிற் பெரியன் கம்பன்' has pursued him down the centuries. Though he rises to great heights in universalism, he is not indifferent to particularism. His attachment to

the land of the Kaveri where he was born and bred and everything pertaining to it are an obsession with him. Deep love for that land is evident throughout the poem. He idealised even Kosala in terms of his own homeland. Its merit lies in being like the land of the Kaveri. காவிரி நாடன் கழனி நாடு (குகப்படலம்). In his enthusiasm for the land of Kaveri, he even peoples Kosala with the Tamil Tribes and clans, such as பண்கள் வாய் மிழற்றும் இன்சொல் கடைசியர்; உண்கள்வார் கடைவார் மள்ளர்; தெள் விளிச் சீறியாழ்ப்பாணர்; வென்ற உழுத்தியர் (நாடு 10, 8, 24); ஆறு 13 கொடிச்சியர்; 14 எயினர்; 15 ஆயர். These are at least the tribes of Marutham and Mullai (arable and pastoral lands) but நுளைச்சியர் of Neithal (coastland) (நாடு 34) with pearls appears in Kosala. It need hardly be said that Kosala has no sea coast. The poet is only dreaming of his own land.

No river is so sacred as his own divine Kaveri. தெய்வப் பொன்னி எனலாய ஆறும் உள (அகத்தியப் படலம் 58). His mother tongue is not only sweet, but eternal என்றுமுள தென்றமிழ் (அகத்தியப் படலம்). He asserts that the Tamil is superior to the language of the Four Vedas in simplicity, beauty and profundity.

உழுக்கு மறைநாலினு முயர்ந்துலகமோதும்
வழக்கினும் மதிக் கவினினும் மரபினாடி.

(அகத்தியப் படலம் 41)

His wishful thinking makes his hero Rama as proficient in Tamil as in Sanskrit.

தென்சொற் கடந்தான் வடசொற்கெல்லை தேர்ந்தான்

(நகர்நீங்கு 140)

He even forges a political connection for the family of his patron Sadayan by making his ancestors hand over the crown at the coronation of Rama at Ayodhya

விரை செறி கமலத்தாள் சேர் வெண்ணெய் மன் சடையன்

—தங்கள்

மரபுளோர் கொடுக்க வாங்கி வசிட்டனே புனைந்தான் மௌலி
(திருவடிகுட்டு 38)

It is needless to multiply examples of similar nature so abundantly scattered throughout the poem. The students of *Kambaramayanam* may feel that the poet must have as a preparation for making the poem, observed intensely, meditated deeply and understood minutely till his knowledge became habitual and intuitive and wedded itself to his feelings and emotions. Equipped with superb mental training, gifted with a penetrating imagination and endowed with deep emotions and fired with a burning love for the Tamil Nad, we should expect the poet to react powerfully to the fact, nature and character of the Chola Empire and its glorious achievements, only if he had lived during the empire or immediately after.

Among the glorious achievements of the Empire, the first and foremost is the accomplishment of the political unity of South India between the seas with Kalinga in the North and Ceylon in the South. On one occasion at least under Rajendra I they had extensive territories inclusive of Kosala and South East Asia up to Java. For three quarters of a century Ceylon became the Province of the Empire and several villages in it were endowed to the big temple at Tanjore. The conquest of Lanka by Rajaraja the Great inspired his Court Poet to sing in his “மெய்க்கீர்த்தி”

“Rama built with the aid of the monkeys a causeway over the seas and then slew with great difficulty the King of Lanka by means of sharp-edged arrows. But Rama was excelled by King (Rajaraja) whose powerful army crossed the ocean by ships and burnt up the King of Lanka”

(Vide Thiruvallangadu plates cited in
K. A. N. Sastry's *Colas*, 2nd edition, page 172).

Kamban did not forget his patron Sadayan while dealing with the building of the causeway in *Sethubandana-padam* (Vide page 107, Vol. VI, No. 2, *Tamil Culture*). If only the poet were aware of the conquest of Lanka by Rajaraja and administration of it as part of the Chola

Empire, it is quite natural to expect the poet to make allusion to it in some form or other. As a matter of fact he does not make any allusion at all. On the other hand he seems to be quite ignorant of the geography of Ceylon. He treats it as one island City-fortress built on a hill 'விலங்கல் மேல் இலங்கை' (காட்சிப்படலம் 1) 'வீங்கு நீர் இலங்கை வெற்பு' (Vide p. 253, Silver Jubilee edition of *Sundara Kanda*, Annamalai University).

'கண்டனென் இலங்கை மூதூர் கடிபொழில் கனக நாஞ்சில்'.

It is difficult to believe that Kamban was so ignorant of the geography of Ceylon if he lived at any time during the days of the Empire or after.

Rajendra Chola conquered Kosala. His மெய்க்கீர்த்தி says :

பூசுரர் சேரு நற் கோசலநாடும்
தன்ம பாலனை வெம் முனையழித்து
வண்டுறை சோலைத் தண்ட புத்தியும்
இரண குரனை முரணறத் தாக்கித்
திக்கணை கீர்த்தித் தக்கண லாடமும்
கோவிந்த சந்தன் மாவிழிந்தோடத்
தங்காத சாரல் வங்காள தேசமும்
தொடு கழற் சங்கு கொட்டல் மகிபாலனை
வெஞ்சமர் வளாகத் தஞ்சுவித்தருளி
ஒண்டிறல் யானையும் பெண்டிற் பண்டாரமும்
நித்திர நெடுங்கடல் உத்தரலாடமும்
வெறி மலர்த்தீர்த்தத் தெறிபுனற் கங்கையும்

(Vide T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas* Part I, pp. 257-58. For the identification of places—vide pp. 156-157).

It is said that his object of invading North India was to purify his land with the waters of the Ganges. In the above quotation Kosala is referred to as the land of Gods of earth (Brahmins). Hence there can be no doubt that Rama's Kosala was meant. Politically at the time it was part of the territory of Bengal, under the rule of the Palas.

The waters of the Ganges were brought to fill the tank at Gangaikondacholapuram. Both the conquest of Kosala and bringing the waters of the Ganges must have filled the Tamils of the period with great pride. Jayankondar of a later age said of Rajendra :

களிறு கங்கை நீருண்ண மண்ணையில்
காய் சினத்தோடே கலவு செம்பியன்

It is difficult to imagine that if Kamban had lived at that time or after it, the events failed to make any impression on his mind. We do not hear any echo of these glorious events in the text of *Kambaramayanam*. It is needless to add that the poet had many opportunities of referring to these glorious acts while dealing with the country of Kosala and the river Ganges.

Now, if Kamban lived during the Empire or after it, apart from sentimental reactions, we should expect him to note realistically the geographical situations as well as political and administrative divisions in the Empire. He had an opportunity to deal with various places within the limits of the Empire in the light of the directions given by Sugriva to Hanuman to search for the heroine Sita kidnapped by Ravana, and the places actually visited by Hanuman and his search party. The directions are contained in the *Nadavittapadalam* and the search is dealt with in the *Pilaneenkupadalam* in Kishkinda Kanda. Unfortunately the text is meddled with in all the three padalams. The kidnapping took place at Panchavadi usually identified with Nasik above the source of the river Godavari (or above the upper course of that river as the Andhras would have it). Rama and Lakshmana traced the kidnapper as far as Kishkinda, where some of the jewels of Sita were recovered. Sugriva was convinced that Ravana must have taken Sita only to Lanka, lying south in the seas. So, the search in the Southern parts became the most important, and Hanuman was deputed to go to the South. This is what Kamban says :

தென்றிசைக் கணிராவணன் சேணகர்
என்றிசைக் கின்ற தென்ன வின்னணம்
வன்றிசைக் கினி மாருதி நீயலால்
வென்றிசைக் குரியார் பிறர் வேண்டுமோ

வள்ள நேவியை வஞ்சித்து வெளவிய
கள்ள வாளரக்கன் செலக்கண்டது
தெள்ளியோ யிது தென்றிசை யென்பதோர்
உள்ளமும் எனக்குண்டென உன்னுவான்

(நாடவிட்டபடலம் 7 - 8)

These stanzas show that Sugriva had absolutely no doubt about the direction in which Sita was taken, namely the south of Kishkinda usually identified with the plateau of Mysore in the region of the old Bellary District in the combined state of Madras. Now, south of Kishkinda lies the Tamil Nad. This received confirmation from stanza No. 2 of *Pilaneengupadalam* which deals with the proposal of the poet கவிக்கூற்று to begin the story of the actual search made by the party of Hanuman deputed to the Southern section. It reads:—

குன்றிசைத்தன வெனக் குலவுத் தோள் வலியினார்
மின்றிசைத்திடு மிசைக்கொடியை நாடினர் விராய
வன்றிசைப் படருமாறு ஒழிய வண்டமி முடைத்
தென்றிசைச் சென்றுளார் திறனெடுத்துரை செய்வாம்

(பிலநீங்குப் படலம் 2)

The poet refers distinctly to the land lying south and speaking the Tamil language. This is the region where the search started according to this stanza. But the next stanza says that the search party reached the Vindhya

சிந்துராகத் தொடுந் திரண்மணிச் சுடர் செநின்
தந்திவானத் தினின்றவிர் தலானரவினோ
டிந்தியா றெய் தலானிறைவன் மாமௌலிபோல்
விந்தை நாகத்தின் மாடெய்தினார் வெய்தினால்.

(பிலநீங்குப் படலம் 3)

It needs hardly to say that the Vindhya are not in the south, but are several hundred miles north of Kishkinda.

It is obvious that clumsy interpolations are made while retaining the stanza in which the poet's proposal to deal with the search in the Tamilnad. The same clumsy interpolations are patent in *Nadavittapadalam*, where in stanza No. 2, directions are given by Sugriva for a search in the Vindhya contrary to the distinct statement in stanza No. 8 in the same padalam above cited indicating that the search should start in the Tamilnad. Reserving for later consideration the interpolated portions, we now take up the directions about and the actual search in the Tamilnad.

Sugriva's directions refer to (1) the sacred Tirupathi Hills as marking the boundary between the region of that northern language (Sanskrit) and that of the southern language (Tamil), (2) the Tondainadu, (3) the land of the divine Ponni (otherwise named Cholanadu), (4) the malai nadu (the land of the mountains), (5) the wide south Tamilnad, (6) the Pothia Hills of the sage Agasthiar with the Tamil Sangam, (7) the Porunai river filled with gold ore, (8) Mahendra Hill (*Nadavittapadalam*, 26-32). In *Arruselpadalam*, the actual search made in the same places with slight variations of the place names. Instead of Tondainadu we have Tandakanadu. The expression Cholanadu is not mentioned as referring to the land of the Kaveri. Pothia Hill and the Tampravarni river are omitted in the search. It is significant to note the geographical divisions, the physical features, religious sanctity and linguistic charm of the Tamilnad. It is still more significant to note the absence of any reference whatsoever to the rulers of the traditional Tamilnad such beloved names as Chera, Chola, Pandia, and nothing to indicate the Pallava rulers, political divisions or their capital cities with temples and places and seats of learning. There is nothing to indicate the achievements of a political unity even at least as far as the Tamil Nad was concerned. Nothing can be more preposterous than to say that Kamban though belonging to the Empire completely ignored its importance and failed

to express it. The only conclusion possible is that Kamban lived before the Empire was founded.

This receives confirmation from three important references in the text. The first one is afforded by stanza No. 38 in *Arruselpadalam*.

குடியாண்டச் சுரி குழற்றுகையைத்
தேடி வார்புனற் றெண்டிரைத் தண்டக
நாடு நண்ணு கின்றார் மறை நாவலர்
வேட மேயினர் வேண்டுரு மேவுவார்.

Hanuman and his party were capable of taking any shape they liked. When the search was made in Tandakanad, they assumed the shape of Vedic Brahmins. What must have been their purpose? The purpose is rendered clear by the status and position attained by the Brahmins in Tondaimandalam under the Pallavas. "They patronised the northern culture and Kanchi was a great centre of Sanskrit learning from the 7th century A.D. They founded Brahmin settlements on the banks of rivers particularly in the neighbourhood of their imperial capital and encouraged their progress in various directions. Their imperial resources were utilised for the encouragement of the Brahminic cultures" (vide Sathianathar's *Studies in the Ancient History of Tondaimandalam*). Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. The search party metamorphosed as Brahmins would be sure of a reception among their equals. It is significant that Tondaimandalam is singled out for such transformation indicating the origin and growth of Brahminic influence. Under the Empire it extended to the Cholanadalam where it reached its zenith. This policy of metamorphosis confined to Tondaimandalam denotes a matter of great significance. It reflects the mind of the age. It is legitimate to infer that *Kambaramayanam* must have been composed before the Chola Empire was founded.

The second reference indicating a historic period is given in stanza No. 52 of *Arruselpadalam*:

அனைய பொன்னியகன் புன்னுடொரீஇ
மனையின் மாட்சி குலாமலை மண்டலம்
வினையினீங்கிய பண்பினர் மேயினார்
இனைய தென்றமிழ் நாடு சென்றெய்தினார்

The second line மனையின் மாட்சி குலாமலை மண்டலம் is important. The mountainous region of the West Coast is described as the region where the virtue of chastity blossomed abundantly. It is exactly what one should expect from the land which was the first to honour the Pattini cult of Kannaki by constructing a shrine for the goddess of chastity. Later on, a different cult prevailed with the advent of Nambudri Brahmin settlers who introduced novel manners and customs in the domestic life on the west coast leading to the formation of a new order in the matter of social and sexual relations subversive of the old order until remedied in recent years by reformist movements. The decline in domestic virtue may have started after the end of the rule of the Perumals in the 9th century A.D. The reference therefore to the chastity of the people of the West Coast shows clearly that Kamban must have lived before the new manners made headway about the 10th century A.D.

The third reference is related to the identification of Cholanadu with the land of the Kaveri alone. Under the empire the Cholanadu expanded over a large area including almost the whole of South India (compare 29 and 30 of *Nadavittapadalam* and 47 and 52 of *Arruselpadalam*).

The geographical knowledge disclosed in what may be considered in the interpolated portions of *Nadavitta*, *Pilaneengu* and *Arrusel padalams* is revealing. The places and tribes mentioned in them may be compared with what appears in Valmiki on the one hand and *Kalingattuparanai* on the other. *Kalingattuparanai* was composed in 1115 A.D. by the poet Jayankondar at the court of Kulotunga I (1070-1118) to celebrate the victory of Karunakara Tondaiman,

the Chola General over Kalinga lying between the Godavari and Mahanadi. It mentions certain rivers crossed by the army of invasion in its march from Conjeevaram to Kalinga. They may be taken as rivers known to the Tamils of the days of the empire, as they formed part of the greater Cholanad (Vide Pandarathar's *Later Cholas*, Part II, page 27).

MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, PLACES, TRIBES.

According to Valmiki.	According to Kamban	According to Kalingattuparani from Conjeevaram to North Kalinga.
1. Vindhya	Vindhya	Palaru
2. Narbada	Narbada	Kusaitalai Aru
3. Godavari	Yemakoodam	Ponmuhai
4. Krishna	Pennai - Red & Black	Kolli Aru
5. Mekkilas	Vidarba	Pennai
6. Utkalas	Tandakam	Mannaru
7. Cities of Dac, Arna	Mundakathurai	Kunti Aru
8. Asuvanthi	Pandumalai	Peraru (Krishna)
9. Avanthi	Godavari	Godavari
10. Vidarba	Suvanam	Pambanadhi
11. Rishtikas	Suryakandam	Gayathrinadhi
12. Mahisakas	Chandrakandam	Gauthamanadhi
13. Matsyas	Konkanam	
14. Kalingas	Kulingam	
15. Kansikas	Suranadhi	
16. Dandaka	Arunthathi malai	
17. Andhras	Maragathamalai	
18. Paundras	Venkatam	
19. Cholas	Ponninadu (Chola- nadu)	
20. Pandyas	Malainadu	
21. Keralas	Sonte Tamilnad	
22. Ayosmuka	Pothia hill	
23. Kaveri	Porunai	
24. Tambaravarni	Mahendra	
25. Capital of Pandya	Sea	
26. Mahendra.		

The geography disclosed in Valmiki is primitive and necessarily imperfect. What is most surprising is that even the

places in North India are not correctly given. For example, the land of the Matsyas lay west of the Jamuna, and Avanti was South of Vindhya. They are misplaced. There is a variation between the places mentioned in the direction given by Sugriva and those actually covered by the search party of Angada and Hanuman. Apparently, the text in *Kambaramayanam* was sought to be brought into conformity with Valmiki. It is however inexplicable how it varies from Valmiki. A river in Tamilnad like Pennai—red or black is placed between Yemakoodam and Vidarba in Maharashtra. The river Swanam is placed between the Godavari and Suryakantha. According to the learned commentator V. M. Sadagopa Ramanujachari, the Swanam is none other than the sacred river Ganges. But so far as the twelve rivers mentioned in *Kalingathuparani* are concerned, they are real rivers, being situated within the Chola Empire. Kulothunga I to whom the poem is addressed was born and bred in the land of Vengi between the Godavari and Krishna. So we may take it there could be no mistake about either the identity or the situation of the rivers (vide Pandarathar's *History of the Later Cholas*, Part II, page 27). If Kamban or the interpolator who introduced the new stanzas in the abovesaid padalam belonged to the period of the Empire, we should expect a more realistic grasp of the places mentioned therein and their situation. The irresistible conclusion is that Kamban must have lived before the Empire.

During the period of the Empire, the large importation of Brahmin priests and Vedic scholars and their exclusive establishment in Chatur-Vedimangalams brought about a great social revolution. No doubt the Pallavas started the mahasaba villages, but their golden age was reached during the later Cholas. The period of exactly 200 years from 920 A.D. to 1120 A.D. show their fullest development.

Besides the great Ghatika at Kanchi, there were colleges for Sanskrit education at Ennayiram (near Villupu-

ram), Tribhuvanam in Pondicheri area and Tirumukkoodal in Chingleput District and other places. They were all richly endowed by the Chola emperors. There is not a shred of evidence to show that Tamil was encouraged in a similar manner. Under the Cholas, caste was the basis of the social organisation.

This cultural and social revolution is not echoed in *Kambaramayanam*. In *Balakandam*, the people referred to are the old tribes of Tamilnad occupying the various regions such as கொடிச்சியர், எயினர், ஆயர், கோவலர், மள்ளர், உழுத்தியர், கடைசியர், நுழைச்சியர். It is therefore legitimate to infer that Kamban must have lived before the foundation of the Empire. (vide M. Sreenivasa Iyengar's *Tamil Studies*, I series, page 62; Satyanatha Iyer's *Studies in the Ancient History of Thondaimandalam*, pages 38 to 40; K. N. Sastry's *Colas*, Chapter XX for the social and cultural revolutions.)

The learned Sanskrit Pundits invented fanciful geneologies connecting the Cholas with the Solar race of Ayodhya. The Sanskrit poems attached to the Tiruvalan-gadu copper plates and Karanthai Tamil Sangam copper plates give the geneologies. But the former makes Cholan come after Baratha the 25th in descent from Surya: Bharathan as a matter of fact belongs to the Lunar race. The latter makes Cholan, the son of Sibi the sixth in descent from Surya. The former belongs to the time of Sundara Chola (957 to 970 A.D. and the later is in honour of Rajendra I. (1012 to 1044 A.D.). Now the text of *Kambaramayanam* gives a different list of Rulers of Ayodhya. The list includes (1) Aditya, (2) Manu, (3) Phiruhu, (4) Ikshuvahu, (5) Nimi, (6) Mandhada, (7) Diliban, (8) Sibi, (9) Saharan, (10) Baheradhan, (11) Sudarsan, (12) Ayan, (13) Dayarathan. Cholan is not at all mentioned anywhere. It is possible and probable that Kamban must have lived long before these fanciful geneologies were invented.

The secular tribal monarchy of the early Tamils was developed in course of time by poets and saints as a deified monarchy. An unknown poet refers to Karikal Chola as God Vishnu in the language of a love stricken girl:

அரிமா சுமந்த அமளி மேலானை
திருமா வளவனெனத் தேறேன்—திருமார்பின
மானமால் என்றே தொழுதேன் தொழுதகை
போனவா பெய்தவனை

(Vide *Perumbanatrupadai* Appendix in Swaminatha Iyer's Edition.)

Tirukural elevates the just king to the level of a God:

முறை செய்து காப்பாற்று மன்னன் மக்கட்கு
இறை யென்று வைக்கப்படும்.

Nammalvar sees the God Vishnu in a good king:

திருவுடை மன்னரைக் காணில் திருமலைக் கண்டேனே.

The process of deification reached its zenith under the Chola Emperors whose geneology was connected with the Solar race of the kings of Ayodhya. Jayankondar refers to Kulotunga I as the re-incarnated Sri Krishna himself:

இருள் முழுது மகற்றும் விதுகுலத்தோன் தேவி
இகல் விளங்கு தபனகுலத்திராச ராசன்
அருள் திருவின் திருவயிற்றில் வந்து தோன்றி
ஆலிலையி னவதரித்தானவனே மீள்.

(vide *Kalingathuparani*, stanza 234).

"Several temples of the period (of the Empire) and often also the chief icons in them were called after the ruling kings who established them. The worship accorded to idols who are called sometimes after living monarchs seems to have been connected with the apotheosis of Royal personages after their demise"

(K. A. N. Sastri's *Colas*, 2nd Edition, p. 452).

Kamban is no party to this process of deification or of apotheosis of rulers. On the other hand any ruler must work as hard as any poor man on his hard piece of land :

வையகம் முழுவதும் வறிஞன் ஒம்பும் ஓர்
செய்யனக் காத்து இனிது அரசு செய்கின்றான்.

(Vide *Arruselpadalam*, Stanza 3 in *Balakandam*).

Further Kamban's unique conception of a ruler is that he is only the body and the people are the life :

வையகம் மன்னுயிராக அம்மன்னுயிர்
உய்யத் தாங்கு முடலன்ன மன்னன்

(Vide *Mantharaichulchipadalam*, 17).

The reaction of the public to the announcement of the proposed coronation of Rama is expressed by Kamban in unmistakable democratic urge ; in stanza No. 76 of *Mantharapadalam* :

ஒத்த சிந்தை யருவகை யரொருவர்க் கங்கொருவர்
தத்தமக்குற்ற வர செனத் தழைக்கின்ற மனத்தர்.

Every man feels as though his own coronation is expected. Deification is the negation of democracy. Kamban is certainly nearer the innate democratic culture of the early Tamils. There is no trace of the later cult of the Empire.

However, there are certain features in the present text of *Kambaramayanam* indicating the decline of manners and morals characteristic of the age of the Imperial Cholas as evidenced in the *Ula* poems of Ottakoothar. It is already pointed out that many stanzas in *Balakandam* describing the amusements of the wedding guests from Ayodhi on their march to Mithila are incongruous in the light of what appears to be the poet's great basic principles such as his condemnation of laxity in sexual relationship and abhorrence of intoxicating drinks (Vide *Tamil Culture*, Vol. VI, page 33). Both men and women drink nothing but toddy : this is their whole food (Vide *Undattupadalam*). Now Kamban condemns liquor as நித்தனை நறவம் (Vide

விபீடணனைக்கலப் படலம் 100; நிகும்பலை 174 and Murugappa's *Kambar Kavyam*, pp. 39-50). Indeed, he draws a sharp distinction between the life at Lanka and that at Ayodhi in the matter of drink so common at the former place. The spectacular devotion to sensuality displayed by the wedding guests belies the assertion of Kamban in the very first stanza of the body of the poem that both men and women of Ayodhi do not swerve from the path of virtue even in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures (Vide No. 1 in *Arrupadalam* in *Balakandam*). That stanza serves as தோற்றுவாய்—a sort of key to the understanding of the theme in the poem. The plot hinges on the victory of Rama over the passion of Surpanaka and the victory of Sita over the passion of Ravana leading inevitably to the destruction of Ravana.

As a matter of fact, the five padalams namely, *Eluchi*, *Varaikatchi*, *Pookai*, *Punalvilayatu* and *Undattu padalams* are not in Valmiki's. The learned commentator of modern times, Sri V. M. Satagopa Ramanujachary thinks that Kamban has invented these to make his poem to answer to the requirements of an Epic poem. If what is said above are the basic principles on which the plot of the poem is worked out, the padalams run contrary to those principles and ought to be rejected as interpolations. Sri T. K. C. rejects the last four and Murugappa rejects the last three. It is for experts of forms, metre and ideas to consider how far these five padalams are genuine and integral parts of *Kambaramayanam*. In any case, to the extent that these padalams run contra to the first stanza in *Arrupadalam* in *Balakandam* they cannot be genuine. Otherwise the poem loses its unity, and consequently its greatness.

In the light of the materials placed above, it is almost certain that Kamban was not a contemporary of the Chola Empire (1000 to 1200 A.D.) and that he must have lived prior to the period of the Chola Empire.

(To be continued)

Gleanings from the Silappathikaram

V. S. MUDALIYAR.

I. MARRIAGE, TEMPLES AND THE ARTS.

The *Silappathikaram*, written in the 2nd century A.D. by Ilango Adigal, is a mine of interesting and useful information on almost every phase of Tamil civilization and culture as it existed some 1,800 years ago. It gives us, as it were, a full length portrait of the ancient Tamil and its ways. No other Tamil work, before or since, has given us such vivid pictures, with such wealth of detail, of the Tamil society of a by-gone age. It is no wonder, then, that it is acclaimed by all Tamil scholars as a monumental work of great historical and sociological value and interest to the Tamil world. The picture of Tamil civilization and culture, as portrayed in the *Silappathikaram*, may be conveniently studied under specific heads, such as marriage, temples, arts, etc.

MARRIAGE :

Kovalan, a young lad of 16 belonging to the merchant community, marries Kannagi, a young girl of 12, also of the same community. The marriage is performed by a Brahmin according to Vedic rites, and after the marriage, the bridal pair go round the sacrificial fire under his guidance.¹ This is the picture we get from the *Silappathikaram*. It will be noted that even as early as the 2nd century A.D. (which is the age of the *Silappathikaram*), the ritualistic type of marriage with which we in South India are familiar, was in vogue in the Tamil land. The

¹ "மாழுது பார்ப்பான் மறைவழி காட்டிடத் தீவலம் செய்து"
மங்கல வாழ்த்துப்பாடல்—புரி 53-4.

older type of marriage—the clandestine marriage which formed the perennial theme of the Tamil bards of an earlier age—was substituted in certain strata of society by Brahminical marriage under Vedic rites. Another point which deserves notice is this : The ideal age for marriage, according to the conception of the day, was a little less than 16 years for the male and a little less than 12 years for the female.

TEMPLES AND GODS :

There appears to have been already an adoption of Aryan gods in the Tamil country. In the *Indira Vizhavoor-edutha Kathai*, or the story of Indra's festival, five temples are mentioned : they are the temples of Siva, Murugan, Bala Devan, Vishnu and Indra. In *Kanathiramuraittha Kathai*, or the story of the dream, ten kottams—lesser temples presumably—are mentioned. They are those of :

- (1) Karpaga—the tree of Swarga.
- (2) Irawadham—Indra's elephant.
- (3) Bala Devan.
- (4) Surya—the Sun God.
- (5) Kailas—Siva's abode.
- (6) Vel Murugan's weapon.
- (7) Indra's vajra padai—Indra's weapons.
- (8) Iyyanar.
- (9) Aruhan.
- (10) Chandra—the Moon God.

It will be seen that the temples in the country, big and small, were also dedicated to Aryan or Aryanised gods. Another point worthy of notice here is the absence of all mention of a temple for Vigneswara in the two lists, which clearly points to the fact that the cult of Vigneswara worship had not penetrated the Tamil land then. When it subsequently entered and began to hold sway in Tamil Nad is a matter for future research.

To say that Aryan gods, Aryan rites and Aryan form of marriage were prevalent in the Tamil land in the *Silappadikaram* age is not to say, however, that Aryan civilization and culture had supplanted, or even dominated, Tamil civilization and culture, Tamil habits and modes of living. On the contrary, in their arts, in their dress, in the ornaments they wore, in their pastimes, in their conception of the relationship between the sexes, in their philosophy and beliefs, the Tamils continued to preserve their individuality and culture.

DANCING :

Of all the arts, the art of Dancing occupies a supreme place in the life of the people. The glamour for this art and its supremacy are such that it would be difficult to find a parallel to them in the cultural history of the world. A young dancer, Madhavi, after the usual seven-year probation, makes her debut. She is taken to the dancing hall or theatre in a triumphal procession, headed by the king and the five great orders, viz., the ministers, the priests, the generals, the ambassadors, and the saranars.² What an escort for a mere dancer ! We can well imagine the importance, or rather the pre-eminence, this art had assumed in the nation's eyes. *Arangetruthal*, it would seem, had come to acquire all the importance and grandeur of a state function.

Arangetruthal-kathai, or the story of the great debut, occupies an honoured place in the poem, not only because of its bearing on the story, but for the light it throws on the standard of excellence the art of dancing had attained and the love of the Tamils for this great art. This *Kathai* abounds in detailed information concerning every phase of the art, so much so it can verily be called a complete treatise on dancing. It starts with laying down the first requisite in a votary of the art, viz., that she should be

² அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 125-28.

one in whom dancing, singing and beauty are present in equal measure. In other words, it would have been incongruous to have a dancer whose beauty, say, is less compared with her talent for music or dancing.³

Then, starting at the age of five, she had to undergo tuition and training for full seven years under no less than six tutors, viz., 1. ஆடலாசான் (Dancing master) ; 2. இசையாசிரியன் (Music teacher) ; 3. இயல்தமிழ்ப் புலவன் (Tamil poet) ; 4. தண்ணுமை முதல்வன் (Master drummer) ; 5. குழலோன் (Flutist) ; 6. யாழாசிரியன் (Veena master). The qualifications of each one of these tutors are elaborately set forth. The music teacher, for instance, should be one who not only knows the Tamil language and Tamil music, but is conversant with the languages and music of other tracts.⁴ The Tamil *pulavan* should be one who is well versed in all three branches of Tamil literature, viz., Poetry, Music and Drama.⁵

Three musical instruments accompany the dance recital ; they are யாழ் (Veena) ; குழல் (Flute) ; and தண்ணுமை (drum). It is clear from *Silappathikaram* that the person playing this last instrument தண்ணுமை is the leader of the music, harmonising the vocal music with the instrumental, and suppressing the excess and supplying the deficiency in the music of the flute and the Veena.⁶

With regard to the dancing proper, the *Silappathikaram* gives us an idea of all that a dancer seeking public acclamation must do by way of exhibiting her skill and perfection in the entire range of this difficult art. It would be interesting, in these days when the dancing art is again

³ அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 8-9.

⁴ அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 30-2.

⁵ அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 37-8.

⁶ அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 50-5.

in the ascendent, to compare the present day exposition of the art with that of Madhavi as portrayed in the *Silappathikaram*, but it is a task which only those that are working in the field of "Nattiyam" can usefully undertake. Here it will be sufficient to state that Madhavi's dancing is said to have exemplified all the rules laid down in authoritative works on the art of Dance.⁷ It is a tribute to the aesthetic taste of the Tamils that they should have, in that early age, fostered and brought the art of dancing to such a standard of excellence and invested it with what, for want of a better term, we may call "national" importance.

To turn to the other side of the picture : The dancing art was confined to the "Kanikayer", or the dancing girls' group. It goes without saying that Madhavi belongs to this group. She is just 12 years old when she makes her debut as a full-fledged dancer. The king, in token of his appreciation of her skill in dancing, presents her with a green garland (*emerald chain*) and, following the practice of her community, also publicly sets a value upon it, viz., 1008 gold pieces, which is the price (*தலைவரிசை*) anyone wishing to claim her love must pay.⁸

Madhavi's maid takes the garland to the place where the rich lads of the City congregate, and there, like any other article for barter, she hawks it about for sale, saying, "The value set upon this is 1008 gold pieces. Whoever pays this sum will become Madhavi's lover."⁹ Kovalan, Kannagi's husband, happens to hear this. He pays the price, and completely forgetting and forsaking his wedded wife with whom he had lived happily till then, goes over to Madhavi's house where he lives for many years as her lover.

⁷ அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 158-59.

⁸ அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 163-64.

⁹ அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 164-69.

II. KARPUR.

There is no English word which can adequately bring out the full connotation of the Tamil term "Karpu" (*கற்பு*). It is not merely wifely chastity and faithfulness, although it is the most important element in its connotation. It is, in addition to absolute fidelity in thought, word and deed, absolute devotion, absolute deference and regard, absolute submission and self-effacement on the part of the wife towards her husband.

To the ideal wife, her husband is as the very breath of her life, and is as inseparable in death as in life, i.e., she must not survive her husband ; she must die with him.

He is her God, and she need not, nay should not, like others, pray to a deity.¹⁰

Patience is her watchword. Fear (*அச்சம்*), Ignorance or its mask (*மடமை*), Modesty and delicacy (*பயிர்ப்பு*), and Bashfulness (*நாணம்*) are her insignia.

She should, like Portia, behave as though she were an "Unlesioned girl, unschooled and unpractised", but willing and eager to learn and improve. She should be thoroughly imbued with a sense of modesty and delicacy. And lastly, she should always wear the mantle of bashfulness, and never appear to be too open or forward.

Her husband may be unkind, unfaithful or cruel to her, but it is not for her to remonstrate, much less utter a word of reproach. It is for her to bear her trials meekly and in a truly forgiving spirit.¹¹

¹⁰ "ஆடுது மென்ற அணியிழைக் கவ்வாயிழையாள் பீடன்றென விருந்த டின்னரே"—கனத்திறமுரைத்தகாதை—வரி 63-4.

¹¹ "கன்னிதன்னைப் புணர்ந்தாலும்
புலவாதொழிதல் கயற்கண்ணாய்
மன்னுமாதர் பெருங்கற்பென்
றறிந்தேன் வாழிகாவேரி". —கானல்வரி, பாட்டு 3.

Such was our forefathers' conception of the ideal wife ! The apotheosis of "Karpu" in the above sense is the key-note of the *Silappathikaram*.¹² History or legend can show no more striking example of the virtuous wife of this description than Kannagi, the heroine of the *Silappathikaram*.

Kannagi, it will be noted, is a loving wife who in turn is dearly loved by her husband. She is praised by all, but specially by her husband, for her unsurpassed beauty and good qualities. In fact, some of the most rapturous words of love and admiration ever sung in verse are those which Kovalan is said to have addressed to Kannagi in the *Silappathikaram*.¹³ Such a wife is abandoned and made to suffer cruel agony for a long, long time. Another woman in her place would have felt bitter towards such a husband and renounced him for life. Not so Kannagi. She utters no word of reproach, nor would she suffer it to be uttered in her hearing. It is not philosophic resignation nor historical indifference, that is at the bottom of this attitude. It is her "Karpu", her sense of wifely duty, that makes her so patient, so forbearing and uncomplaining, although her heart is sore and although she keenly feels her disability, through her husband's separation, to perform her duties as a housewife.¹⁴

When after months of the most callous desertion her husband comes back to her, she greets him with a smile,¹⁵ with scarce a sign of anger or even displeasure in her face. When he accosts her saying that he is ashamed to have rendered himself penniless through squandering away his wealth on a false courtesan, thinking that his regret was due to his inability to pay Madhavi further, she offers him her anklet so that he may turn it into money and pay her

¹² "உரைசால்பத்தினிக் குயர்ந்தோரேத்தலும்"—பதிகம், வரி 56.

¹³ மனையறம்படுத்த காதை—வரி, 73-80.

¹⁴ கொலைக்களக் காதை—வரி, 71-3.

¹⁵ கனத்திறமுறைத்த காதை—வரி, 73.

off. Such is Kannagi doing her duty inexorably as the *Karpudai Mangai*, or the virtuous wife !

Kovalan accepts the anklet but not for paying Madhavi as Kannagi thought, but as a potential capital wherewith to start a new life in a new place where they are unknown. Accordingly he suggests their leaving Kaveri-pum-pattinam that very night to go on a long journey by foot to far-off Madurai in the Pandyan Kingdom. Like Sita of old, instantly, without a moment's hesitation, Kannagi sets out with her husband, thinking little of the fatigue, privation and danger which all too plainly confronted foot-travellers in those days. Sita's alacrity to accompany her husband and face all trials and tribulations is easily comprehended, for Rama, her husband, was a staunch lover—so staunch and steadfast, indeed, that he vowed when he married Sita never to touch another woman even in thought, and kept his vow ! Besides he was a great hero, unequalled in valour and skill. But here is fish of another kettle—a husband who behaves in the most wicked and callous manner possible towards his loving wife, and yet she accompanies him most readily on an exceedingly arduous and vexatious journey, with the prospect at the end of it of no more than a precarious existence ! Can anyone imagine a woman doing all this for such a husband ? No, it is past belief except on the basis of "Karpu" animating her whole being. Kannagi herself says this in no uncertain terms. When Kovalan, after bitterly accusing himself for his past conduct, asks her how she brought herself to accompany him to Madurai so readily, she says, "It is true that you have sinned badly against me, but my life's rule is implicit obedience to my lord and husband, and hence my coming with you."¹⁶ There is no doubt that the cardinal point in the conception of *Karpu* is this quality of forbearance—of putting up meekly with the grievous defects and blemishes of the husband. Says Kannagi in ஊர்குழுவரி

¹⁶ கொலைக்களக் காதை—வரி 81-2.

when she hears of her husband's unjust death :—"Are there virtuous wives here who put up patiently and meekly with the grave shortcomings and lapses of their husbands?"¹⁷ Here, in a nutshell, is Kannagi's own test for the "Karpudai Pendir" or the virtuous wives.

In Madurai, as we know, Kovalan is slain on a false charge. The news reaches Kannagi's place of residence in hushed whispers, and the local people try to keep it back from her. She, however, grows suspicious and goes to the city in search of her husband. There she sees him lying dead. She is distracted with grief. She sheds bitter tears, and, embracing the blood-stained body of her husband, gives vent to the most doleful lamentation. With such terrible grief rending her heart nothing would have been easier for her, as the virtuous wife, than to end her life there and then. But she learns about the false accusation made against her husband and the cruel death which followed in its wake by the king's order. She is roused to fury. She bids the Sun, the world's eternal witness, come forward and declare whether her husband is a thief. She vows to have her husband's name cleared and his death avenged. To this end she would neither kill herself nor lead the conventional widow's life. Says she to herself: "Knowing that my husband is unjustly slain, am I to wear out my life as a widow, nursing my grief and spending my days in austerities, privations and pilgrimages?"¹⁸ And she decides that she will not.

From a meek, shrinking, soft-spoken, weak woman she is now transformed into an avenging fury. The very

¹⁷ 'கொண்ட கொழுந் குறுகுறை தாங்குறா உம்
பெண்டிரும் உண்டுகொல், பெண்டிரும் உண்டுகொல்'.

—ஊர்குழுவரி—வரி 63-4.

¹⁸ 'துன்புறுவனநோற்று துயருறுமகளிரைப்போல்
மன்பதை அலர் தூற்ற மன்னவன் தவறிழைப்ப
அன்பனை இழந்தேன்யான் அவலங்கொண்டழிவலோ'.

—துன்பமாகை—வரி 35-7.

Karpū which made her so meek and gentle, so submissive and yielding, and so forgiving and uncomplaining hitherto, now when her husband is unjustly slain, makes her more ferocious, more implacable even than *Pidari*, or *Durgai*, or *Kali*. Her tear-stained face reflecting the unutterable agony and the terrible anger in her heart, her hair disheveled and hanging loose, her clothes blood-stained and disorderly, she rushes to the palace, there to arraign and denounce the king in person. The guard at the gate is struck with dismay at seeing such an apparition. The bold, nay insulting, epithets she uses in addressing the king show the depth of her anger and her contempt for the ruler's might. Words, provocative and insulting, which she would never have dreamt of using previously, now flow from her lips as in a flood-torrent. The other classic example of *Karpū*—Sita also uses insulting language to her all-powerful tormentor, Ravana. But then, although she was a captive, helpless and forlorn, in the enemy's country, she could nevertheless afford to use such language, as she knew that her all-conquering hero, Rama, would one day avenge her insult and humiliation. But Kannagi is a poor, helpless, unknown woman in an unknown country, and yet she dares to arraign the highest of that country in language that will stand comparison with Sita's for temerity and withering scorn.

When she accuses the king of unjustly killing Kovalan, he points out that to put a thief to death is no injustice.¹⁹ Kannagi proves that her husband was no thief by showing that, while her anklet had rubies in it, that of the queen contained pearls. The shock is too great for the King and he dies on the spot. His queen, as behoves the virtuous wife, dies too. Kannagi, however, is not appeased. She is mightily angry, and rightly so, against the city where such false accusation and such horrible travesty of justice were possible. She vows: "If I am a virtuous daughter

¹⁹ வழக்குரை காதை—வரி 64-5.

of that home of all virtuous women, Kaveri-pum-pattinam, I will not rest until I have destroyed Madurai along with its Kingship". And calling all men and women, and the gods and sages to witness, she declares, "I am terribly angry with Madurai that hath done my husband such grievous wrong. I am not to blame for what I now do." So saying, she plucks out her left breast with her right hand, and after going round Madurai thrice, she flings it across the market place with the fierce imprecation that the entire City be burnt down to ashes. The Fire-God appears before her and asks her, before he starts the conflagration, to name those that should be spared death by fire. Kannagi names the Brahmins, the sages, the cows, the virtuous women, the aged and the children. The fire breaks out and destroys all except those named by Kannagi. What anger! What fierceness! What inflexible will! And what faith in the power of *Karpu*! To declare that she will destroy Madurai argues an implicit and unconquerable faith in the power of her *Karpu* to make the gods obey her will. And the story is that the gods did obey the virtuous wife!

Tamil literature calls this heroism of the virtuous wife *Marak-karpu* (heroic karpu) to distinguish it from the meek and submissive type which it designates *Arak-karpu* (Dharmic karpu). Kannagi is a classic example of both kinds of *Karpu*. As the meek, submissive, ever-patient wife of Kovalan she illustrated *Arak-karpu* in the earlier part of her life; and when her husband was unjustly done to death, she showed to the world to what heroic heights the same woman could rise and thus exemplified *Marak-karpu* also in her own person. This is the reason why, while there were ever so many examples in the land of virtuous wives laying down their lives for their deceased husbands, the Tamils chose Kannagi as பத்தினித்தெய்வம் or the deity of virtuous wifedom, and built temples for her all over the country. Her worship spread even to

Lanka where its King (Kaya Vahu) is said to have built her a temple.²⁰

The ancient Tamils rated the virtuous female கற்பு டைய மங்கை as high as a goddess. Nay, to them she was the only visible goddess. "We know no goddess other than the one here whose mantle is *Karpu*",²¹ says Kavunthi Adigal, a saintly Buddhist nun, speaking of Kannagi. It was their unshakeable faith and belief that if the virtuous woman ordered rain to come down, it would come down; that her curse would take instantaneous effect; that one angry look of hers was enough to reduce to ashes anyone daring to molest her; that in the land where virtuous women lived there would be no draught, no barrenness of soil and no destruction of the King's victorious arms.²²

To the virtuous woman her *Karpu* is not only her shield, but it is also her sword wherewith she could instantly annihilate anyone daring to make improper advances to her, or injure her husband. Kannagi is conscious of this power when she declares that she will destroy Madurai. Sita is conscious of this power when she tells Hanuman, in the Tamil version of *Ramayanam*, that, had Ravana dared to touch her, he would instantly have been reduced to ashes. So the cult of the invincibility of *Karpu* and its God-given power to destroy the offender was supreme in the Tamil land—implicitly believed in by men and women.

The reason for the apotheosis of *Karpu* is not far to seek. The standard set for *Karpu*, as we have seen, is well-nigh impossible for ordinary human beings to attain. Any

²⁰ உரைபெறுகட்டுரை—3.

²¹ "கற்புக்கடம்புண்ட இத்தெய்வமல்லால்
பொற்புடைத் தெய்வம் யாம் காண்டிலமால்".
அடைக்கலக்காரை—வரி 143-40.

²² அடைக்கலக்காரை—வரி 145-47.

woman coming up to this ideal must be near perfection and therefore of an order higher than the normal human beings. No wonder, then, that she was held in the highest esteem and awe, and looked upon as a goddess on earth.²³

²³ Moreover, it may well be that a society which allowed a measure of self-indulgence and license to its menfolk, as ancient Tamil society seems to have done, was perhaps more likely, by contrast, to venerate and idealize feminine virtue than one in which self-restraint was practised as much by men as by women.

The Status of Tamil in Ceylon

A historical and comparative study of the bilingual problem

K. NESIAH

I

It was a fateful night, the 14th of June 1956, and the day was breaking when the Ceylon House of Representatives passed by sixty-six votes to twenty-nine the Sinhala Only Act which read: "The Sinhala language shall be the one official language of Ceylon". The sponsors of the bill were the new Government led by the Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and composed entirely of Sinhalese-speaking ministers. The vote of every Tamil-speaking member but one, fourteen in all, was cast against the unjust decree. The redeeming feature of the voting was that as many Sinhalese votes were cast against it and one Burgher vote as well.

The future historian who reads the relevant documents would be surprised at the inconsequential nature of State language policy. When the legislators first got interested in the problem it was at a time when the British Government had declared its willingness to concede full responsible Government in internal affairs provided the constitutional scheme had the approval of three quarters of the members of the State Council¹. This condition probably explains the facility with which the Official Languages Resolution, favouring Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages on equal terms, was passed in May, 1944. A Select Committee worked out a programme to give effect to the

¹ Declaration of H.M. Government, 26 May 1943 (S.P. XVII—1943).

motion². The key recommendation was that by 1957 all public servants should be able to transact business in both national languages: courses in both languages were to be provided in secondary schools to help to achieve this bilingualism in administration. A general election followed, but nothing was done till the eve of the next general election when an Official Languages Commission was appointed to consider ways and means of implementing the recommendations of the previous Committee. A year after the general election the Commission issued its Final Report containing "plans for the quickest possible adoption of such of the proposals of 1946 as are capable of facilitating the transition from English to Sinhalese and Tamil as the official languages of Ceylon without sacrificing the efficiency of the administration"³. Within a month of the submission of this report, in October 1953, another Commission, that on Higher Education in the National Languages was appointed, ultimately with the same Chairman who presided over the previous one. The report of this Commission consisted of a majority report, signed by the Chairman and the other three Sinhalese members, and a minority report signed by the three members who belonged to the minority communities.⁴ In spite of a directive by the Governor-General to confine themselves to their terms of reference, the minority report questioned the wisdom of government's policy in underrating the place of English while the majority report questioned the wisdom of recognizing two official languages. The majority even went further and in the name of equality of opportunity asked for higher education provision "for at least six Sinhalese-speaking students to every Tamil-speaking student"⁵. They recommended that the Univer-

² *Sinhalese and Tamil as Official Languages* (S.P. XXII—1946).

³ *Final Report of the Official Languages Commission* (S. P. XXII—1953).

⁴ *Final Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the National Languages* (S.P. X—1956).

⁵ Incidentally, 6:1 is not the proportion of Sinhalese speakers to Tamil speakers in Ceylon. It is 7:3 according to S.P. XXII—1946.

sity of Ceylon now functioning in Peradeniya and Colombo should be converted into Sinhalese medium universities along with a new such university in Galle. They suggested that a separate Tamil medium university should be established in Batticaloa or Jaffna.

II

That these moves represent an attempt to use language to secure a temporary political advantage for one group rather than as an instrument of national creativity is evidenced by certain political moves during the same period. The Board of Ministers had put forward a constitutional scheme in September 1944⁶, which became the basis of the Soulbury Constitution⁷. The main safeguards for the minorities consisted of a system of weightage in representation in the legislature and a restriction on legislative power. The advocates of the ministerial scheme represented to the Soulbury Commission that of the 95 elected seats, 58 would go to Sinhalese candidates and 37 to the minority candidates (Ceylon Tamils 15, Indian Tamils 14, Muslim 8), making, with six nominated seats, a minority representation of 43 in a House of 101. But when the Constitution was in working, by a series of acts of omission and commission it was possible to reverse the weightage. At the general election of 1956 so many as 74 seats went to the Sinhalese and only 19 to the minority candidates (Ceylon Tamils 12, Muslims 7, Indian Tamils Nil.) The other safeguard, section 29, which forbids discriminatory legislation and requires a two-thirds majority for amending the section, obviously depended on the above proportion being maintained with regard to the number of seats. But, the then government was able to find the necessary majority to waive section 29 and pass the discriminatory Indian and Pakistani (Parliamentary Representation) Act, 1954.

⁶ *Reform of the Constitution* (S.P. XIV—1944).

⁷ *Ceylon: Report of the Commission on Constitutional Reform* (H.M.S.O., 1945).

All that can be said in mitigation is that thinking in terms of one's community rather than in terms of the nation is by no means confined to the majority community. The Tamil revolt against these racial policies has in recent years taken the form of a demand for a federal state in Ceylon. So far all that the Federal leader, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, has been able to secure from Prime Minister Bandaranaike is the assurance that regional councils of the Northern and Eastern Provinces would use Tamil as their main official language and that Tamil would be recognized as the language of a national minority⁸. The inadequacy of this solution does not lie merely in the fact that nearly two-thirds of those who speak Tamil live outside these two provinces; it questions the very basis of a democratic nation — a common citizenship.

The fact of the matter is that in the past, as in India so in Ceylon, the fatherland has tended to be the community of the caste, creed or linguistic group mistaken for a race. But the firm hold of an ancient culture has, as pointed out by Radhakrishnan, prevented many political fatherlands breaking up the solidarity of India. A wonderful tolerance combined with the power of synthesis of different traditions has been the essence of that culture. Indeed through the ages India derived her unity and her individuality from her cultural outlook. To this cultural unity political strength was added by the intense struggle against British rule. The fortunate emergence of great leadership imbued with a lofty moral ideology helped her in the developing period to build an All-India mind and a secular democracy. It was fortunate for her that neither the Hindu revivalists nor the modern materialists have counted in the building of new India, else she might have retreated into medievalism or slipped into totalitarianism. In the event she is shaping into a great modern power without losing the moral grandeur of her native genius.

⁸ This pact was recently declared "null and void" by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon—Editor.

While it is true that Ceylon has also been touched by the Asian awakening, the political struggle here has been relatively lukewarm, the leadership sectional rather than national and the cultural movement more a revival of old forms rather than a renewal of spirit. From one point of view, the present is a conflict between those who think that it would have been an advantage if time had stopped before the advent of the West and those who would reject the past altogether. From another view, the language and racial controversies are at one and the same time a complete repudiation of our age-long ideals of toleration and co-existence as well as the realities of democratic nationhood.

III

The saving factor, however, is contained in Bismark's remark that statesmen cannot alter the currents of history; they can only steer their little barks. It is true that in early times, when people were not firmly attached to the soil and were still migrating, transplanting, enslaving and shifting frontiers, they freely changed their speech. Language is therefore no clue to race anywhere. In this country there is evidence to support that some groups speaking Sinhalese may have been originally Tamil speakers and some Tamil-speaking groups of today may once have spoken Sinhalese. But with permanency of settlement, the establishment of law and order, the acquiring of literacy and the development of literature and printed books, people came to be wedded to what they regarded as their mother tongue and the thoughts, tradition and history enshrined in that tongue. It is no longer possible to make even small linguistic groups to change their language, not possible to stifle their speech in any way. Witness the persistence with which the few thousand Romansch speaking group in Switzerland have kept to their language and won official status for it.

Our statesmen would do well to hearken to the message of our own history. The bilingual state is the legacy of our history. Ours appears to have always been a bilingual society. The early inscriptions, place names and family names, the documents of the courts of Kotte and Kandy, the curriculum of the medieval *pirivenas*, the extensive list of common words in the vocabularies of Sinhalese and Tamil all point to the intermingling of the peoples and languages down the ages. During the century and half of the Portuguese sojourn in these coasts, through their schools and the mixing up of large numbers of Portuguese soldiers and civilians with the indigenous population, the Portuguese language became for a time the *lingua franca* of the coastal towns and even reached the independent court of Kandy, but all that is left of the language is a few hundred Portuguese words in the vocabularies of Sinhalese and Tamil. The Dutch language which the Hollanders brought into Ceylon for another century and a half held even less sway. On the other hand the introduction of the printing press by the Dutch in 1737, the casting of types in Sinhalese and Tamil and the writing of books in the local language by Catholic writers steeped in the learning of medieval Europe and by Protestant writers full of the culture of the Renaissance gave fresh impetus to the national languages.

It is, however, the English language, which came into Ceylon with British rule early in the nineteenth century that has had the most abiding influence, for it brought with it a well-developed civilization to confront our own. It came first as an 'usurper' (to use Gandhiji's phrase), with text-books, school curricula and examination schemes all 'made in England'. Not only did it seek to supplant the native languages, but the colonial elite which adopted it tended to separate themselves from the mass of their fellow-countrymen. The first effective criticism of the prevailing system came from Arunachalam who pointed out that by

overlooking their mother-tongue 'the few who have assimilated Western culture and whose mission it should be to interpret the West to the East are disqualified for the great office of writing a good Sinhalese and Tamil literature instinct with the best spirit of modern Europe'. With the political awakening of our time the respective roles of English and the national languages is getting reversed: English is gradually shedding its place as the first language of the few and becoming the second language of many.

No less far-reaching has been the political unification that has followed British rule. Helped by a common administration and a common citizenship and facilities, for travel and employment on an Island-wide basis, there has been social and territorial mobility on a gigantic scale. To add to this, the opening of the plantations and the bringing of labour from South India has resulted in the settlement in the hill country of a Tamil-speaking population who now constitute nearly one-eighth of the Island's population. We have now become irrevocably a multi-lingual, multi-religious society. Sinhalese is mother tongue to 69% of the Island's nine million population; Tamil is spoken by 29%, including the 12% who are of Indian origin. Though English has bestowed for over a century every political, economic and social advantage to those who knew it, it is understood only by 6% of the total population, English literacy being most pronounced in the City of Colombo. On the other hand, without any adventitious aid, the social and geographical interspersing of Sinhalese and Tamil account for 9% of the nation being bilingual in Sinhalese and Tamil, or in the urban areas 18%. Ceylon's modern towns too owe their existence to the impact of the West and the growth of a multi-lingual society is most reflected in the composition of the population of these towns. In several of them from a third to a half of the population is bilingual; Colombo is the supreme example.

The bigger English schools helped to make some sense out of this cosmopolitan society. They became compre-

hensive in their composition and drew their pupils from all sections and from all parts of the country. Even with the change over to the Swabasha medium some of these schools are taking pains to preserve their cosmopolitan character. The University of Ceylon likewise reflects the entire nation, its 2500 enrolment representing 60% Sinhalese-speaking, 36% Tamil-speaking, 4% English and other language-speaking homes. These institutions and their alumni represent the first group of people in this country who come closest to being described as Ceylonese rather than as Sinhalese or Tamils or Muslims or Burghers. That some of the noblest institutions of the past like the Totagamuwa Pirivena of Ceylon or the Nalanda University of India were cosmopolitan in their composition and catholic in their outlook puts our modern schools in line with our inheritance.

IV

Just as under conditions of British rule we became a multi-lingual society, under the new legal system we became equally irrevocably a free and equal society. Under the principle of the rule of law, the same law for all and all equal before the law, all persons, men and women, found themselves released from a casteistic social order and from the conception that the nation is a bundle of communities. It has not taken long for equality before the law to be followed by equality at the polls and some measure of economic and educational equality. In time all citizens will demand the right to equal participation in Government and an equal share in the benefits of administration. No citizen will agree to be treated differently from any other. That is democracy's ultimate safeguard.

That is not to say that the battle for democracy will be easily won. Accustomed methods of thinking die hard. Witness the thought of leading men, including a former Chief Justice, who said that the community of higher

learning should be a racial community and that the access to such learning should be rationed among members of different communities according to numbers. Similar proposals have been made in India. It is, however, refreshing to note that the Radhakrishnan Commission rejected the rationing of seats.⁹ "The fundamental right is the right of the individual, not of the community. Every young man must have an equal chance with others, to make the most of his abilities". They opposed the assumption in "quotas" that the nation is composed of separate and self-sufficient groups as "a negation of the national ideal and democratic principle".

Equally untenable is the position when a political party composed of one racial group, seeks a mandate from that group, and seeks to establish a government by that group for the benefit primarily of that group. If rights do not belong to racial communities, there can be no more rights to racial majorities than to racial minorities. Referring to a similar situation in India, Asoka Mehta writes: "When a religious community, a language group, an occupation, a class, or a political party makes sovereign claims and reduces all other associations to the status of satellities democracy is destroyed".¹⁰

Politicians may not always be far-sighted, but the professional administrator is a stabilizing element in a democratic government. Himself selected on merit, his job is to ensure, as impartially as he can, equal rights to all citizens. Unlike the politician, the public servant belongs to 'all' not to 'some'. To be able to serve all alike, whether in the public offices, the courts of law, the transport services or the hospitals, he should be able to understand both Sinhalese and Tamil. You cannot run a modern administration on any other basis. That is why, even when English was the unquestioned official language,

⁹ Report of the University Education Commission, 1949 (Govt. of India Press).

¹⁰ Article in *Times of India*.

the British administration found it necessary to require a working knowledge of both Sinhalese and Tamil of all higher officials.

V

It may be worth while examining the different linguistic situations in the modern world. They may be classified as follows :—

- (A) Unilingual countries
- (B) Multilingual countries, which may have either :
 - One official language, or
 - More than one official language, either :
 - A federal language and other regional languages, or
 - Bilingual states, which may be :
 - Unitary states, or
 - Federal states.

Often it is a language that has articulated a state of its own. There are quite a number of unilingual states in the world, Britain and France being good examples. Strength also accrues to these states because people come to believe that those who speak the same language are of the same racial stock and are different from other linguistic groups elsewhere. If the essence of nationhood is mental homogeneity then the possession of a common language-culture makes for the stability of unilingual states.

The second main category consists of the many multilingual nations of the world. These have not always successfully solved problems arising from language differences, but where they have solved them it has been a real achievement. The solutions have generally taken either of two forms, one official language, or more than one. Examples of the former range from Thailand where the Thai language is exclusively used in administration and in

schools to Malaya where though English, and now Malay, have special status some measure of cultural recognition is given to Chinese and Tamil. The U.S.A. also belongs to the group of countries which have but one official language. The fact that English is home language to nearly 90% of the population and that the remaining 10% originated from some twenty-five different nationalities gives a natural supremacy to the English language. Minorities are, however, not debarred from conducting their own schools without state aid.

But several multi-lingual countries have had to give official status to more than one language. Here again the solution has varied. Large countries with a number of languages, like India and the U.S.S.R., have adopted the most widely spoken language as the official inter-state language (Hindi in the case of India,* Russian in the case of the U.S.S.R.) and given official recognition as regional and national languages to the other major languages. The claims of these languages have also compelled India to adopt a linguistic re-distribution of the states. The position which English has acquired by historic circumstance in India and its value as an international language gives it a special place in higher education and as an additional federal language alongside of Hindi for many years to come.

Perhaps the happiest solution has been in countries which already possessing some degree of bilingualism decided to adopt bilingualism as national policy. Some of these are unitary states like Finland, Belgium and South Africa. Finland has followed a bold language policy. Finnish is spoken by 91% of its four million population; the remaining 9% speak Swedish. Both languages are official

* The position is somewhat different. Under the Constitution, English will continue as the Official Language of the Indian Union till 1965, when alone Hindi can become a full fledged Official Language. Meantime there is already determined opposition to this constitutional provision on the ground that it discriminates in favour of Hindi and against the other Indian languages. This opposition can be met only by retaining English as the Official Language indefinitely i.e. by maintaining the *status quo*.
—Editor.

languages. This is scrupulously extended to every sphere, including street names and the telephone directory. Both languages are taught at school from the earliest classes. But Finnish and Swedish are minor languages and so two major languages, English and German, are compulsory in the secondary school, making four languages obligatory for the matriculation examination. Federal states which have given equal status to two or more languages and built a single nation out of different elements are Switzerland and Canada. In Switzerland German-Swiss is spoken by 72%, French by 21% and Italian by 6%, but all are equal federal languages; conventions about the composition of the executive government which have never been broken add to the strength of the Republic. Canada's French-Canadian minority of 30% live largely in Quebec Province. Both English and French are federal languages and official languages in Quebec. A member may speak in English or French in both parliaments and the speech from the throne is delivered in both English and French. Government publications, postage stamps and currency notes all carry the message of unity. There are also conventions about the composition of the government and the supreme court. Throughout Canada the study of both national languages is promoted in the secondary schools and universities. A striking example is the University of British Columbia with a Chair of French Canadian Literature in a province where French Canadians number but 3½%. This is the sort of provision which makes French Canadians look to Canada rather than to France for the development of their distinctive culture.¹¹

VI

Three conclusions may be drawn from this study:—

- (1) The steps taken by the Government of Ceylon during the past few years to promote Sinhalese

¹¹ For the constitutional provisions of Finland and Switzerland, 'Language Rights in Ceylon' by Xavier S. Thani Nayagam in *Tamil Culture* Vol. V, No. 3.

and Tamil as media of instruction in schools have been in the right direction. But till Tamil is given the status of an official language throughout Ceylon, education will lack the incentive that comes from using in school the language of administration and civic life. But more than education will suffer. Since the status of a language is the symbol of a people's freedom, equal standing and honour, Tamil-speaking Ceylon will harbour the resentment of being treated as inferior. But state recognition is not all. Not till the people, whether Tamil-speaking or Sinhalese-speaking, get a burning conviction that their future in civilization is bound up with creations in their own tongue and 'what they have inherited from their fathers they must earn anew if they wouldn't possess it', not till then, would they succeed in the strenuous task of turning their ancient languages to the uses of today. To use language as an instrument of domination or conflict is to postpone its use as an instrument of civilization. To want to curb the full flowering of either Sinhalese or Tamil is to deny to Sri Lanka the full expression of her variegated personality. Nor will Subramania Bharati's patriotic poems of India answer to the needs of the Tamils of Ceylon: Ilam's own poets must sing Ilam's praise whether in Tamil or Sinhalese.

- (2) A positive nationalism will promote the study of each other's language and culture as an indispensable means of welding a multi-group society into a strong nation. Each language-culture must be the prized possession of both groups, the two traditions regarded as complementary to each other. National bilingualism must become a conviction, rather than a concession. To this end, as many institutions of learning should be consciously planned so as to provide opportunities of learning each other through each other's language and each other's language through each other.
- (3) If it takes two languages to make a nation, it takes more than two to make a great nation. A little

while before his death Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* with characteristic insight :

My plea is for banishing English as a cultural usurper as we successfully banished the political rule of the English usurper. The rich English language will ever retain its natural place as the international speech of commerce and diplomacy As it contains some of the richest treasures of thought and literature, I would certainly encourage its careful study among those who have linguistic talents and expect them to translate those treasures for the nation in its vernaculars.

It is neither likely nor desirable that an English-speaking elite should be reared in the future, nor on the other hand is universal English possible even if it is desirable. Some 80% of the population, chiefly in the rural areas, are not likely to profit by a study of English and should be content to be indirectly influenced by books and men who have received the inspiration of English (and other foreign languages). For about 18%, who have completed secondary education, English will serve as 'an instrument of communication'. It is for the remaining 2% that English will be a 'creative medium.'—"Not that we shall produce poets and writers who will contribute to English letters, but we should not despair of having scholars, and writers who can attempt creative writing in English in their chosen fields and statesmen and leaders of thought who can make a significant contribution in world assemblies. But the most abiding contribution of the nation's thinkers will have to be in the people's own language. Those who cannot speak in Swabasha will not be heard; those who do not know English will have little to say."¹²

¹² "The Place of English" in Humayun Kabir: *Education in New India*.

Reviews

THE KONGU COUNTRY

By DR. M. AROKIASWAMI

*Reader in Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.*

*Madras University Historical Series, No. 22,
pp. VII, 420—Rs. 15.*

The Tamil country has from time immemorial been regarded as composed of three kingdoms: Chera, Chola and Pandya. Dr. Arokiaswami stakes out in this book a claim for a fourth region, the Kongu country. If the boundaries of the old triune division are indeterminate, the boundaries of Kongu are still more so. The Kongu country waxes and wanes within the covers of this book.

So much for the Geography. Of history the author has assembled together all the literary and epigraphical references concerning the area he has defined as Kongu. The survey begins with prehistoric lists and ends with the Mysore wars. That means that till about the 8th century we are moving in a world of conjecture. The literature that is put under contribution defies chronological arrangement; it is unsafe to build on phonetic similarities. So we move through a world of ghosts — the Satyaputra, the Kosas, the Kongus, the Kalabhras. Mere reinterpretation of well-worn materials will not give us a satisfactory history of South India.

We emerge out of this twilight with the Rattas. Then come the Gangas and the sequence of South Indian empires that we know well. The author gives some attention to social and economic factors. He brings up the narra-

tive to recent times. The book has the merit of bringing together all the historical material referring to a fairly well-defined region of the Tamil country. That region has always been the meeting, if not fighting, ground between the Tamils on the one hand and to the west and the north, the Chera and Karnataka countries respectively. All the peculiar features of the region, such as they are, derive from this geographical fact that it is the valley of the Cauvery leading up to the Ghats on the north and the west. Within his self-imposed limits the author has done well.

F. M.

AN APPRECIATION OF OUR JOURNAL, TAMIL CULTURE

EXTRACT OF LETTER OF DR. ROBERT SKELTON,
Dept. of Foreign Languages, Alabama Polytechnic Institute,
Auburn, Alabama.

"I find your publication highly interesting and appreciate the fact that it appears in a language I know. One can be interested in a language, a people and its culture even tho' he possesses no competence in Tamil.

Sincerely yours,
ROBERT SKELTON."

News and Notes

THIRUKKURAL TEST AT 40 CENTRES

The All-Ceylon Thirukkural Test organised by the Thamil Marai-k-Kalagam was held this year, at 40 centres throughout Ceylon on March 8th. Nearly 3,000 candidates sent in applications.

Four gold medals and twelve silver medals are offered by the Kalagam for those who obtain the first four places in each grade. (There are four grades). There are also many consolation prizes of books.

The prizes and certificates will be distributed at the sixth annual Thirukkural Conference of the Thamil Marai-k-Kalagam to be held in Batticaloa on June 1st in connexion with Thiruvalluvar Day celebrations.

—*Times of Ceylon.*

THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

NEED FOR RESEARCH STRESSED

MADRAS, Feb. 7.

The 31-year-old Czech scholar in Tamil, Dr. Kamil Zvelebil, said here last evening that Indologists not only of his country but all over the world felt that there was a "special neglect" of the study of Dravidian languages, literature and culture, which was certainly a "very bad situation." He stressed the need for taking up right now research into the Dravidian languages and their literature, which, to Indologists "seemed" to have played an "enormous part" in the evolution of Indian culture.

The Czech scholar, who has now stayed for about ten days in the City in connection with his study of the Tamil language, literature and culture, said that he had not been alone in this venture and mentioned the names of scholars in Holland, France and other European countries, who "have been working in the field of Tamil literature." "We have seen", Dr. Zvelebil went on to say, "that even the language of Rig Veda, the most ancient document of Sanskrit, has been influenced profoundly by the Dravidian languages. This is not theory. This is a fact." "So I feel that it is high time to start studying the Dravidian languages," the Czech scholar stated.

Dr. Zvelebil, who was speaking at a reception accorded to him by the Tamil Writers' Association, at the Mahajana Sabha Hall, Mount Road, said that there was a proposal to take a young Tamil scholar or a post-graduate student to Prague as a Lecturer in Tamil, and at the same time, help him in the Orient Institute in his country to analyse some of the *Sangam* texts. He expressed the hope that they would be able to find someone who would help them in Prague for at least two or three years.

“ SILLAPPADHIKARAM ”

The large gathering of Tamil writers heard with rapt attention the young foreigner read his prepared speech in Tamil as clearly as any one of them. Dr. Zvelebil said that since 1949—when he was 22 years—he had begun to learn the Dravidian languages, especially Tamil. He and his colleagues were doing research in the Dravidian languages and their literatures and studying the civilization obtaining in the Dravidian countries. In leisure hours, they were trying to write articles in Tamil in the magazine they were publishing and were also bringing out books in Tamil. The speaker said that since last year he had taken up the translation of *Silappadhikaram*, which he hoped to complete next year. He expressed a wish to translate the *Nadodi* compositions also and write a book on India's civi-

lization and culture for the benefit of his countrymen. He ended up reciting the verse in Tamil: "Vazhga niran-dharam, vazhga Tamizh mozhi, vazhiya vazhiyave."

Asked if there was any similarity between the Tamil and Czech languages, Dr. Zvelebil said that they were absolutely different. Tamil belonged to the Dravidian family of languages and the Czech to the Slav family of languages, he explained. There was perhaps a relationship between Finnish and Hungarian languages on the one side and Tamil on the other. This was only a theory, but it was well-founded, he said.

Mr. V. Swaminatha Sarma, President of the Association, who was in the chair, said that though Dr. Zvelebil had come here for the first time, as one interested in and doing research in Tamil, he (Dr. Zvelebil), was not new to them. If, in a country, where Tamil was not spoken and taught, he had made such a great study of this language and its literature, it only showed the great interest he had for Tamil. Dr. Zvelebil was a scholar in Tamil, English, Czech and Sanskrit and was doing research in Malayalam, Telugu, Greek and Latin. His translation of the Tamil novel, "Panchum Pasiyum", proved popular in Czechoslovakia, where 30,400 copies were sold. Many other books, which he had translated, were also sold in thousands, Mr. Sarma said.

Mr. Kodumudi Rajagopalan, General Secretary, who, earlier welcomed the gathering, in proposing a vote of thanks, assured the Czech scholar that every assistance would be extended to him during his stay in this country to pursue his studies.

—The Hindu

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PRE-HARAPPA CULTURE

KARACHI, Feb. 26.

Remnants of a pre-historic civilisation, believed to be more ancient than the Indus Valley Civilisation, are reported to have been found by Dr. F. A. Khan, Superintendent of the Exploration Department of Pakistan Archaeology in Kot Diji, a site 15 miles south of Kahripur town in West Pakistan.

Mr. Khan told a Press conference here today that these finds "may antedate the well-developed Harappa phases dated 2300 B.C. by as much as 200 years".

There were indications, he said, that authors of pottery found in Kot Diji were forerunners of the Harappans in many respects. Though different in form and technique their ceramic products are in no way less artistic than the highly sophisticated black and hard pottery of the Harappans.

—*The Hindu*

VAISHNAVITE TEACHINGS

MADRAS, March 2.

Five publications in English—four on the life and works of Vaishnavite Acharyas and the fifth on Kampan—brought out by the Triplicane Tamil Sangam were released to the public at a function held this morning at the Ahobila Mutt, Triplicane, under the presidency of Mr. S. T. Srinivasagopalachariar.

The booklets written by Mr. P. R. Tirumalai Iyengar, are entitled: "Life and Works of Sri Manavala Maha Muni", "Life and Works of Sri Vedanta Desika", "Tiruchinnamalai of Sri Vedanta Desika", "The Chatussloki of Alavandar" and "Kampan, the Prince among Tamil Poets."

Mr. T. S. Parthasarathy, President of the Sangham, explained that the Sangham was bringing out books in English so that the great works in Tamil could be popularised among the English-reading public.

—*The Hindu*

PALLAVA GRANTS

EVIDENCE OF COPPER PLATES

MADRAS, March 1.

The description of a set of copper plates, perhaps the earliest and the only copper-plate record, registering a grant to the Jainas by the Pallava monarchs either in the Tamil country or in the Telugu area under their rule, was given by Mr. T. N. Subramaniam, Epigraphist, at a meeting held under the auspices of the Archaeological Society of India at Government Museum, Egmore, last evening.

Mr. Subramaniam said that the set of copper plate grant was unearthed a few years ago at Pallan Koil, a village about four miles from Tiruthuraipundi in Tanjore District. Along with this was also obtained another set consisting of seven odd sheets of a different grant. The sheets of the latter set written in the Tamil script of about the eleventh century A.D. contained only the details of the boundaries of the land gifted on *pallichandam*, that is, endowment to a temple of the Jaina or the Buddhist faith. This latter grant, had it been recovered in full, would have been a much bigger set registering the gift by a monarch of the Imperial Cholas of Tanjore. The copper plates were now in the possession of Mr. S. Rajam of Messrs. Murray and Co.

The copper grant consisted of five sheets of copper strung in a ring of the same metal, and passing through a hole on the left side of the plates in the middle. The ends of the ring were soldered at the bottom of a circular seal,

having the emblem of a couchant bull facing the proper right. There were also a few other symbols which could not be made out due to the corroded condition of the seal. One line of writing mentioning the name of Simhavarman, in whose reign the grant was issued, ran round those figures near the edge. The outer faces of the first and last plates of the set were left blank, while the three middle plates, were written on both the sides. Thus the inscription contained eight pages of writing, beginning on the inner side of the first plate and ending with the inner side of the last plate. Each side contained eight lines, the whole set thus having a total of 64 lines. The first sheet was found broken into two, the left half remaining with the set strung in the ring through the hole and the right half had been entirely lost. Thus, only the beginning of the first eight lines were available.

As was usual with the copper plate grants of the Pallavas and the Cholas found in the Tamil country, the record consisted of two parts, the first one in Sanskrit composed in verses running for eighteen lines written in the Grantha script, and the second, consisting of forty-six lines in Tamil prose and each part was complete in itself, though complementary to one another. The immediate object of the grant was to register the gift of a village and other property to the temple of Vardhamana at Paruthikunru, placed in the hands of the Jaina preceptor, Vajra Nandi of the Nandi Samgha, to meet the expenses of worship.

After describing the inscriptions, the speaker said that the grant was made in the sixth year of the reign of Simhavarman, in the third quarter of the Sixth Century A.D. The military exploits of Simha Vishnu, his son, were described in the inscriptions. Simha Vishnu was the father of Mahendra Varman I, the excavator of rock-cut temples in the Tamil country.

—The Hindu

VALLATHOL, THE EMINENT POET OF KERALA

MADRAS, March 13.

The passing away of Vallathol Narayana Menon removes from the field of Malayalam literature a towering personality which had profoundly influenced his countrymen for about six decades. He emerged into prominence in the early years of this century and was hailed as one of the trinity of modern Malayalam literature. The others, Kumaran Asan and Ullur S. Parameswara Aiyar, predeceased him.

Narayana Menon was born in 1879 in a village near Tirur in Ponnani taluk of Malabar. Vallathol, the name by which he was popularly known, was the name of his *tarawad*. He took to Sanskrit studies early in life, and when he was still 20 attained proficiency in *Kavya*, *Nataka* and *Alankara*. He started writing poetry while yet a student, and some of his early works attracted the attention of men of letters, who, without hesitation, forecast a promising literary career for him.

The literary genius of Vallathol received quick public recognition. He was acclaimed a "Mahakavi" by fellow-writers. The Maharaja of Cochin conferred on him the title of "Kavi Sarvabhauman", and the erstwhile Cochin Government ordered the payment of a monthly allowance of Rs. 15 to him. The Maharaja of Travancore State honoured the poet by presenting him with a *Veerasringala*. The Samastha Kerala Sahitya Parishad, the organisation of men of letters of Kerala, elected him as President.

The composite Madras Government created Vallathol Narayana Menon the Poet-Laureate for Malayalam, when they introduced the institution of Poet-laureates.

In 1954 the President conferred the title of Padma Vibhushan on him.

Vallathol has immortalised his name by his renderings into Malayalam verse of classical works like the Ramayana and the *Rig Veda* and his original works such as *Magdalana Mariyam* (Mary of Magdalene), *Sishyanum Makanum* (Disciple and Son), *Achchanum Makalum* (Father and daughter), *Ganapati, Bandhanastanaya Anirudhan*, (Captive Anirudhan) and *Kochu Sita*.

The poet lost his hearing in 1912. He later wrote a poem entitled *Badhira vilapam* (Lament of a deaf man).

The poet came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi when the latter launched the civil disobedience movement. He vigorously championed the national cause through the poetic medium. He wrote incessantly exhorting the people to join the non-violent struggle. He wrote an eloquent appeal for boycotting foreign goods. Another fine poem written by him about that period is *My Master*—a poetic tribute to the Father of the Nation.

After the attainment of independence the poet took an active interest in the "peace campaign" launched by the World Peace Congress. He attended the Peace Congress session in Warsaw and was elected to its presidium. The Congress gave him a great ovation when he read a Malayalam poem calling for peace which he had specially written for the occasion.

Vallathol had travelled widely. He undertook an extensive tour of North India as early as in 1929. He visited Malaya and Burma later to raise funds for the Kerala Kalamandalam. He toured the Soviet Union and Europe in 1950 as a member of a cultural delegation sponsored by the Government of India. In 1953 he undertook a tour of China with Kathakali troupe.

Vallathol was keenly interested in the advancement of Arts. He found that the art of Kathakali had fallen into

evil days and decided to work for its revival. With that end in view he organised the Kerala Kalamandalam at Cheruthuruthi near Shoranur which he had made his home, over a quarter of a century ago.

The work done by the Kalamandalam for the uplift of Kathakali is well-known. Practically all the leading Kathakali artistes of to-day were at one time or other students of this institution. The poet carried on the work of the institution against heavy odds. Over a year ago, Prime Minister Nehru made a handsome donation for the maintenance of the Kalamandalam. Later, the Kerala Government took over the institution to be run as a State academy for arts, and appointed the poet himself as its Director.

Poet Vallathol was a rebel against conventions. He made many innovations in Malayalam Poetry. The most important of them was the change of metre from slokas to Dravidian metre, which has now become very popular in Malayalam.

—The Hindu

Official Language of the Indian Union

“HINDI WILL CREATE SPLIT”—C. R.

CALL TO FIGHT “INJUSTICE”

CALCUTTA, Mar. 8.

Ten thousand Bengalis filling every available inch in the Calcutta University Institute and squatting all along the streets in College Square cheered their first State Governor after Independence, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, as he called on the people to fight to the end “the injustice of discrimination in favour of Hindi.”

“If you yield to fear and pressure, you lose the battle,” he warned, addressing the inaugural session of the All-India Language Conference, presided over by the Indian jurist, Dr. Radha Binod Pal, and addressed among others, by Master Tara Singh and Mr. Frank Anthony.

“We must fight our case, even if we are helplessly defeated. We will not be dead, we will still fight. We have no passion against Hindi. But we can never agree to Hindi-speaking people becoming the concrete heroes of India. It is unfair to impose the mother-tongue of 42 per cent of the total people on the other 58 per cent,” Mr. Rajagopalachari said.

“Dr. Sampurnanand and Sri Sri Krishna Sinha have failed to introduce Hindi as the State language in their own States. And they want Hindi to be the official language in bigger areas. It is time the Hindi fanatics concentrate on their own States. When they succeed, let them come to West Bengal or Madras”.

“We must make the Union official language a secular thing, not a fanatical thing”. Rajaji said, pleading for maintenance of the *status quo* in India's linguistic set-up with English as the official language.

PAINTED UNITY.

“The Hindi flag will create disintegration and disunity all over India, if not at once, in the very near future. The unity claimed for Hindi is painted unity. Despite the existence of different linguistic groups in Madras and Hyderabad there was all along unity and synthesis. Hindi is now planting seeds of disunity for the first time.”

Mr. Rajagopalachari referred to the complaints often repeated against him that he was aligning himself with undesirable political elements to win his battle against Hindi imperialism. “I do not accept the political policy of any party other than the Congress. I can say with all the emphasis I can command that language is not a political question.”

“In 1947 we had the right to give up English. Why did we not do it? Has it failed us? Has it created any disunity? It produced no disunity, no corruption; other things did. It is ungrateful to turn English into a foreign language. We have become so agreeable to it. The Russians may send their Sputniks highest, but they can never produce a language as great as the English language” said Mr. Rajagopalachari, continuing his defence of English as the most appropriate official language for India.

Addressing the conference, Mr. Frank Anthony said he was against the use of the word ‘Hindi’, and expressed his fears that it would be seized upon as a vehicle for communalism and language chauvinism. The last seven or eight years had seen his worst fear materialise. “The new Hindi, as it continues to develop, is not a language but a

language burlesque. Self-styled Hindi lexicographers and self-appointed Hindi purists have been busy competing with one another in evolving all manners of fantastic and unfamiliar words and phrases," he said.

"But worse than the stilted, unreal character of the new Hindi is the fact that it has become increasingly the symbol of all that is reactionary and retrograde in the country. The new Hindi today is the symbol of communalism, it is the symbol of religion, it is the symbol of language chauvinism, and worst of all, it is the symbol of oppression of the minority languages," Mr. Anthony added.

In his presidential address Dr. Radha Binod Pal said : "The Congress Government, it seems, is displaying in its linguistic policy a characteristic authoritarianism. The proposed linguistic regimentation of the Indian people would indeed be unique in history. It is indeed a tragedy that the traditional articulations of the social structure of people which have gradually and naturally developed through the ages should be so confounded. Our attachment to the Congress has long been almost inextricably identified with a picture of man endowed with sufficient wisdom and selflessness to endure power and to use it infallibly for the general good. It must, however, be confessed now that the optimism seems to have given us a soft and shallow conception of human nature."

The P.T.I. adds : Mr. Rajagopalachari told the conference : "Hindi is as much foreign to the non-Hindi-speaking people as English to the protagonists of Hindi. If, therefore, Hindi is pushed to a position to which it did not aspire, it will create disunity. We should take a lesson from what is happening in the Punjab."

It was bad, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, to raise slogans like "English is a foreign language." He said it might be of foreign origin but "we are encouraging many things of foreign origin like foreign aid,

commonwealth, legislative procedure and our political and democratic institutions. English has served us well during all these years. It did not create any trouble in the country as Hindi is creating today. It is one of the finest languages of the world. If we want to acquire modern knowledge we must not give up English," he said.

One of the reasons for the anti-Hindi feeling in the South, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, was the talk of English as a foreign language. If Hindi protagonists had not referred to English as a foreign language, possibly the opposition to Hindi in the South would have been less, he said.

It was emphasised, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, that Hindi was essential for the unity of India, but what they actually found was that, instead of unity, this Hindi movement was producing disunity in the country. The same argument, he added, was put forward by the British rulers when the people of India launched their struggle for independence. They said there must be one religion and one language to form a nation and without national unity, they asked, how could freedom be granted? Today, he said, India had attained freedom although she had many languages and many religions.

Rajaji referred to a recent speech of Prime Minister Nehru in which he had stated, without mentioning any name, that he (Mr. Nehru) wondered how some people could advocate continuance of English which was a foreign language.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said : "Obviously, he was referring to me. But I never advocated that English should be the national language of India. What I suggested was that English can be the official language at the top-level. That will create unity between the people of the States all over India."

Mr. Rajagopalachari said, if there were two languages in a State both could be the official languages. "Marathi and Gujarati are in one State—Bombay (God bless that one State) and both will have the official status. Similarly, in the Punjab Gurmukhi and Hindi had been agreed upon to be the official languages and I hope there will be no further trouble in that State on the issue. But it is a lesson for all of us. We should understand the danger of errors which we may commit in regard to language. Here Hindi is being made the Union official language in spite of the feelings all over the country, specially in non-Hindi speaking areas like Bengal and the southern States."

Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "If Hindi was imposed—I would not use the word 'imposed' (but I do not know what else they are doing) as our leaders do not like the word 'imposition'—they think we all agree to this. Today, whether we agree to this or not, they have their agencies in the various States and they all belong to one party and cannot escape the party discipline. If, therefore, Hindi is pushed like that we must look at what is happening in the Punjab. There is trouble in spite of the fact that the State Government had been a party to the agreement. I do not want to forecast but God alone knows what will happen if Hindi was pushed like that. We should all learn a lesson from the Punjab," he added.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said if unity was to be produced through the official language he did not understand its meaning. "Does it mean there is no unity in the country? Then we have to wind up our business. But so far as I know, the present unity is very good and I do not know why we should try to improve upon this unity. It may ultimately spoil the whole thing. We should have common-sense to see what is happening in the country. If the all-India official language is to be Hindi whether in 1965, 1970 or 1990, then of course preparations are necessary from even now and you all know the President himself is inte-

rested in doing all these. We should not, therefore, go to sleep but we should have to say that our consent is not there and we are seriously against it, not merely in principle or in the matter of time and in preparation, but in every respect.

Pointing to a language map of India, Mr. Rajagopalachari asked the large audience if they were prepared to concede the demand of the Hindi-speaking people, forming 42 per cent of the total population of India. "No, no" came the quick reply.

He said if Hindi was accepted as the official language of India, the vast majority of the people would automatically be reduced to an inferior status.

There was some argument about Hindi language that it was inefficient. He thought this argument was irrelevant. "The main point is we are against any discrimination in favour of any regional language over other regional languages. Hindi may be a very good language and, if you want to progress in commerce and trade, if you want to do business with Hindi-speaking people, you have to talk to them in that language and we should all learn the language spoken in a large area to the best of our capacity but it should not be made the official language. We should be clear in our minds as to what we can concede and what we cannot. We are not dealing with enemies. We are dealing with our friends, with our own Governments and we should not be afraid of telling them what we feel about it," he said.

Rajaji said they could never allow Hindi-speaking people having greater advantage over others. They could not allow one regional language to be raised to a level to which other languages were not raised. "There were in India fourteen major languages. English was also there like the oceans and mountains in India's geography. How could one give it up?" he asked.

He said there were many persons inside that big organisation (Congress) even among the Hindi-speaking people, who did not like introduction of Hindi as the official language. But they dared not open their mouth about it. India was habituated to submit to compulsion and, if compulsion was applied, it might succeed, he said.

Hindi, he said, could not bring anything original. It could not bring modern knowledge. Before they could translate one book into Hindi a new book of knowledge in English might be before them. Since they had already acquired English, there was no point in giving it up, he said.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said the language issue produced disintegration. Madras was split up and so also Hyderabad. Even the strong Prime Minister who had the deepest conviction against disintegration, had to yield. He might not admit this, but it was there. That was why, he said recently that his policy on language was flexible.

CLEAR STAND URGED

Mr. Rajagopalachari asked the conference to take a clear stand on the issue. He said: "We have justice on our side and we should not give up the cause because it is not a personal fight. If we accept the position in which we are being driven into, we will be relegated to a position which will not be fair to us. Even if we are hopelessly defeated, we should not give it up. We must do the right thing and I am certain we will win."

TARA SINGH'S APPEAL

Master Tara Singh referred to the recent Hindi movement in the Punjab and said:

"Let the Hindi-speaking brethren of ours think calmly and get rid of their prejudices. Of course, conquerors have always forced their language on the conquered. The Pathans and the Moghals forced Persian

upon us and the British, their own language, English. But the Hindi protagonists are not the conquerors and we are not the conquered."

The Sikh leader said in selecting a language for inter-State purposes, they should consider which language was the richest. The need for a world language for India was already being felt and English had every chance in this regard. "If, at any future time, however, it is found necessary to create a suitable inter-State language out of our present Indian languages, nobody can prevent us from doing so. But this can be done by the goodwill and support of all sections of our nation and at this moment every Indian language should have a fair chance of development and of enriching itself." Master Tara Singh added.

Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, said it would be wiser for them to wait to determine as to which Indian language would be suitable for carrying on national affairs.

—*Sunday Standard*, 9-3-1958.

ENGLISH AS UNION OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Demand For Amendment Of Constitution

REMOVAL OF TIME-LIMIT URGED BY CONFERENCE

CALCUTTA, March 9.

The All-India Language Conference, sponsored by the Association for the Advancement of National Languages, wound up its two-day session by passing 12 resolutions the dominant theme of which was the amendment of the Constitution to enable retention of English as India's official lan-

guage without any time-limit and that Hindi was only a regional language, which could never be accepted as national language.

The resolution suggesting the amendment of the Constitution, which was moved by Mr. A. Subbiah, pointed out that by not fixing any time-limit for English as official language the right of future generations to take a decision on the matter would not be curtailed. He explained, however, that this did not mean that English should necessarily be carried on for ever as the Union official language. The question could be settled in course of time, according to the requirements of the situation.

In another resolution, the Conference said that the Gauhati resolution of the Congress made no advance on the present Constitutional position on the question. The Congress had merely reiterated the policy to raise Hindi to the position of official language of India whether at a near or distant date.

GRAVE INJUSTICE TO NON-HINDI PEOPLE

The Conference felt that English should continue to be the language for recruitment to the All-India Services as otherwise difficulties would arise and undesirable discrimination would result.

One resolution stated that any attempt to raise any regional language to the position of Union official language for carrying on Central Government's business and inter-State affairs would result in grave injustice and discontent among the people adversely affected. Another resolution warned that any attempt to replace English as Union language would result in the deterioration of the study of English at the Universities and schools and thus affect the flow of modern knowledge into India.

Concern was expressed at the situation in the Punjab where "the settlement reached regarding the State lan-

guage was sought to be disturbed and feelings were still strained." It was added that any attempt to give Hindi a position of pre-eminence in other parts of India might result in unpleasant consequences.

To treat Hindi as a national language, stated another resolution, would be unreal and instead of promoting the unity of the country as sought to be made out, it would lead a larger section of people of the country to feel that they had been relegated to an inferior position.

Speaking on this resolution, Mr. E. V. K. Sampath, M.P., said that in the name of unity the Hindi fanatics were really trying to impose uniformity and wanted to subjugate millions of people.

RAJAJI'S WARNING AGAINST DANGER

"WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO MORTGAGE THE FUTURE"

"I have come out of retirement to lead the movement against the imposition of Hindi as India's official language, because I realise that this error will affect the future of our country, especially our administration which will deteriorate and consequently create disunity," stated Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, winding up the two-day All-India Language Convention.

"Added to this was the fact that the present generation had no right to mortgage the future of the younger generation of our country," Rajaji said.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said he was handing over the leadership of the movement to Bengal but cautioned them against launching any movement of action. "It was imperative", he added, that "we should proceed calmly and cautiously". He was sure that the Prime Minister was not in the Hindi movement and he was essentially a man of peace bent on achieving modernisation and progress. If people approached the language problem calmly he was sure they would meet with success.

Prof. M. Rutnaswami, who presided in the unavoidable absence of Dr. Radha Binod Pal, President of the Convention in his concluding remarks, stressed that the Convention had dealt only with the question of official language and not of the national language which had to be settled by the people of India. He trusted that the Government of India would study the resolution of the Convention bearing this in mind.

CENTRE'S ALIGNMENT WITH PROVINCIAL MOVEMENT

Mr. Rajagopalachari uttered a stern warning to the Government of India against aligning with the movement for Hindi which was provincial in character and regretted that Parliament and the Government of India were being hustled into supporting this provincial movement. Expressing his surprise at the strange combination he said that the alignment would spell ruin to the Congress organization. He was not one of those who wanted to see the Congress lose its powers but repeated his earlier warning, that if this alignment was pushed ahead, the Congress was bound to be ruined. He wanted to draw a clear distinction between the movement for national medium and the movement for official language. In this context he warned the Government of India that they were committing a great wrong by giving a provincial movement the advantage of Parliamentary support. Calling for the removal of the date-line for introduction of Hindi, Rajaji emphasised that the fixing of a date-line was mortgaging of India's future which "we had no right to do." He pointed out that if a date-line was set even at 2,000 A.D. "we had to make preliminary preparations even from now on, which was again regulating the future which we had no right to do."

Rebutting the argument that Hindi was sought to be introduced to promote unity, Rajaji said that "unity" was not "uniformity" and the attempts of the Hindi enthusiasts to impose that language was born of a military

mentality to achieve uniformity by regulation. He declared that the very movement for supporting Hindi had given rise to a new stimulus to other regional languages in the country. He asserted that any movement for national medium should be propagated by those who did not speak the language as languages could be spread only with concurrence and not compulsion. He envisaged a time when one of the national languages would become the all-India language but then, he said, it would be used as a matter of duty and not pride. The attempt of the Government to feed the pride of a particular section of the people was not good and it was better to have a sense of humility, he added.

MESSAGES

Messages wishing the conference success, were received from among others, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Sir Mirza Ismail, Dr. D. D. Karve, Sir Samuel Ranganadhan, General Cariappa and Prof. Anant Karnekar.

Sir Mirza Ismail, in his message, said :

It has been a great disappointment to many that the Congress failed to give the right lead to the country on the language question. There is a perceptible lack of courage and imagination in its latest resolution on the subject.

Two questions are in our minds—that of a *common* language and that of an *official* language. The former is naturally desired ; it is a tremendous advantage to a nation. Is there in India a language in which the people of quite different and most widely separated races and languages and at the same time, of varying levels of education, can easily communicate with each other ? It is obvious that Hindi can never serve this purpose. It is the language of a section of the people, albeit a large one, and is quite alien to the rest, the more because it is so highly Sanskritised. It is a worthy study for all, but cannot

be a means of universal communication. No one would suggest that Urdu, with its Persianised quality, could be a common language. It seems to me, however, that Hindustani might, in a considerable degree, meet this need. It is midway between Hindi and Urdu, is easily picked up, and is already understood and spoken by people of all classes nearly everywhere in India. This was Mahatma Gandhi's view. I am only reiterating it and trying to emphasise the soundness of his judgment in the light of recent happenings. The State might encourage the use of Hindustani and make it more and more popular. This could be done without any insistence or fixing any date and without inpinging on the other languages. The process would indeed be a natural one, a development of present familiarity, and the cinema will continue to be an effective agent.

But I doubt if anyone would seriously suggest that even Hindustani could be a common language in *education*. In schools, the regional language is, and always will be, the natural and necessary medium of teaching; but in high schools an adequate knowledge of English must be insisted upon, since pupils ought to be able to supplement their vernacular text books by the study of books in English. In College classes the medium of instruction, and of study, should, in my opinion, be English.

The next-best lecturing language would be the pupils' mother-tongue, and this has been adopted in some places, and is aimed at in some others. But this seems to me to be a wrong policy, since none of these languages is adequate, and since this system handicaps the pupils in the further study of English books which is essential for them, and since classes very frequently contain students of different mother-tongues. Hindi is completely unsuitable in places where it is not the mother-tongue.

What then of the *Official language*? (a) In the various States: It seems natural and right that in all subordinate

offices the regional language should be used; this is particularly desirable in those that deal with revenue. But in the Secretariats and Departmental offices the language should be English. This has long been the successful practice in Mysore.

(b) At the Centre, English should continue to be the official language for external as well as internal purposes. I fear that the replacement of Hindi by English will demand a high price in provincialism and in the limitation of international contacts.

WARNING AGAINST NEGLECT OF ENGLISH

Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in his message said, "the elimination or neglect of English from misplaced motives or prejudices or local patriotism will be a definite disservice to the cause of culture and higher education and research and further, will develop needless jealousies and antagonism between State and State. In saying this, however, I am not unaware of the great usefulness of a knowledge of Hindi nor do I subscribe to the misguided activities of separationist groups."

The delegates to the conference included Mr. Premnath Bajaj, Dr. Ruthnaswami, Mr. A. Subbiah, Mr. Madhusudan Mahanty, Sardar Ganga Singh, Mr. E. V. K. Sampath, M.P., and Mr. V. P. Raman.

The languages represented were Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Oriya, Kanarese, Assamese, Maithili, Punjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali.

HINDI ENTHUSIASTS' ATTITUDE

FANATICISM SHOULD BE FOUGHT AGAINST

Speaking at a reception accorded to him by a representative gathering of South Indians in Calcutta, Mr. Rajagopalachari put forth a spirited defence for the retention of English as all-India language for official purposes and lashed out against the Hindi enthusiasts who were attempt-

ing to force Hindi on the non-Hindi-speaking people. He called upon the people to "stand up and fight".

Mr. C. S. Rangaswami presided.

A welcome address on behalf of the Tamil Manavar Manram was presented to Rajaji and representatives of various South Indian cultural organisations welcomed him.

Rajaji spoke in English for about an hour. The entire hall was packed to capacity.

Paying a high tribute to efficiency of the Indian administrative machinery, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that "ours was the best in Asia, second only to that of the United Kingdom." This administrative machinery of ours, he said, had contributed to the unity of the country. The Central Government's attempt to impose Hindi on everyone would disrupt this unity. He therefore, asked the people that if they wanted to preserve the unity of India at such a vital juncture they must "unhesitatingly and without any reserve" vote for the retention of English as the Union official language. He said all major Indian national languages could be adopted as State languages in the different areas so that there would be complete unanimity between the people and the Government in those areas, leaving the Central Government to transact business in English. This, he said, would not interfere with the growing democracy in the country.

"SPIRIT OF ISOLATIONISM"

Rajaji said it was time that people rallied together in the fight against "the spirit of isolationism" propagated by the Hindi protagonists who said that English was "foreign". Not realising their limitations the supporters of Hindi had led themselves to believe that Hindi could be made acceptable to everyone in the country and were shouting about Hindi. If this was continued, he warned them that the people in South India could shout with

double the vigour and force and categorically state that if English was foreign, then Hindi was also foreign to them.

Refuting the argument that adherence to English would mean subservience to a foreign language, Mr. Rajagopalachari reiterated that he was advocating the adoption of English because of the intrinsic value of that language and also due to the fact that the latest and modern scientific knowledge and advances were available in the English language. He said "Modern scientific knowledge was explosive and rapid advances have been achieved in various fields and we in India could keep abreast of them only by reading English books. We cannot read second-hand translations in Hindi, which is dangerous." He then advanced the argument that knowledge could only come from original works and one could not afford to commit mistakes in science and technology. Rajaji held that modern knowledge could be acquired through the medium of the language of the people who contributed to that knowledge. "There is no looseness about it and it was an accepted fact that modern scientific knowledge had grown with English."

Declaring that he was advocating the adoption of English as the most convenient vehicle for conveying their thoughts briefly and precisely, Rajaji said that the supporters of Hindi were trying to achieve the impossible. He observed that if one considered the whole matter calmly and with clarity of vision, they would realise the limitations of their language and correct the errors in the future.

UNWISE AMBITION

Rajaji pointed out that not realising this, the supporters of Hindi were trying their best to make Hindi the pre-eminent language in India which the educated and other sections of the people should speak. At least, this was the hope of the Hindi-speaking people, which was a wrong approach to the whole problem. He said that even Hindi-

speaking people who speak different dialects had conspired together to force Hindi on non-Hindi speaking people, an ambition which speakers of no other language entertained.

Continuing, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the choice of English did not mean subordination to any foreign language. Through the medium of English, which was spoken by "a large number of people in India one could read of the latest advances in modern knowledge." Modern knowledge was moving so fast that we could not lose time in translations. "Every minute something or other was being invented or propagated and we have to keep ahead of them all by studying the latest literature on those subjects."

Concluding, Rajaji said that the national languages could be adopted as State languages and it was merely the constitutional structure which governs all India through the medium of English. With different State languages to complete the link and identity between the people and Government in the States, the use of English as official Union language would not interfere with the democracy in India.

—*The Hindu*, 10-3-58.

"SINGLE NATIONAL LANGUAGE NOT ESSENTIAL"—ROY

TIME-LIMIT FOR HINDI UNNECESSARY

CALCUTTA, March 19.

Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, pleaded for re-thinking on the language issue and said: Pending this, no language should be forced upon any other linguistic area in the country.

Speaking on a non-official resolution on the subject in the State Assembly, Dr. Roy said that the framers of the

Constitution were obsessed with the idea that one language was necessary for the unity of India.

He did not think, he said, that the unity of a country was affected because of multiple languages. He cited the example of Russia and Canada where there were more than one language as national language. In Switzerland, Dr. Roy said, they had given the status of a national language to Romansch, which was the language of one per cent of the population there.

India, Dr. Roy said, was a polyglot country having variety of people with culture and tradition based on Aryan, Dravidian and Mongolian languages. In such a country, the question of having one national language only was a difficult problem. It was possible to have in a country like India more than one national language, he said.

Referring to Hindi, Dr. Roy said even if it was to be accepted as the official language of the Union, this language should be adequately developed and until such time as it was done, the Parliament should by law provide for the continuance of English as the official language. There should not be any fixed time-limit in this regard.

Dr. Roy said that the State Assembly should also enact a law so as to make Bengali the State Language.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, leader of the Praja Socialist Party, said that it was a false cry to say that the unity of India would be jeopardised if one language was not made the national language of India. Unity of India, he said, would be disrupted by the forcible imposition of Hindi and Mr. Nehru's name would be recorded in history as the greatest disrupter of India's unity in this respect.

FIVE NATIONAL LANGUAGES

Dr. Ghosh suggested while the regional languages should be allowed to develop, there should be five

national languages in India, namely, Bengali, Tamil, Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi. Otherwise, he said, India would be disintegrated by this forcible imposition of a particular language on the people.

Dr. Ghosh characterised the imposition of Hindi as "domination of inferior intellect over the intellectuals," and said Hindi-speaking areas had not been able to produce a talented man either in the field of literature, science and art or in politics, over the past hundred years.

He said that the arrogance of the Hindi-speaking people resulted in alienation of non-Hindi-speaking people on this issue. He suggested tolerance on the part of Hindi speaking people and development of the Hindi language. Meanwhile there should not be any time limit about the continuance of English, although he said English could not be continued for all time to come.

Dr. Ghosh pleaded for introduction of Bengali as the State language and language for medium of instruction in primary, secondary and university stages of education in Bengal.

—*Indian Express*—21-3-58.

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

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

CONSONANTS

Hints re: articulation

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

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

The Tentative Version of the Bible or “The Navalar Version”

RT. REV. SABAPATHY KULANDRAN.

The translation of the Bible into Tamil has a long history ; but the version published by the Jaffna Auxiliary of the Bible Society in 1850 has an interest not merely to Christians but also to those interested in the Tamil language ; for this version is closely associated with one of the greatest Tamil scholars of all time, Arumuga Navalar.

Without claiming any special credit for himself, the present writer may confess to having played some part in the rediscovery of the edition of 1850. The version of 1871, called the Bower Version or the Union Version has been the only version known to most Protestant Christians. The text of any sacred Scripture once accepted assumes a certain place in men's outlook, so that they seldom look behind it or inquire into the circumstances leading to it. Many Christians and Hindus, however, had heard a rumour that Navalar had been associated with the project of Bible translation and therefore imagined that it was with the Bower Version he had been associated. Only some knew that it was a different version he had helped to produce ; but hardly anyone had actually seen the “ Navalar Version ” or knew its history.

In 1944 I was asked to give an address on the history of the Tamil Bible translation, about which at the time I knew nothing at all. When I came to know that the Jaffna edition was put out in 1850, I could scarcely believe my eyes when, on a visit to a cultured old gentleman, I discovered a large sized Bible on his shelves which had belonged to a relative of his. On looking into it and finding the text different from that of the Bower Version,

I realised I was indeed looking at the "Navalar Version" itself, which anybody who knew anything about these matters would have given a good deal to have seen. Since then the discovery in the archives of the American Ceylon Mission of "A Brief Narrative of the Operations of the Jaffna Auxiliary of the Bible Society", which gave a history of the 30 years of controversy between the Jaffna and the Madras Auxiliaries, furnished me with the background of the Version. Once one copy of a book is discovered, the discovery of others follows. I was therefore able to discover two more copies soon after. The background of this story would have gained immensely if I had been able to examine the two almyrahs full of records, minutes and memoranda bearing on the relationship of the two Societies, discovered by Dr. D. T. Niles recently at the Methodist Mission House, Jaffna. This I have not been able to do as yet.

Every attempt at translation involves a tension between the desire for faithfulness to the text in the original language and the desire to attain to correctness and purity of idiom in the language into which the book is being translated. In case of the translation of a sacred book the tension becomes all the more acute. In a sacred book not merely ideas but almost every word and phrase and every shade of meaning are matters of the utmost importance. Liberties, deviations and paraphrases for the sake of clarity, inoffensive in other kinds of translation, became heinous in regard to sacred Scriptures. So much is this case, that some religions frown upon all translations of their Scriptures. On the other hand, a translation, if it is to gain acceptance in the new language, must possess respectability of style and idiom. A Scripture couched in uncouth style, whatever be its sanctity in the original language can scarcely command sanctity in the new.

The more developed a language into which a Scripture is being rendered the greater will have to be the efforts

to arrive at a text that will keep the tension in poise, neither letting accuracy or faithfulness to the original suffer nor falling below standards of correct syntax and felicity of diction. The reason for an unflagging effort over a period of 250 years to arrive at a flawless text of the Bible in Tamil is therefore not hard to seek.

In many primitive languages the Bible has been the first book to be published. Quite often, therefore, the translators fix the script and determine the style of the language itself. The English language itself was sufficiently young for the translators of the Authorised Version of 1611 to have largely moulded the style of English prose. Though Tamil had hardly anything to boast of in the sphere of prose, the features of the language had long been fixed and its literature had become immemorial, when the Christian missionaries arrived. The labours of succeeding generations of men, whose many sided scholarship was not anything less than their religious zeal, were necessary to satisfy the conscience and literary sensitiveness of the Christian Church in an effort to arrive at a text that could be accepted without qualms.

The first edition of any part of the Bible in Tamil was published by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, the famous German missionary, in 1715 at Tranquebar. Ziegenbalg is one of the greatest figures in the Christian missionary movement. He had a gift for languages amounting to genius. When he set foot in India at the age of 23 he had to study Danish to speak to the officers in Tranquebar, Portuguese to speak to the mixed population round the Danish settlement and Tamil to speak to the people of the land. But there were many other handicaps to face. There was no teacher who understood him, no dictionary and no simple grammar. He had to begin his Tamil studies, sitting on the ground among school children and tracing with them the characters of the alphabet. The Danish Governor and his officials were against his very presence in their midst and tried to thwart

his work in every possible way. Even his living conditions were made unbearable. Nevertheless he triumphed over all difficulties and in six years had finished his translation of the New Testament which owing to printing difficulties was published only four years later.

About his edition the Rev. J. M. S. Hooper, Secretary of the Bible Society of India for many years, and author of *Hymns of the Alvares*, says "it did not conform to the standards of classical Tamil nor was it mellifluous; it bears plainly in its frequently almost phonetic spelling the traces of its origin in the familiar talk of the common man. But it was an intelligible and faithful translation." Father Beschi, the eminent Jesuit linguist, the author of *தேம்பா வணி* and many other important works ridiculed in withering language the colloquialism of the new version.

I give below some verses from Ziegenbalg's version and the corresponding ones from the Bower version of 1871. The script of Ziegenbalg has certain peculiarities all of which cannot be reproduced without a photostat. So to a certain extent the spelling is modernised, while some of the old features are retained. Note in particular some short vowels deputed for long ones.

ST. MATHEW 4:24

Ziegenbalg

அவருடைய கீததி சீரிய யென கிற தெசுத்திலெங்கும் பாம்பிச்சி ருந்தபடியினுலெ நொக்ககாடுகளை யனுபவிகிற பொக்களையும் பல பல விசாதிகளினுலெயும் துன்பங்களி னுலெயும் கஷத்திப்பட்டவாக்களையும் பிசாசு பிடித்திருந்தவாக்களையும் பிசாசினுலெ வாதிக்கப்பட்டவாக்களையும் காலகை வழங்காத வியாதிககாற்றையும் அவாண்டையிலெ கூட்டிக்கொண்டு வந்தார்கள் வா இவர்களுக்கு ஆரோக்கியத்தைக் கொடுத்தருளினா

Bower

அவருடைய கீர்த்தி சீரியா எங்கும் பிரசித்தமாயிற்று. அப்பொழுது பலவித வியாதிகளையும் வேதனைகளையும் அடைந்திருந்த சகல பிணியாளிகளையும் பிசாசு பிடித்தவர்களையும் சந்திர ரோகிகளையும், திமிர்வாதக்காரரையும் அவரிடத்தில் கொண்டு வந்தார்கள்; அவர்களைச் சொஸ்தமாக கினார்.

ST. MATHEW 5:1

அவா செனங்களைப் பாதது கொணடருக்க செய்தெ ஒரு பறுபத்தன பெரில எறி பொனா வவடத்திலெ உளுக்காந்திருந்தபொது அவருடைய சீஷர்கள் வரணடையிலெ செநது வந்தார்கள்

அவர் திரளான ஜனங்களைக் கண்டு மலையின்மேல் ஏறினார்; அவர் உட்கார்ந்தபொழுது அவருடைய சீஷர்கள் அவரிடத்தில் வந்தார்கள்.

CORINTHIANS 13:1

நான் மனுஷருடைய பாவைகளையானாலும் சமமனசுகளுடைய பாவைகளையானாலும் பெரினாலும் யெனக்கு சினெகமில்லாதபொனால சத்தங்களுக்கிற பஞ்சலொகம் பொலெயானாலும் கீணின கிணினெனகிற மணி பொலெயானாலும் மிருக்கிறென

நான் மனுஷர் பாவைகளையும் தூதர் பாவைகளையும் பேசினாலும், அன்பு எனக்கிராவிட்டால், சத்தமிடுகிற வெண்கலம் போலவும், ஒசையிடுகிற கைத்தாளம் போலவும் இருப்பேன்.

Another Tranquebar missionary, called Schultz completed Ziegenbalg's translation of the Old Testament and published it in 1728. But Schultz version has no significance in the history of the Tamil Bible and is chiefly remembered for some curious and infelicitous renderings. Nor is the translation of the New Testament put out by the Dutch Government in Ceylon in 1759 an important contribution to the task of accurate translation. It does not belong to the main stream of the process of translation, and is noteworthy chiefly as coming from Ceylon, where it is recorded the majority of people at the time spoke Tamil.

The most substantial achievement for a long period in the field of Bible translation, still holding its own within a considerable circle of Christians in India, was that by Phillip Fabricius. Like Ziegenbalg and Schultz, Fabricius was a German who came out under the Tranquebar mission. He arrived in India in 1740 at the age of 27 and remained there for 51 years, never going home and never marrying. Fabricius was a saint whose lot was cast in troublous times; for this was a period when the French

and the English were struggling for supremacy and Haider Ali swept over the Carnatic plains, carrying fire and sword. Fabricius not merely had linguistic abilities but great literary sense and discretion. Up to date the Lutherans continue to use his version; and the Bower version, which is the Authorised Version of Tamil Protestants, made it practically its basis, departing from it only under strong necessity. The revisers of 1871 have recorded that, particularly with regard to the Old Testament, they found Fabricius more faithful to the original text than the English Authorised Version. But Fabricius had all the conservatism of a German Biblical Scholar; and his desire to maintain undeviating faithfulness to the Hebrew and Greek frequently led him into expressions that from a literary point can only be regarded as unfortunate.

Therefore, the Bible Society which came into being early in the 19th century and was independent of Governments and missionary organisations chose Rhenius, a German, who had taken up work under the Church Missionary Society to work on the version of Fabricius and purify its idiom. His New Testament came out in parts between 1827 and 1833. The style was limpid and clear; but the correspondence to the original was not as strict as that of Fabricius.

There were now many versions and revisions of those versions in circulation; but each seemed defective from some point of view and none therefore secured general approval. In Ceylon in the meantime owing to the "difference of languages and extreme difficulty of communication, and the almost complete dissimilarity in the population of the south of the Island and the north", an Auxiliary of the Bible Society had been set up in Jaffna, independent of the one in Colombo. During the same year the Jaffna Committee wrote to the Madras Committee, suggesting that both should co-operate in preparing a uniform version. The next year Mr. P. Percival, one of the members of the

Jaffna Committee, visited Madras. The Madras Committee proposed that Jaffna should undertake the task of preparing such a version, but offered to give a fair opportunity for its circulation in India. Thus the Madras Committee left Jaffna to shoulder the work, reserving to itself the right to judge of its merits and approve or reject accordingly.

In spite of the readiness with which the assignment was offered, on two grounds there seem to have been misgivings about the ability of Jaffna to discharge the task satisfactorily. It was believed by some that the Tamil of Ceylon differed from that of South India. The committee in Jaffna replied: We are at a loss to conceive how the committee (in Madras) could make the assertions in the presence of the fact that all the works in South India and North Ceylon are the same; all classics are from the same seats of Tamil literature on the continent; we study the same books without an exception. Meeting the same objection some time later, the Jaffna Committee said that missionaries who had held such a notion when they were in India had given it up, when they paid a visit to Ceylon. It said "We grant that there may be some disparity in the vocal enunciation of several letters and even of some verbal terminations, but these are so trifling as not to merit a name; they certainly do not appear in the written language." After pointing to a considerable bulk of Christian literature used in common in India and Ceylon, the Committee adds "The language is one; and much more thoroughly than you are at present prepared to admit."

The other ground was the geographical smallness of Jaffna. On this score it was doubted whether there would be sufficient talent available in the Peninsula to discharge such a heavy responsibility. But small as the field was, Jaffna at the time had a tremendous fund of scholarship to draw from, both on the side of Western missionaries, as well as on that of Jaffna Tamils. Among the American

Missionaries were Levi Spaulding, whose scholarship commanded respect on both sides of the Palk Straits, H. R. Hoisington, well known for his translation of and commentary on *Sivagnāna Bōdham*, Samuel Hutchings, a good scholar in Hebrew, and Daniel Poor, the Principal of the far-famed Batticotta Seminary. The foundation of the Batticotta Seminary in 1823 with a view to giving collegiate education was a great event in the field of higher learning in the East. It may be remembered that the first two graduates of the Madras University went from the Batticotta Seminary. So that, on our own side also there were men of great learning both in English and Tamil. There was Arnold Sathasivampillai, whose *Galaxy of Tamil Poets* was a standard work on the subject; Evarts Kanagasabaipillai, author of *Thiruvakupuranam*, Wyman Cathirvelpillai, author of தமிழ்ச் சொல் அகராதி, Muthukumaruthamparapillai, better known as William Nevins, author of the first work of Logic in Tamil (நியாய இலக்கணம்). Probably these and quite a few others among Tamils were constantly consulted. They are, however, not mentioned by name, as Western scholars of those days had a firm opinion that work of Eastern scholars could certainly be availed of, but that their names were scarcely worth mentioning. The record merely says that native pundits or assistants also helped.

But the person chosen to be chief translator was Peter Percival, an Englishman. He had arrived in North Ceylon in 1826 and in 1829 was able to write "I feel little difficulty in preaching in Tamil. I find equal liberty as well in my colloquial intercourse with the people. For this gift I cannot be too grateful to the Father of Lights." His English-Tamil Dictionary "is still perhaps the best available of its sort." He has been called the greatest Tamil Scholar ever produced by the Methodist Church. At the time of his becoming chief translator, Peter Percival was chairman of the North Ceylon District of the Methodist Church.

Percival's chief assistant in this enterprise was K. Arumugam, who later came to be called Arumuga Navalar. Navalar had been born in 1822 and had enrolled as a student in Percival's school at the age of 12. Percival was so impressed with the youngster's attainments that he made him a teacher at the age of 16. In this capacity he taught English in the lower classes and Tamil in the higher classes. His learning soon acquired legendary proportions. Besides the above two languages he also knew Sanskrit. There seems to have been hardly anything in Tamil which he had not read. His biographer records that he learnt in one year what others took 10 years to learn. He is said to have known the 32 "Vithais" and the 64 "Kalais", a knowledge of which entitles a person to be called a poet. His subsequent career, after leaving Percival's School in 1850 has put him among the greatest scholars of Tamil literature who ever lived. Perhaps his labours in the field of Saivite religious revival are as responsible for his fame as his labours in the field of literary revival. So great has his prestige been in the world of Tamil scholarship, that publishers in Madras till recent times considered it a sufficient mark of the worth of a book that it had been looked over by the student of a student of Arumuga Navalar. C. W. Thamorampillai, himself a giant in the field of Tamil scholarship about 70 years ago and a colleague of Navalar, has said of him :

நல்லேநக ராறுமுக நாவலர் பிறந்திலரேற்
சொல்லுதமிழ் மெங்கே சுருதியெங்கே—யெல்லவரு
மேத்துபுரா னாகமங்க ளெங்கேப்ர சங்கமெங்கே
யாத்தனறி வெங்கே யறை.

The Jaffna version had one important advantage over all previous Tamil versions. Those of Ziegenbalg, Schultz, Fabricius and Rhenius had all been produced by individual translators, whatever help they might have got from pundits and assistants. The Jaffna version was the first that was produced by a committee. While Percival was chief

translator, there was a committee of competent scholars laying down policy, guiding, supervising, making decisions about the translations of important words, correcting and reviewing each part in the light of the whole, and contributing their distinctive knowledge to the common pool. After the Tentative Version the preparation of every accredited Tamil Version has been in charge of a committee.

Right at the outset, a resolution of the Madras Auxiliary made in 1841 almost tied the Jaffna Committee hand and foot, by laying it down that the new translation should stick to the English Authorised Version of 1611. So great has been the part played by the Authorised Version, otherwise known as King James' version, (after King James I of England, in whose reign it was produced) in the life of the British nation, that to many its text is as inspired as the original. There is even a humorous story of an old lady who called it St. James' Version. The Madras Committee therefore ruled that the Tamil translation should retain "its (that of the Authorised Version) position of words, arrangements of sentences and punctuation in so far as the sense is or can be affected thereby; that when the sense of the English Version appears to have been designedly left doubtful, such doubts shall as far as possible be retained in the translation." The reason for this, said the Madras Auxiliary, was that it wanted a standard text that would be universally accepted. A strict observance of the rule laid down by the Madras Committee would of course have produced a piece of sheer linguistic barbarism. The Jaffna missionaries therefore, decided to undermine the authority of Madras by writing to the British and Foreign Bible Society in London and to various missionaries throughout South India. Almost every missionary appealed to agreed that such a resolution would make any translation quite impossible. The Jaffna missionaries also made the discovery that there were persons on the committee in Madras who had no knowledge of the Tamil language. As a result

of the agitation set afoot, the Madras Committee, on the proposal of Rev. Miron Winslow of Dictionary fame (who himself had laboured in Jaffna for a long time), modified its earlier resolution as follows:—

That the translation be made from Greek and Hebrew originals and that as to the meaning of any particular passage the English version be made the standard of reference of highest authority, and that in no case should a deviation from the English version be allowed unless approved of by two-thirds of the committee.

The Society in London supported the stand taken by Jaffna and approved of the modified resolution of Madras.

With the approval of both Madras and the parent Society in London the version of Rhenius was made the basis of the new translation. Since as far as faithfulness to the original was concerned, the Jaffna Committee was going to translate from Hebrew and Greek, it was felt that they could start where Fabricius had started, and not be guided by him; but since however they were striving to attain to a literary style acceptable to those who spoke Tamil, it was felt that the perspicacity and clarity of Rhenius were more worthy of being made the basis.

From the end of 1845 Mr. Percival relinquished all other work and devoted himself entirely to the work of translation. He devoted six hours every day to the regular work of translation with his "native assistants", in addition to the time occupied in miscellaneous references, the reading of the manuscript and general reading connected with the undertaking. There was a weekly meeting of the Revision Committee. As each book of Scripture was finished, copies were struck and sent out over a wide field for comment and criticism.

It was agreed, as the translation proceeded that the work of the Jaffna Committee was not to be final, and that a Revision Committee consisting of members both from Jaffna and from South India should sit on it, to secure a

standard version that would obtain currency on both sides of the Straits. For this reason it was decided to consider the Jaffna version a tentative one; and this is the name by which it has come to be known in the history of the Tamil Bible. Mr. Caldwell, author of *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, and one of the greatest scholars of the Tamil language who has ever lived, and himself a great contributor to a later version of the Bible and Mr. Sargent, also a very great Tamil scholar, both of whom were to become Bishops later, wrote to the Jaffna Committee highly commending the new version. But word had begun to reach Jaffna of the disfavour it was arousing on the continent.

On October 21st 1850 the committee finished its labours and presented an entire copy of the Bible to the Madras Auxiliary. The Madras Committee passed a resolution recording its thanks to Mr. Percival who had been 14 years on the work; and set up a committee of six people to look over the Tentative Version and pave the way for a standard version. Sub-committees were set up in Tanjore, Tinneveli, Madura, Travancore and Ceylon. Each missionary in Tamil speaking areas was supplied with copies for distribution among all competent assistants for the purpose of getting their opinion. Copies were also sent "to Christian friends as are acquainted with Tamil and may be likely to aid the object."

It is desirable here to compare and contrast the Tentative version with other Tamil versions and examine some of its features.

A whole article may be written on the different names employed to translate the word "God" in the different versions. The possibility for such diversity arose, because in the Tamil language no common noun had become inseparably associated with the name of God. The commonest practice in Hindu worship has been to use personal

names. The term Brahma does not have the significance either in Sanskrit or in Tamil which would have conveyed the Christian connotation aright. In Sanskrit it refers to a Deity without qualities. In Tamil it refers to one of the *Tirumoorthis*, inferior to Siva. *Nikandu* has many common names for God. These are attributive and general. Quite a few of them are often applied to human beings.

Christian translators, when they came into the field, therefore, had a wide choice of common nouns. The Portuguese in the 16th century did not translate the Bible but in their Tamil books of devotion and doctrine used the term தம்பிரான் (the Absolute) in reference to God. Ziegenbalg used the term சர்வேசுரன் (the Almighty). This term is still retained by Roman Catholics. Fabricius used the term பராபரன் (Lord of Heaven). This was retained by all Protestants till the Tentative Version, and is still used by the Lutherans. There are two words used as common nouns to denote the names of God in the originals of the Bible viz.: *Elohim* in Hebrew and *Theos* in Greek. *Elohim* is plural of the term "El" which is applied to any god in the Semitic languages. When the Hebrews spoke of Almighty God they used *Elohim* as an honorific plural to denote Him. *Theos* in Greek and *Deus* in Latin are related to the Sanskrit derivative தேவன் and are all associated with light. The term தேவன் is the one used in the Tentative version for God.

There has been much criticism of the use of this term; as in Tamil it is used not so much in reference to the Almighty but to any god. Some have put down its use to the lack of sufficient knowledge on the part of the missionaries. Others have attributed it to the aforethought malice of Navalar, whose mother, it was said, had instructed him, when he undertook to help Percival not to teach the correct word "Īswaran" to the Christians. As against the truth of this story, it might be urged that the Christians already possessed the secret in the word சர்வேசுரன்.

Perhaps the truth of the matter is that the term தேவன் best represents the etymological background of both Elohim and Theos. Though the Bower Version of 1871 (also called the Union Version) retained the term, both the Larsen Version of 1936 and the more recent Monahan Version have substituted கடவுள் to eliminate the ambiguity of the word தேவன்.

Besides the common noun Elohim the Hebrew also uses another term in reference to God, which is His proper name. This word was originally pronounced *Yahweh*. But in course of time, owing to the command against using the name of God in vain, people began to shrink from actually pronouncing the word, and when they came to it in a text, said *Adonai*, "the Lord". Hebrew is a language in which originally only the consonants were written. Later when the pronunciation of words was becoming doubtful, after the dispersion of the Jews from Palestine, the vowels were inserted in the form of dots and dashes above or below the consonants. So it came about that the vowel points of the word *Adonai* were inserted under *Yahweh*; and the word in later times came to be pronounced *Jehovah*. The Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Old Testament done by the Jews before the Christian era) had followed the Jewish practice and used the word *Kurios* meaning "Lord" for *Yahweh*; and The Vulgate of St. Jerome, published at the beginning of the 5th century did the same. All European versions, under its influence, have followed suit.

Absolutely the first decision that the Jaffna missionaries made, when they set about translating the Bible, was to transliterate the proper name of God, to avoid, they said, idolising a word, and "setting it up into an unpronounceable tetragrammation." There is a learned memorandum extant submitted to the Madras Auxiliary when the Union Version was being prepared, probably written by Spaulding, protesting against its intention to

reverse the action of the Jaffna Committee by using the term "Lord". The Union Version reverted to the translation done by Fabricius, who had used the word கர்த்தர் from the Sanskrit *kr* meaning "doer". So vehement were the Jaffna missionaries about the matter, that the committee in charge of the Union Version (now in use in all Protestant Churches except the Lutheran) undertook by an agreement, in 1869 to print the term கர்த்தர் in bold characters, to show that it really stands for a proper name. Larsen went back to the Tentative in this matter; but Monahan has adopted the general practice.

A look at a few more features, somewhat minor in character, may be interesting. The practice of having forms of the auxiliary verb "to be" as a copula between subject and complement is bad grammar in Tamil. Fabricius, however, always commits this Solecism. The Tentative avoids it. In the 23rd Psalm Fabricius has கர்த்தர் என் மேய்ப்பராயிருக்கிறார். The Tentative has யெகோவா என் மேய்ப்பர். Though Bower goes back to Fabricius in this respect, subsequent versions have followed the Tentative. In translating the word "light" the Tentative sided with Rhenius and said ஒளி where Fabricius had said வெளிச்சம். Bower went back to Fabricius, but Larsen and Monahan use both words. The Tentative has been alone in Tamil in translating the exclamation "behold" with due regard to etymology. Fabricius had translated it இதோ. The missionaries of 1850 said "Behold" has a verbal origin; whereas they said "இதோ" was made up of a noun இது + ஓ a particle of doubt, surprise or interrogation." Where Fabricius had இதோ லோகத்தின் பாவத்தைச் சுமந்து தீர்க்கிற பராபரனுடைய ஆட்டுக்குட்டி, the Tentative has பாருங்கள் உலகத்தின் பாவத்தைச் சுமந்து தீர்க்கிற தேவ ஆட்டுக்குட்டி. Everybody else, however, has followed Fabricius in the matter. For translating the word "Woe" all other versions use ஐயோ. The Tentative uses ஐயோ ஆபத்து வரும். The adjective "blessed" is translated பாக்கியவான்கள் by every one from Ziegenbalg downwards

(except Mr. Gnanapragasam, who in a single handed effort in 1922, to give the Bible a literary flavour, uses the word found in the Sanskrit and Hindi versions and renders it தன்னியர்கள்). The Tentative translates it by வாழ்வுடைய வர்கள்.

Let us now notice some samples from the Tentative version as against the Bower version :

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The Tentative

பூலோகத்தாரே, நீங்களனைவரும் யெகோவாவை நோக்கி ஆனந்த முழக்கமிடுங்கள்.—மகிழ்ச்சியோடே யெகோவாவுக்கு ஆராதனை செய்யுங்கள்; துதி பாடிப்பாடி அவர் சந்தித்திற் செல்லுங்கள்.—யெகோவாவே தேவன், நம்மை சிருட்டித்தவர் அவர், நாமல்ல; நாம் அவர் சனம், அவர் மேய்க்கும் ஆடு; இதை யுணர்ந்து கொள்ளுங்கள்—துதியுடனே அவர் வாசல்களிலும், வாழ்த்துதலுடனே அவர் பிராகாரங்களிலும் பிரவேசியுங்கள்—யெகோவாவே தயாபரர்; அவர் தயை என்றுமுள்ளது; அவர் சத்தியந் தலைமுறைதோறும் நிற்கும்; ஆதலால் அவரைத் துதித்து அவருடைய நாமத்தை வாழ்த்துங்கள்.

Bower

பூமியின் குடிகளே, எல்லாரும் கர்த்தரைக் கெம்பிரமாய்ப் பாடுங்கள். மகிழ்ச்சியோடே கர்த்தருக்கு ஆராதனை செய்து ஆனந்த சத்தத்தோடே அவர் சந்தித்திமுன் வாருங்கள். கர்த்தரே தேவனென்று அறியுங்கள்; நாம் அல்ல, அவரே நம்மை உண்டாக்கினார்; நாம் அவர் ஜனங்களும் அவர் மேய்ச்சலின் ஆடுகளும். அவர் வாசல்களில் துதியோடும், அவர் பிராகாரங்களில் புகழ்ச்சியோடும் பிரவேசித்து, அவரைத் துதித்து, அவருடைய நாமத்தை ஸ்தோத்திரியுங்கள். கர்த்தர் நல்லவர், அவருடைய கிருபை என்றென்றைக்கும், அவருடைய உண்மை தலைமுறை தலைமுறைக்கும் உள்ளது.

ACTS 14: 15, 16

மனுஷரே, ஏன் இப்படிச் செய்கிறீர்கள், நாங்களும் உங்களைப் போலப் பாடு அனுபவிக்கிற மனுஷர். நீங்கள் இந்த மாயைகளை விட்டு, வானத்தையும், பூமியையும், சமுத்திரத்தையும், அவைகளிலுள்ள யாவையுஞ் சிருஷ்டித்த சீவனுள்ள தேவ ஸித்திற்றகுத் திரும்பும்படி, உங்களுக்குச் சுவீசேஷமாய் சொல்லுகிறோம்.

சென்ற காலங்களில், சருவ தேசத்தாருந் தங்கள் தங்கள் நெறிகளிலே நடக்க இடங்கொடுத்தார்.

மனுஷரே, ஏன் இப்படிச் செய்கிறீர்கள்? நாங்களும் உங்களைப் போலப்பாடுள்ள மனுஷர்தானே; நீங்கள் இந்த வீணான தேவர்களை விட்டு, வானத்தையும் பூமியையும் சமுத்திரத்தையும் அவைகளிலுள்ள யாவற்றையும் உண்டாக்கின ஜீவனுள்ள தேவனிடத்திற்குத் திரும்ப வேண்டுமென்று உங்களுக்குப் பிரசங்கிக்கிறோம். சென்ற காலங்களில் அவர் சகல ஜனங்களையும் தங்கள் தங்கள் வழிகளிலே நடக்கவிட்டிருந்தும்,

ACTS 17: 23-27

The Tentative

Bower

நான் உலாவி, நீங்கள் பூசிக்கும் பொருள்களைப் பார்த்தபொழுது, “அறியப்படாத தேவனுக்கு” என் றெழுதப்பட்டிருந்த ஒரு வேதிகையைக் கண்டேன். நீங்கள் அறியாமற் பூசிக்கும் அவரையே நான் உங்களுக்கு அறிவிக்கிறேன்.—உலகத்தையும், அதிலுள்ள யாவையுஞ் சிருஷ்டித்த தேவன், வானத்திற்கும் பூமிக்கும் அதிபதியாதலால், அவர், கையாற் செய்யப்பட்ட ஆலயங்களில் வாசஞ் செய்கிறதில்லை;—யாதாயினும் ஒரு பொருள் தமக்கு வேண்டுமதாக மனுஷருடைய கையினால் பணிவிடை கொள்ளுகிறதில்லை,—அவர் சீவனையும், சுவாசத்தையும், மற்ற யாவையுஞ் சமஸ்தருக்குங் கொடுத்திருக்கிறாரே, பூமண்டலத்திலெங்கும் வாசமாயிருக்கும்படி, ஒரே இரத்தத்தினின்று மனுஷ சாதியார் யாவரையுஞ் சிருஷ்டித்து, நம்மில் ஒருவருக்குந் தூர மல்லாத தேவனாகிய தம்மை அவர்கள் தடவியடையத்தக்கதாக—தம்மைத் தேடும்படி அவர்களுக்காக முன் தீர்மானிக்கப்பட்ட காலங்களையும், வாசஸ்தான எல்லைகளையும், நிருபணம் பண்ணினார்.

எப்படியென்றால், நான் சுற்றித் திரிந்து, உங்கள் ஆராதனைக்குரியவைகளைக் கவனித்துப் பார்த்தபொழுது, அறியப்படாத தேவனுக்கு என்று எழுதியிருக்கிற ஒரு பலிபீடத்தைக் கண்டேன்; நீங்கள் அறியாமல் ஆரதிக்கிற அவரையே நான் உங்களுக்கு அறிவிக்கிறேன். உலகத்தையும் அதிலுள்ள யாவற்றையும் உண்டாக்கின தேவனானவர் வானத்திற்கும் பூமிக்கும் ஆண்டவராயிருக்கிறபடியால் கைகளினால் கட்டப்பட்ட கோவில்களில் அவர் வாசம் பண்ணுகிறதில்லை. எல்லாருக்கும் ஜீவனையும் சுவாசத்தையும் சகலத்தையும் கொடுக்கிற அவர், தமக்கு யாதொன்று தேவையானது போல, மனுஷர் கைகளால் பணிவிடை கொள்ளுகிறதில்லை. மனுஷ ஜாதியான சகல ஜனங்களையும் அவர் ஒரே இரத்தத்தினாலே தோன்றப்பண்ணி பூமியின் மீதெங்கும் குடியிருக்கச் செய்து, முன் தீர்மானிக்கப்பட்ட காலங்களையும் அவர்கள் குடியிருப்பின் எல்லைகளையும் குறித்திருக்கிறார். கர்த்தராகிய தம்மை அவர்கள் தடவியாகிலும் கண்டுபிடிக்கத் தக்கதாகத் தம்மைத் தேடும்படிக்கு அப்படிச் செய்தார்; அவர் நம்மில் ஒருவருக்கும் தூரமானவரல்லவே.

What was Navalar's part in the translation? Navalar's biographer Suddhananda Bharati says that the version turned out under Percival's supervision was really Navalar's handiwork. Every chief translator uses an assistant who is not merely well versed in the language into which the translation is taking place, but if possible, one who speaks it as his mother tongue. The face of William Carey's Bengalee assistant is very familiar from a well-known picture. It would be interesting to know what Carey did for assistance in regard to the other languages, as he translated the Bible or the New Testament into 40 different languages.

The fact that he probably had to work without such assistance is perhaps the reason why, except the Bengalee translation, all others have now been superseded. One Rajacopal was the chief assistant of Bower; and G. S. Duraiswamypillai was the assistant of Larsen. I believe mostly the chief translator, after looking at the original in Hebrew or Greek would, if he were an Englishman or American, look first at the English Version and then at any earlier translation available in the language into which he is translating; point out where he wants to differ from the existing translation and give his own rendering. It will then be the task of the assistant to couch the rendering in good idiom. One may say that while the commodity belongs to the chief translator, the wrapping is contributed by the assistant. But on the other hand, it may be pointed out that the commodity is already in the text, and is not produced by the chief translator. That both, the chief translator and his assistant play an important part is obvious. The contribution of the assistant need neither be minimised or exaggerated. But since the wrapping must necessarily be his, it is obvious that the style largely results from his influence.

Bharati gives an account of Percival's trepidation, before going to Madras with Navalar to submit the new version, and the assurance Navalar gave him that he would be able to meet all objections. The incident is probably true, though the vividness of the conversation owes something to the biographer's imagination. The version was referred to the greatest Tamil scholar of the day then in Madras, Maluvai Mahalinga Iyer. Besides being a scholar of Tamil, he also had a good knowledge of English. Mahalinga Iyer is said to have been delighted at the style of the new version and pronounced it flawless. It is said that he was quite surprised that Jaffna could produce such good Tamil. Dr. Miron Winslow, the compiler of the monumental Tamil Dictionary which bears his name, then Editorial Secretary of the Madras Auxiliary of the Bible

Society, also sometime later declared that while Fabricius was deficient in idiom and Rhenius was too periphrastic, the Tentative version adhered more strictly to the original than Rhenius and was more idiomatic than Fabricius.

The real judges of the new version, however, were not scholars but the buyers. The version was sent up to the various local committees for their opinion; and from the two committees, those of Tanjore and Tinneveli, came very decided objections to the new version. And the Christians of Tanjore and Tinneveli comprised three-fourths of the Tamil Christian community of the day. The Secretary of the Madras Auxiliary records on 23rd September 1852 that, while he had received most favourable opinions of the new version from brethren well acquainted with the language, "a numerical majority of the Tamil missionaries on the continent manifested a decided preference for the older versions."

There were two chief objections raised in Madras about the Tentative version. One was that it did not stick closely to the original. It was said that instead of combining the excellencies of Fabricius and Rhenius, it had merely combined the peculiarities of Jaffna Tamil and Indian Tamil. Years later, when the Madras Auxiliary drew up an account of the proceedings connected with the Union Version, it was sufficiently ill-advised to incorporate this remark into the report, as if it was its own judgment. In view of strong protests from Jaffna, it hastily modified the passage and attributed the remark to others. The criticism about fidelity had already been met by Dr. Winslow, who considered it actually superior even to Fabricius in that respect. But the point to remember is that Percival's committee had been asked not to depart from the English Authorised Version. The committee therefore acted as if its adherence to the English version would be the criterion by which its work would be judged. The dislike for the new version was occasioned not because it deviated from

the originals, but because it departed from Fabricius. Fabricius had been in the field for more than 70 years and his text had acquired a certain status, if not sanctity, in the minds of Christians.

The second criticism was that it was too heavily loaded with Sanskrit words. The Jaffna missionaries reserved their answer till they could demolish this argument. When the Madras Auxiliary had almost finished their version to supersede the Tentative, the Jaffna committee selected one book, as an instance, to drive home its point, and showed that in the Gospel of St. Mathew, the Tentative had 14,965 words out of which 2,994 were of Sanskrit origin, while Bower had 15,575 words of which 2,856 words were of Sanskrit origin. The missionaries were able to ask "What then is the force of the objection against the Tentative Version?"

When the preparation of the Tentative Version was drawing to a close, on a visit to Madras, Mr. Spaulding had been able to note the growing suspicion about it, and had recorded his opinion that it was due to the idiomatic character of the new version. He commented saying "many of our esteemed brethren have not gone beyond the work of Europeans in forming a standard of style; and most of the native Christians, with whom I have had to do, have formed their theological language from the Fabricius version of the Bible".

That the Tentative Version is a noble piece of work is undeniable. Its diction has a stateliness about it, which gives it a place as literary work. But a sacred Scripture, while certainly it will lose much by bad idiom, does not fulfil its purpose merely by preserving good idiom. It aims at something far more important than being literary work. A literary work is cherished by scholars and men of learning, literary taste and discrimination. A sacred Scripture ought to have universal appeal. It is meant to be cherished

by the high and the low. It may be said about a Scripture that its doctrines and ethical demands are above the standards of the common man; but if it be said that its language is above him, then it has failed to achieve its fundamental aim. Students of languages know how the Scriptures in each language are about the easiest books in it. The *Gita* and the earlier *Upanishads* have a stark simplicity about them. It is impossible that Navalar should have been unacquainted with them; but his Sanskrit reading seems to have been chiefly in Saivite literature, which is less well known and more difficult. It is therefore, not unnatural that with Navalar a certain majesty and literary flavour should have been a more important consideration than simplicity. The Bower version which succeeded the Tentative, though very inferior to the Tentative in idiom, succeeded in establishing itself more firmly in people's affections, because it possessed this fundamental characteristic.

Looking at the Tentative Version in the perspective of history, what have been its main results? In the first place, the fact that they had the Tentative version before them to consult, enabled Bower and his colleagues, especially because of sixteen years of prodding by the Jaffna missionaries, to improve materially on Fabricius. But more particularly, has its consistent striving after purity of idiom been a strong influence on Bower's successors. The literary sensitiveness of the Indian Christian community has sufficiently advanced in this century to insist that literary considerations should not be allowed to fall into the background. The Larsen Committee paid so much attention to this demand that its version aroused the same kind of opposition that the Tentative had encountered. Realising that they were handling a very delicate task, Larsen's successors have made a conscientious effort to arrive at chasteness of idiom, while not departing too obviously from the familiar sounds of the old accepted version. Therefore, it cannot be denied that the Tentative has left its mark

permanently on the process of Bible translation, by its insistence that even a text of Scripture should not ignore rules of grammar and syntax; that in fact it should not ignore them, because it is a text of Scripture.

Odd as it may seem, however, the association of Navalur with the project of Bible translation had greater influence on Saivism than on Christianity. Percival's introduction of Navalur into the workings of the Christian missionary movement gave him an inside knowledge of how a religion is best propagated in modern conditions. His introduction into the literary circles of South India gained him many important contacts on the continent. With these invaluable helps he severed his connexion with Percival's school soon after the publication of the Tentative version and embarked upon a campaign of breathless zeal for the revival of Saivism throughout South India and Ceylon, that ended only with his death in 1879.

Some Similes from Kambar

C. R. MYLERU.

It is one of the characteristics of great poets to use similes in their writings. This can be verified from the works of great world-poets like Homer, Milton, Dantē, Vālmiki, Kambar and Bhārathi. These similes are not only lovely by themselves, but they also illustrate and make the points under discussion or description more appealing and interesting. In our country these similes or as they are called *Upamānas* and *Upamēyas* are considered to be a separate kind of decoration for literature and have been treated as such by poets. That is why it is considered necessary for poets to introduce suitable similes in their works wherever possible. Thus it is possible to collect the similes of poets like Vālmiki and Kambar separately for the sake of their own beauty and charm, and they make an exceedingly fine study indeed.

The great Kambar uses grand similes in the course of his *Rāmāyana* in the best tradition of our literary men. They are beautiful by themselves and they also illustrate and explain the points he wishes to clarify. They could be compared with Homer's long-tailed similes which are used magnificently by the Greek poet. Milton, too, uses his similes in an equally effective manner in his great work, *Paradise Lost*. When we go through Kambar's similes we are naturally reminded of the similes used by Homer and Milton.

Homer's similes are well-known and they are scattered widely in the course of his great epics *The Iliad* and *Odyssey*. An outstanding instance among the similes is the one which describes the number and variety of the Greek soldiers who set foot on the soil of Ilium and stormed

Troy ; it occurs in the words of the Trojans who watched the Greeks land to attack Troy, from their battlements.

Of course Milton's similes are great and they are found in plenty in his *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. Just to give one or two examples in Book I of *Paradise Lost*, Milton describes the huge length of Satan's size lying chained to the burning lake in Hell after his fall. His head was uplifted and his eyes blazed sparkling when he spoke to his nearest mate. Now comes the simile :—

"His other parts besides,
Prone on the flood, extended long and large,
Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge,
As whom the fabled name of monstrous size,
Titanian, or Earthborn, that warred on Jove
Briareos or Typhon, whom the den
By ancient Tarsus held, or that sea-beast
Leviathan, which God of all His works,
Created hugest that swim the ocean stream ;
Him, haply, slumbering on Norway foam,
The pilot of some small hight-foundered skiff
Deeming some is land, oft, as sea-men tell,
With fixed anchor in his scaly rind,
Moors by his side under the lee,
While night invests the sea, and wished — to morn delays ;
So stretched out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay,
Chained on the burning lake."

Take for example this one in Book II describing the flight of Satan through the caverns of Hell towards its gate to go to Earth to tempt and seduce man :—

"As when far-off at sea a fleet descried
Hangs in the clouds by equinoctial winds
Close—sailing from Bengala, or the isles
Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring
Their spicy drugs ; they on the trading-flood
Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape,
Ply stemming nightly toward the pole : so seemed
The far-off flying-Fiend."

We here incidentally note the euphonious use of proper names by Milton.

Now let us turn to a few examples of Kambar's similes. The first example is from *Balakhandam*, *Thātakai Vadhai Padalam*. The context is this :—

Viswāmithra is proceeding to his forest with Rama and Lakshmana following him to help him in the conduct of his sacrificial rites peacefully. Then they have to pass through a desert-land. Kambar describes the arid and parched appearance of the land in the following lines and incidentally employs a fine simile to illustrate the nature of the desert land. This is how the stanza runs :—

"தாவரும் இருவினை செற்றுத் தள்ளரும்
மூவகைப் பகையரண் கடந்து முத்தியில்
போவது புரிபவர் மனமும் பொன்விலைப்
பாவையர் மனமும்போலப் பசையும் அற்றதே."

The general meaning of the passage is :—

"The sage's mind is free from thoughts of good and evil and their results. His mind is also able to cross the three-fold barriers of love, anger and desire and it goes along the path of salvation ; his mind is absolutely free from all kinds of attachment to anything worldly. Similarly, the mind of the prostitute is utterly free from all thoughts of kindness and attachment to anyone. In the same way the desert-land through which they passed was free from all or any suggestion of moisture or fertility." It is a beautiful and charming simile undoubtedly. Incidentally the use and comparison of the sage's mind with the prostitute's mind as being free from all attachment is bold and striking, but yet quite true.

The next one is introduced by Kambar when he describes the death of Thātakai by an arrow of Rama and this is how it goes :—

"கான்(று) எரிதலைகள் ஆய அரக்கி தன் கடினமார்ப்த்(து)
ஊன்றிய பகழிவாய் ஊ(டு) ஒழுகிய குருதி வெள்ளம்,
ஆன்ற அக்கான மெல்லாம் பரந்ததால் ; அந்திமாலேத்
தோன்றிய செக்கர், வானத் தொடங்கற்று வீழ்ந்த தொத்தே."

It means : “Rāma’s arrow pierced the hard-heart of the demoness Thātakai whose head and hair were red like burning fire. The blood which flowed from her wound spread all over the forest surface and it was as if the broad red evening-sun-set sky had fallen down on the earth somehow.” Whenever I see the evening red sky I am reminded of this stanza.

Similarly the previous stanza in the same chapter *Thātakai Vadhāi Padalam* describes how Rāma sent an arrow against Thātakai and its effect on her. This is described in a beautiful simile. The stanza runs thus :

“சொல் ஒக்கும் கடிய வேகச் சுடுசரம் ஒன்றைச் செம்மல்
அல்லுக்கும் நிறத்தினுள்மேல் விடுதலும், வயிரக்குன்றக்
கல் ஒக்கும் நெஞ்சில் தங்கா(து) அப்புறம் கழன்று, கால்லாப்
புல்லர்க்கு நல்லோர் சொன்ன பொருள் எனப் போயிற்றன்றே.”

It means :—“Rāma aimed an arrow against Thātakai who was like darkness itself ; it was powerful like the order of a great king in its force. It pierced the diamond-heart of the demoness and fell on the other side, without remaining there which was like the wise advice of good people to ignorant and foolish people.” The two figures employed here are really magnificent and appropriate.

Next we get a few grand similes in *Mithilai Kāchhip-Padalam* when the poet describes the condition of love-lorn Sēētha and Rāma. When Sēētha looks at Rāma first from her room in the palace as he goes along the streets of Mithila with Viswāmitra and Lakshmana, she loses her heart completely to him and after his disappearance from her view she becomes quite lost for all practical purposes. At this point we get a fine figure. Kambar’s words are these :—

“பிறையென நுதலவள் பெண்மை எனப்படும் !
நறைகமழ் அலங்கலான் நயன கோசரம்
மறைதலும் மனம் எனும் மத்த யானையின்
நிறைனும் அங்குசம் நிமிர்ந்து போயதே.”

It means :—“Sēētha who had a fore-head like the crescent-moon was completely lost, when her heart was captured by Rāma’s eyes when Rāma who had a garland of sweet-smelling flowers full of fluttering and buzzing bees disappeared from her view and with him his beautiful eyes, too, disappeared. Sēētha’s mind became like a wild elephant which could not be controlled at all, because the mahout’s hook which was used to direct it became straightened and useless.” Here her natural maidenly shyness is compared to the mahout’s hook ; because of her love for Rāma she lost her shyness which is compared to the straightening of the mahout’s hook in which case the mind which is like a wild-elephant cannot be controlled at all. Now let us turn to Rāma and see his condition after he, too, had been struck with love for Sēētha. When he retired to bed after leaving Lakshmana and Viswāmithra he could not sleep at all, because the thought of Sēētha kept coming up again and again. He thought that the God of Death “Yama” himself had come in Sēētha’s form to kill him alive as it were. Kambar says here :

“வண்ண மேகலைத் தேர்ஒன்று, வாள்நெடும்
கண்ணி ரண்டு, கதிமுலை தாம் இரண்டு,
உள் நிவந்த நகைஎன ஒன்றும் உண்டு
இண்ணில் கூற்றினுக்கு எத்தனை வேண்டுமோ ?

It means of course :—“For taking away my life how many weapons does Yama use ? A form (a torso) like a chariot, with a narrow bottom and waist and a broad chest covered by a lovely piece of decorated upper cloth round it ; two eyes long and sharp like swords, two firm and rounded breasts, and a fine smile which does not burst out but feels happy with itself should all these weapons be used by Yama to torture me ?” so says Rāma most appealingly.

But by-far the most magnificent simile in the whole ‘Padalam’ if not in the whole of Kambar is the one where

he describes the glories of sun-rise which comes after Rāma's sleepless night because of his love for Sēētha. I personally think that the whole idea and thought in that stanza are wonderfully bold and startlingly accurate and inspiring. Here follows the particular stanza :—

“எண்ணரிய மறையினொடு கின்னரர்கள் இசைபாட,
உலகம் ஏத்த,
விண்ணாரும் முனிவரும் வேதியருங் கரங்குவிப்ப,
வேலை என்னும்
மண்ணுமணி முழவு அதிர, வான் அரங்கின் நடம்புரி
வான், இரவி என்னும்
கண்ணுதல் வானவன் கனகச் சடைவிரித்தாலென, விரிந்த
கதிர்களெல்லாம்.”

It means :—“The singers of Dēvaloka are intoning the various tunes of the Vēdas, the Dēvas and Rishis and Brāhmins are praying with their hands clasped above their heads in deep meditation. The oceans which are like a huge *Mridangam* are playing the grand rhythm in the sound of their waves when the sun with his bright rays enters the stage of Heaven (Sky) from the East, like the fore-head-eyed God Sri Natarāja Mōorthy who enters the Kanakasabai with his lustrous locks flying about for his grand Ānanda Thāndava.” This is a grand stroke of imagination, which is hard to be excelled by any poet. It is an absolute masterpiece.

We next go to the Kārmughap Padalam; the context is Rāma's getting up and go to the bow of Siva to bend and string it on Sēētha's *Swayamwara* Day. This is how Kambar describes Rāma's alacrity in his task, which drew the admiration of all the on-lookers. The stanza goes thus :—

“பொழிந்த நெய்ஆகுதி வாய்வழி பொங்கி
எழுந்த கொழுங்கனல் என்ன எழுந்தான்;
அழிந்தது வில்லென விண்ணவர் ஆர்த்தார்;
மொழிந்தனர் ஆசிகள் முப்பகை வென்றார்”

It means :—

“Rāma arose from his seat like the sacrificial fire which jumps up along the path of the ghee which is poured into it; the Heavenly folk shouted for pleasure that the bow was finished and the Rishis who had crossed the three-fold barriers of the mind, uttered their blessings on him.” Kambar is fond of this figure of the sacrificial fire jumping up when ghee is poured on it, but he uses it nowhere else more beautifully than in this context here.

Then, we get a couple of grand figures together in the ‘Yezhucchip Padalam’ and the context is this :—

Rāma and Lakshmana come out of Mithila to salute their father Dasaratha who has come with his retinue from Ayōthya to Mithila for his son's wedding with Sēētha. Then a number of girls rush out from their places to see Rāma going in his chariot. How and what do they look like? Kambar answers this question in the following two stanzas. The stanzas are these :—

- (1) “மானினம் வருவ போன்றும், மயிலினம் திரிவ போன்றும்,
மீனினம் மிளிர, வானின் மின்னினம் மிடைவ போன்றும்,
தேனினம் பம்பி யார்ப்ப, சிலம்பினம் புலம்பிஏங்க,
பூ நனைக் கூந்தல் மாதர் பொம்மெனப் புகுந்து மொய்த்தார்.”
- (2) “பள்ளத்துட் பாயும் நன்னீர் அனையவர் பானல் பூத்த
வெள்ளத்துப் பெரிய கண்ணார் மின்சிலம்பு அலம்ப,
பெண்புத்
தள்ளத்தம் இடைகள் நோவத் தமைவலித்து அவன்பாற்
செல்லும்
உள்ளத்தைப் பிடித்துநாம், என்(று) ஒடுகின்றரும் ஒத்தார்.”

It means :—

- (1) “Like the forest deer rushing forth together, like peacocks wandering together, like the Heavenly stars shining together, like the fire-flies of the sky hurdling together, with the flower-bees buzzing all around, their

anklets sounding sorrowful tunes, the girls of Mithila with their wet hair full of honey from flowers, rushed together in a body and surrounded Rāma's chariot.

(2) "They rushed together like water flowing from a higher to a lower place; their big eyes were like the *Nēēlorpala* flowers in the flood; their anklets sounded deeply and they were pushed by an uncontrollable force which made their waists pain. It looked as if they were rushing to clutch and capture their hearts which were going towards Rāma involuntarily, so they ran and ran." What a wonderful idea and how beautifully expressed as only a Kambar could express.

For the next great simile shall we go to *Mandirap Padalam*? The context is this:—Rāma is informed by Sumanthiran that King Dasaratha would like to speak to him and so at once Rāma dresses himself and goes to see his father, driving in his chariot. Then the girls of Ayōdhya are crowding the doors and casements of their houses to see Rāma passing along. How do they look like as they collected themselves in groups at their open doors and windows? The particular stanza runs thus:—

“நீள்எழுந் தொடர் வாயினும், குழையொடு நெகிழ்ந்த
ஆளகத்திடை அரமியத் தலத்தினும், அளந்த
வாள் அரத்த வேள் வண்டொடு கெண்டைகள் மயங்கச்
சாளரத்தினும் பூத்தன தாமரை மலர்கள்.”

The meaning is this:—

“All along and behind the various pillars, doors and windows full of flower-creepers and open yards for moonlight, girls were crowding together to have a glimpse of Rāma as he went along the streets. Their eyes were long and sharp like swords and full of small red blood-vessels which made even the beetles and *Kendai* (a kind of fish) think for the moment that the faces were lotus flowers, which had suddenly blossomed all along the windows and

doors of the mansion in the street.” This, too, is a grand figure undoubtedly.

In the same *Padalam* we meet Kōsalai the mother of Rāma and let us see how she receives the news of her son's coronation. The stanza runs thus:—

“சிறக்கும் செல்வம் மகற்கெனச் சிந்தையிற்
பிறக்கும் பேருவ கைக்கடல்—பெட்பற
வறக்கும் மாவட வைக்கனல் ஆனதால்
துறக்கும் மன்னவன் என்னும் துணுக்கமே.”

The general sense is this:—

“The thought of her son Rāma becoming the heir-apparent produces an ocean of joy in Kōsalai's heart, but, it loses its watery nature immediately and dries up completely, because of the emergence of *Vadavaikkanal* (an ocean-fire) from it; and that ocean-fire is the thought and fear of her husband Dasaratha going into the forest for doing “Tapas” after crowning Rāma.” The two naturally connected ideas are magnificently conveyed by the two equally naturally connected similes from the sea, and Kambar gives us this figure of the sea and the ocean-fire very often in the course of his great work.

In the *Mandarai Chūzhchip Padalam* we get a beautiful description of the flags and festoons flying over the streets of Ayōdhya in honour of Rāma's coronation. The lines run like this:—

“வெள்ளிய கரிஎன, செய்ய வேறுள,
கொள்ளைவான் கொடிநிறைக் குழாங்கள் தோன்றுவ
கள்ளவிழ் கோதையான் செல்வம் காணிய
புள்ளலாம் திருநகர் புகுந்த போன்றவே.”

The lines mean:—

“White, black, red and various other colours were seen in the different and multifarious flags which were

flown in large numbers on the various buildings for the coronation of Rāma. It seemed as if all the multi-coloured birds of the sky had come to Ayōdhya to see the coronation of Prince Rāma who wore garlands full of honey flowers." The comparison between the many coloured flags fluttering in the air and many plumed birds of the sky is very apt and natural indeed.

We get a number of small similes in a nicely arranged manner in a stanza describing the feelings of various people at the news of Rāma's forthcoming coronation. The lines are as follows :—

“மாதர்கள் வயதின் மிக்கார் கோசலை மனத்தை ஒத்தார்;
வேதியர் வசிட்டன் ஒத்தார்; வேறுள மகளிர் எல்லாம்
சீதையை ஒத்தார்; அன்னாள் திருவினை ஒத்தாள்; அவ்வூர்
சூர்தனமாந்த ரெல்லாம் தயரதன் தன்னை ஒத்தார்.”

It means :—

“At hearing the news of Rāma's forthcoming coronation, old ladies felt as happy as Kōsalai, mother of Rāma; Brāhmīns felt as happy as Vashishta the Sage; other young women felt like Sēētha in their joy and happiness; Sēētha herself felt like ‘Mahālakshmi’; old people who were intending to leave worldly interests for a life of ‘Tapas’ in the forest, felt like Dasaratha himself.” The succession of comparisons and similes here is magnificent, and it reminds us of the grand four similes coming one after the other in Shelley's “Sky-lark”, the only difference being that here Kambar speaks about different sections of the people and their reactions, whereas there, Shelley speaks about the effect of the sky-larks' song on the hearers.

Let us now see how Kambar describes the bevy of girls who rushed about eagerly to see Rāma's coronation. Our poet is always fond of vividly describing the reactions of women to any incident or event in the course of his epic. Here he employs a grand simile to portray their

appearance as they came along in their numbers. The stanza is as follows :—

“குவனையின் எழிலும் வேலின் கொடுமையும் குழைத்துக் கூட்டி,
திவளும் அஞ்சனம் என்(று) ஏய்த்த நஞ்சினைத் தெரியத் தீட்டி,
தவள ஒண்மதியுள் வைத்த தண்மைசால் தடங்கண் நல்லார்
துவளும் நுண் இடையார், ஆடும் தோகையங் குழாத்தில்
தொக்கார்.”

The meaning is :—

“The eyes of the girls who crowded to see Rāma's coronation had the beauty of ‘Nēēlorppala’ flowers and the sharp cruelty of spears mixed nicely together; another ingredient to be mixed with the above mentioned two, was the unmistakable so-called eye-black which was really like deadly poison in its effect on men's hearts; such slaughtering eyes were beautifully placed in bright and lustrous moon-like faces, and they had small and swaying waists, so that, when they moved about they looked like strutting peacocks moving about in flocks.”

And finally here is a grand painting of the darkness and some moon-light in the forest through which Rāma, Lakshmana and Sēētha passed when they left the hermitages of some Rishis with whom they had stayed for some time; it appears in the ‘Thailam Attu Padalam’. The two particular stanzas concerned are these :—

(1) “பொய் வினைக்கு உதவும் வாழ்க்கை அரக்கரைப்
பொருந்தி, அன்றார்
செய்வினைக்கு உதவும் நட்பால் செல்பவர் தடுப்பது)
ஏய்க்கும்
மைவிளக்கியதே அன்ன வயங்கு இருள் துரக்க, வானம்
கைவிளக்கு எடுத்தது என்ன வந்தது கடவுள் திங்கள்.”

(2) “அஞ்சனக்குன்றம் அன்ன அழகனும் அழகன் தன்மேல்
எஞ்சலில் பொன்போர்த்து) அன்ன இளவலும்,—
இந்து என்பான்,
வெஞ்சிலை புருவத்தாள்தன் மெல்லடிக்கு ஏற்ப
வெண்ணூற்
பஞ்சிடைப் படுத்தால் என்ன வெண்ணிலாப் பரப்பப்
போனார்.”

The general sense of the verses is this :—The darkness in the forest was so great, when Rāma, Lakshmana and Sēētha passed through it, that it seemed as if the darkness which was ever a friend of the Rākshashas who had always followed a false way of life in consonance with their wishes and desires ; out of love and help for them (Rākshashas) the Darkness physically prevented the heroes from proceeding into the forest, as otherwise Rāma and Lakshmana would surely kill its friends viz., the Rākshashas (a sort of proleptic use in anticipation of the result, which is very appealing indeed). At that time the Godly moon (as opposed to the demoniacal Darkness) came up in the sky like a guiding hand-light for Rāma and others and it drove away the Darkness like the eye-black on the face of women, which drives away any white spots on the eye-lids and brows” (Though Kambar uses the imagery of the eye-black which is not the colour of the moon-light, it is a bold stroke, and the point of comparison is quite clear. The expression ‘Godly moon’ is wonderfully used here by the poet.)

The beautiful Rāma appeared like a black-dyed mountain moving (referring to his dark colour) and Lakshmana looked as if the same mountain had been covered over with a golden garment (referring to his fair colour). At that time the Moon-God “Indu” began to spread on the forest-floor, bits of moon-light which filtered through the thick-leaved trees, resembling bits of white cotton pads so that the bow-browed Sēētha could walk comfortably through the jungle.” These two figures here are grandly used by Kambar in this context.

Thus, the few similes of Kambar given above are wonderful examples of the poet’s ability in the field. They are scattered in plenty throughout the Epic and they could be collected together and studied with profit. I am sure they will stand comparison with the figures used by the best world poets.

The Teaching of Tamil Grammar

T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM.

எண்ணென்ப ஏனை எழுத்தென்ப இவ்விரண்டும்
கண்ணென்ப வாழும் உயிர்க்கு.

To me it has been given as a student and a teacher, as a parent and a correspondent, to observe and experience subjectively and objectively, from inside and outside, the teaching of Tamil. The general impression of a Tamil class left in my mind, except in those rare cases coming into contact with mighty personalities, is that of a dull, unimportant, and understandable gathering, full of potential mischief. It does not require any very elaborate analysis to find out the root cause of this calamity. The teachers of Tamil count for nothing ; and Tamil Grammar has driven the students who are compelled by some syllabus to memorise the mantras of Pavananthi Mamuni, to the point of despair.

It is very often presumed that this objection to the study of what just now goes by the name of grammar, is born of ignorance of that subject. The truth is really otherwise. It is eminent scholars of Comparative Grammar, like Skeat, Jespersen and Whitney, that sounded the death knell of the old school of teaching grammar. I can have no prejudice against Tamil Grammar which has ever been my hobby. Nor has the teaching of the real grammar apart from the spurious one, created any problem for me. That is because I was taught by my Master to consider the ancient Tamil Grammar as the true science of language and not, as the framers of some lingering syllabus mistook it, as a handbook on correct writing. On account of this wrong approach, even the students of Oriental Colleges fail to get inspired in the subject, and nourish in their heart of hearts, a hatred towards grammar thus reaping no benefit from a course in *Tolkappiyam*.

Tolkappiyam and *Nannul* are monuments of scientific and descriptive grammar. The chapter on sounds (எழுத்து) deals with phonology a subject completely forgotten by the subsequent generations; the chapter on words (சொல்) deals with morphology, semantics, and ergonomics; and the chapter on subject matter (பொருள்) (or literary theme) deals with the art of literary composition and poetic appreciation. The commentaries studied in their proper perspective, reveal to us the historical progress of the Tamil language but it must be confessed it is a kind of an esoteric teaching. Even as the judge in the guise of interpreting the statute actually legislates for the changed conditions, so does the Indian commentator frame his rules and evolve his philosophy, in the guise of interpreting the ancient texts. This is a well known legal fiction. Without knowing his role of an original contributor when one goes to him for any light as an annotator, one meets with the saddest disappointment. *Tolkappiyam* codified, so to say, the rules obtaining in its age. The living language has been ever changing and growing as *Tolkappiyar* himself expected (*kati col illai kalattuppatinae*) discarding many old rules and evolving many new ones. But still the commentators by their magical interpretations keep up the show of an unchanging and unchangeable grammar, for all times and for all contingencies. Once the legal fiction is understood, the commentaries become so many historical grammars reviewing the whole march of the language from epoch to epoch.

When the question of the confusing grammatical terminology was hotly discussed in the early twenties of this century, an interesting suggestion was thrown out by a member of the English Association that the principles of Universal Grammar could be usefully taught to the children, with great profit and that nothing more was needed. Such an universal grammar is fortunately found only in *Tolkappiyam*. It begins long before the time of Wundt, with the sentence as the unit of thought. After explaining

certain interesting problems of concordance and agreement, *Tolkappiyar* continues his study of words with an analysis of the declensions of nouns. It is true that the genitive is really a complement of the noun; but if the locative was the source of the genitive as some will have it, even the genitive might be interpreted as a complement of the verb. The sutram which ends "*Ayettenpa tolin mutanilaiye*" emphasises this concept of complement of the verb. After this study, the sentence is analysed into a subject or name word and a predicate or the action word, both of which may take complements. Jespersen's theory of Rank, arranging the words into primaries, secondaries and tertiaries receives an unexpected support from one of the sutrams; and from the general arrangement of nouns, finite verbs, *peyareccam* and *vinai-eccam*. Tamil is an agglutinative language and its words appear to be compounds or *pakupatam*. Even a child can resolve some of them into roots or *uriccol* and inflexions or *itaiccol*. This is all the morphology that need be taught to anyone. The important distinction between nouns and verbs on the one hand and *uriccol* and *itaiccol* or the *semantemes* and *morphemes* on the other, had not been fully grasped by the teachers of the old school, in spite of the explanations offered by the ancient commentaries of *Teyvaccilaiyar* and *Cenavaraiyar* and these self-luminous terms give no light to these blind leaders of our youths.

The teachers of grammar, in the dark ages, began to assume the role of dictators and constituted themselves into final courts of appeal in the province of correct linguistic usage. Even *Manu*, they forgot, never legislated but only codified the usage. *Tolkappiyar* by a process of inductive and objective study has classified the laws of linguistic usage prevalent in his days. A language reaches its perfection when reduced to writing and blessed with a grammar; but unfortunately this kind of perfection stems the further flow of the linguistic current, leading sometimes to stagnation and putrefaction. There is

always here as everywhere that eternal struggle between freedom and order where failure to adjust spells death. A language lives sometimes in spite of the grammarians. The progress which Jespersen has traced in the history of the English language is not always possible after the codification of a grammar. The legal attitude of the grammarians has developed a wrong view of grammar. It is fundamentally wrong to look upon grammar as a normative science; it is only an objective science of the linguistic phenomena, still in the stage of description, analysis, and classification, without any power of forecast and control of the phenomena. When that is the true picture of the grammar, the grammarians cannot but become the laughing stock of the modern writers, when the former give the authority of the old grammatical texts as sufficient explanation for any usage which they deem as correct.

The mind of the student is thus led away from the scientific quest of the fundamental principles of grammar and language to the dictatorial rule of their paltry jargons. This attitude of the grammarians had robbed the study of grammar of all its inspiration and interest. Every rule of grammar is social in origin, demanded by the exigencies of time and usage. It is not a logical proposition but a conventional formula. It is a solution of a linguistic problem, and looked in that way, the dry bones of grammar appear full of life clothed in flesh and blood. Presented that way, the rules of "valu-amaiti" or exceptional idiomatic usage, for instance, will be as interesting as the solution of riddles. A human form appears at a distance but it is not clear whether the person is a man or a woman. In the absence of a word common to both man and woman in Tamil, how to express this doubt becomes an interesting problem. The language has solved this riddle by the usage of the word 'form'. The usages "Is he a man or woman" and "Is she a man or woman" being admittedly incorrect in Tamil, the usage "Is that form masculine or feminine" which goes against no established

rules of grammar, has come to be accepted by the convention of the people, who are after all the real builders of the language. It is in this spirit that the ancient grammarians laid down the rules. Their Sutras are hard nuts to crack, because they are so many cryptic notes for their lectures to the students who thronged to their gurukulas. Again, the punarcci or sandhi rules are solutions of interesting and important phonetic problems. The solutions suggested reveal the working of many curious laws of phonetics. The conceptions of glides, assimilation, dissimilation and omission of surplus age in communication along with its contrary principle of necessary redundancy—all these and more lie embedded in these rules, which unfortunately remain unexplained in this way to the modern students thirsting for real knowledge.

There is a great and incessant demand for replacing the heart-aching grammar by a soul-stirring art or science of composition. The word "ceyyul" used by Tolkappiyar fortunately denotes a literary composition whether in prose or poetry; and thus in this world ever arguing about the reality of the distinction between prose and poetry, he has cut the Gordian knot. He relies more upon the rhythm than upon the rules of scanning. Unfortunately our grammarians coming to teach, have not as yet realised this great truth. When sufficient ear training and practice in voice production are given, the various shades of pronunciation, intonation, and musical pattern, come to be appreciated by the child. I have known children of the First Form composing verses on varied subjects in the tunes with which, (thanks to the Talkies,) they had become familiar. Can it be honestly stated that we are cultivating this creative art in our schools? There was time when poetic compositions were condemned by many as futile. That was the result of the teaching of the pseudo-grammar.

Tolkappiyar divides literary compositions into poetry of noumenal experience and poetry of phenomenal experience

(*Akam* and *puram*), a distinction much more subtle than that of subjective and objective poetry. The various aspects of these are elaborated only for the purpose of illustration ; but forgetting this underlying purpose, the latter day Tamilians have slavishly codified these free illustrations, as the only forms of poetry, denying any freedom for new usages, or illustrations to grow and thrive. Living poetry has thus been conventionalised into a mummy.

Sentiment (*meyppatu* or *ras*) as opposed to sentimentality is the soul of poetry, and Tolkappiyar enumerates eight sentiments, a study of which would unlock the emotion recollected in tranquillity and locked up in poetry. Figures of speech are not looked upon by Tolkappiyar as external appendages or ornaments but as something intrinsic in poetry. They are the modes of expression—the very form of poetic thought. Tolkappiyar fortunately does not enumerate the various figures of speech ; for, no enumeration can either reveal the inner truth or exhaust the perennial flow of the poetic forms. He anticipates Appayya Dikshita, in considering the varied figures as variations of simile. Again, suggestion (*iraicci*) giving full play to imagination is the very breath of poetry. Even this valuable conception had been allowed to be forgotten by the subsequent generations. It is really therefore very surprising that Tolkappiyar should have grasped the fundamentals of literary composition and appreciation and portrayed them forth with the help of a few bold strokes of his pen. These are the very truths which have to be, by proper method, instilled into the hearts of our children. Tolkappiyar by the use of the term "*Patu tirai vaiyam*" (948), true to his universal outlook, makes these principles applicable to the whole world, though attempts have been made to use the term to refer only to the Tamil country, to ignore the Tolkappiyam is considered to have any value by the short-sighted Tamilians of the later days. It is only recently to bemoan the loss sustained by neglect of these salient truths. One

cannot but despair of the future of this Tamil country, when, in her seats of learning, the students are refused the firm grasp of these essentials of literary composition. When is the gulf yawning wider and wider between the writers of Tamil and the teachers of Tamil to be bridged, if not here and now ?

There is a new idea in the air, ever since the days of the Russian Revolution. The conception of planning has taken deep roots in every country. It is no longer looked upon as interfering with natural evolution of things. Planning weeds out the unnecessary growths and safeguards the natural development. This conception of planning has unconsciously come to play its part in the arena of language. Linguists have always been planning for a universal language. Basic English reveals the working of the principle of planning in this new sphere. Are not even our text books such attempts at planning as these ? Unfortunately this has not yet been realised by many. If the Tamil newspapers read by the man in the street contain more than 5000 words, of what use can these text books be, which even if systematically studied from the infant standard to the highest class in an elementary school could give only a command over 1000 or 2000 words ? Are not years spent in such institutions without equipping oneself for life, at least to the extent of reading the newspapers—criminal waste of time ? Is there not then room for planning ?

No word-frequency list, as the one prepared by Thorndike for English, has yet been prepared for Tamil. Nor has any one systematically, and scientifically, analysed according to the varying physical ages of the children, the linguistic difficulties of the child, and the common errors of the age. If that has been done, and quantitatively arranged in the order of frequency, it will not be difficult to plan a course of study for avoiding the usual pitfalls of language. Mr. Palmer having emphasised the necessity

for preparing a microcosm of words in a language—minimum number of words that ought to be taught—based on the principles of frequency, on the principle of concreteness, on the principle of ergonic combination, on the principle of proportion or importance, and on the principle of general expediency. Once it is admitted as is usually done now-a-days, that grammar is not to be taught directly but that the rules ought to take a shape and form in the unconscious mind thus giving rise to a steady habit of speech and writing as a result of the extensive reading and speaking in which students become gradually interested in the course of their supervised studies, the linguistic planning here referred to assumes a great importance in the teaching of grammar.

The verbal microcosm varies from period to period in the history of a language and even among individuals it grows with their age. This truth needs no emphasis in this age of mental tests. Blessed with real insight, Tolkappiyar in his chapter on *Semantemes* or *uriccol* throws out a few valuable suggestions. He explains that there will be no end to the process of explaining a word by another and that by a third and so on. (*Portkupporul teriyin atu varampinre* (874)). One however need not always rely on this futile method. Palmer, when he describes that semanticising or conveying a meaning, may be by natural association, by translation, by definition, and by context, reminds us of Tolkappiyar who states that the meaning can be correctly conveyed without suffering any change, if it can be explained in other ways (*Porutkuttiripillai unartta vallin* (875)). But there is a limit to such teaching and explanation, a limit prescribed by the receptive capacity of the students adapted to their width of experience: (*Unarcci vayil unarvor valitte* (876)). The mental tests have shown to the world that there is an age for understanding certain conceptions and stories. It is foolish if not dangerous to quicken the pace of the mental development of the child. It is impossible to make a child of

four, understand the conception of subject or object. Have our text books taken this important truth into consideration?

Nobody has attempted to study the development of the grammatical sense in the child of the Tamil country. But the other countries can show us the way. The Iowa Child Welfare Research Station gives an outline of the progressive stages in language development (Little, N. F., and William, H. M., — *An Analytical Scale of Language Achievement*, University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 1937-13 No. 2, 88-94) :—

THE CHILD

- (1) Vocalises spontaneously — babbles
- (2) Definitely attends to vocal stimulation by turning head toward or watching person vocalising.
- (3) Uses syllables consisting of consonant and vowel in spontaneous vocal activity.
- (4) Vocalises in response to being talked to
- (5) Shows comprehension by some specific and consistent response to verbal stimulation waving “bye-bye” on demand, etc.
- (6) Uses final consonant in syllables,
- (7) Uses vocal symbol to express meaning,
- (8) Imitates sound in pitch or inflexion,
- (9) Uses five symbols to express meaning,
- (10) Uses ten symbols to express meaning.
- (11) Combines two words or symbols to express meaning such as “bye-bye car” or “here daddy”,
- (12) Uses six conventional words accurately. (Pronunciation need not be perfect but words must be intelligible to one unfamiliar with child).
- (13) Uses agent — action or action — object structure such as “ride car” or “hurt baby”.
- (14) Definitely uses noun verb or verb object structure. (Must have more than one instance.)
- (15) Substitutes more than once a pronoun for other person's name.

- (16) Uses preposition more than once. (Usually appears as the substitution of such a phrase as "go to town" for "go town" or "ride in car" for "ride car".)
- (17) Qualifies noun with adjective.
- (18) Qualifies verb with adverb.
- (19) Uses auxiliary verbs.
- (20) Uses regular plural in nouns more than once.
- (21) Uses any tense of verb other than the present.
- (22) Uses conjunction.
- (23) Uses past tense correctly.
- (24) Uses compound sentence.
- (25) Uses complex sentence giving correct instance of dependent clause.
- (26) Uses future tense correctly more than once.
- (27) Uses correct regular comparatives in adjectives.
- (28) Uses correct regular superlatives in adjectives.
- (29) Uses irregular plural nouns correctly.
- (30) Uses compound-complex sentence.
- (31) Uses correct regular superlatives in adverbs.
- (32) Uses past perfect tense correctly.
- (33) Uses future perfect tense correctly.

With the help of this, we have to observe the Tamil child and prepare an outline of the progressive stages of the development of the linguistic sense in the Tamil child and correlate it with the age, before utilising that valuable information in preparing a scheme of study or a scheme of speech training for our children. The necessity for such planning needs no further plea. Unfortunately in our country nothing has been done in this way and therefore when the teacher goes to teach grammar on the basis of *sutras*, he lectures above the head of the children who begin to dislike the teacher and the subject.

The verbal microcosm of the modern age, thanks to our material progress assumes vast proportions. The claims of our scientific and mechanical age can be satisfactorily met by any one of the ancient languages like our Tamil only after proper linguistic planning. A blue print has to be prepared of the field of studies to be covered, of the

technical terms to be used and of the principles to be followed in coining new technical words. For nearly two decades, the mother tongue has been the medium of instruction in our High schools and yet no uniformity has been established in the use of technical terms. That in the midst of mutual recriminations between the Sanskritists and the Tamil purists, the students should suffer is indeed a sad reflection on the present condition of our educational efforts. The principles of coining technical terms are ultimately in one sense of the word, grammatical rules. The perspicuous morphology of the Tamil language is so self-explanatory that any diligent student of Tamil can straightway coin successfully the popular scientific terms. The studies therefore have to be planned in such a way as to familiarise the students with the various methods of expressions, a familiarity with which will help them to understand and appreciate any current coin issued from the linguistic mint of accepted usage.

Viewed within the background of linguistic progress the *Tolkappiyam sutram*

kati col illai kalattuppatine (935)

(that no new word which has gained currency in course of time can be condemned) and the *sutrams* of Pavananti

பழையன: கழிதலும் புதியன புகுதலும்
வழுவல கால வகையினானே.

palayana kalitalum putiyana pukutalum
valuvala kala vakiyinane

(that the old usage disappears and the new gains currency ; this is the play of time ; there is nothing wrong about it) and

பகுதி விசுதி இடைநிலை சாரியை
சந்தி விகாரம் ஆறினும் ஏற்பவை
முன்னிப்புணர்ப்ப முடியும் எப்பதங்கலும்.

Pakuti vikuti itainilai cariyai
canti vikaram arinum erpavai
munippunarppa mutiyum eppatankalum.

(that all the words can be successfully analysed if only done with care into the six categories: theme, suffix, infix, inflections, assimilatory changes and euphonic changes.) cease, if one may be pardoned for indulging in ancient and modern jargons, to be dry bones, splitting and creaking in the grammarian's Golgotha but become human dynamos charging the whole world with its electricity, producing millions of kilowatts of mental energy for driving the social engine on its way to progress. In this age of atomic bomb one must not forget the explosive power of effective and active words. An innocuous monosyllable like the word "ass" generates and releases on the spur of the moment any amount of energy feeling and action both in the speaker and the auditor when uttered as a term of abuse. Appreciated in this light, the mysteries of language present a panorama of miracles all through the course of its history, and a deeper study will compel language to yield its inner truths, explaining these mysteries on a rational basis. We hope we have seen the end of the age of the dictators. Mighty forces of destruction were let loose on this earth by the power of the tongue. The whole world resounded with the roaring of the puny little mannikin of a Hitler for well-nigh a decade and a half, which shook the whole world, mankind and all its culture to their very foundations. Even from a pragmatic point of view the study of speech is a necessity in an age of democracy. Grammar stands arraigned before the world that it has done all it can to stifle the development of speech, though the ancient grammars like *Tolkappiyam* with their phonetic rules of pronunciation emphasise the speech aspect of language.

II

Unfortunately the study of these ancient works of grammar so full of life and light have been metamorphosed into a heroic pilgrimage through a dreary desert of meaningless learning, possible only for the chosen few, all but dead to the world. No wonder Sampson exclaims "It is

the sorry fate of literature to fall into the hands of school masters and examiners who care for her dowry more than for her charms. Communication of enjoyment indeed may be called the immediate purpose of the lesson on literature. Deeper communications may follow but they must travel in the path of love and liking. Literature may become a subject for study but it must be first of all the object of love". Miss E. T. Rajeswari, in an interesting paper, contributed to the Commemoration Volume presented to the late lamented Tamil scholar, T. V. Loganatha Mudaliar, brings home to us the humour enshrined in *Tolkappiyam*. This human aspect of the ancient grammar has rarely been emphasised. Our grammarians of the later days have been really the precursors of the mechanical age and they have been successfully grinding down human minds into uniform paste. Their dictatorial attitude demands slavish acceptance of their word by the students. The ghosts of the commentators and the witchery of the grammar teacher haunt the class rooms. Is there any wonder that India lay enslaved? If there was no freedom of thought within the sacred precincts of a class room how could freedom thrive elsewhere? "Education with inert ideas is not only useless, it is above all things harmful". There is even now too much of cramming and too much of spoon-feeding even in our Honours courses—too much to be assimilated by any healthy mind. Even if digested the amount of adipose tissue which will result will be so much dead weight disfiguring the symmetrical beauty of the human mind, arresting all its free movement and leading on ultimately to disease and decay. After reading Graham Wallas's *Art of Thought*, one loses faith in the First Class Graduates of this 'ancien régime'. Democracy thrives only in an age of creative thinking. Independent research alone can vivify our studies. Freedom of thought is the foundation and the crown of all cultural edifice. The rule of the dead letter should be exorcised and the reign of the divine spirit should be worshipfully restored.

Instead of starting to discuss the problem of teaching grammar, in the lower classes, thus far, an attempt has been made to throw some light on the study of grammar in the Arts and Oriental Colleges. It is there the future teachers are nurtured. If the nursery itself is contaminated no growth can be expected. The right attitude should be developed and the right approach encouraged. Teaching can be symbolised by a triangle with the Teacher, the Student and the Subject as three corners where the Teacher and the Subject on one side and the Teacher and the Taught on the other are connected and where it is the aim of education to evolve the growth of a connection between the two points—the Subject and the Taught, through the magical influence of the Teacher. It is thus clear that the teacher makes or mars the future of the pupils. He is the guide, the friend and the philosopher. The west can boast of geniuses like Montessori, dedicating their life to the cause of Child education. In spite of their missionary zeal and intensive work for more than a century, the world has not yet understood the full significance of their message that the future of civilisation depends upon the right kind of schools. Our civilisation wastes its energy in perfecting the atomic bomb rather than in perfecting its education.

The position here in India is extremely deplorable, in spite of the growth of the conception of Basic education. The educational service here more than anywhere else, commands no respect and attracts very few real men. The 'Higher Grade' teachers in the charge of the lower classes are but blind men leading the blind children. A band of missionaries of culture with a cosmopolitan outlook and universal love inspired by a passion for the Tamil language, literature, country and civilisation is needed. We are in a sad plight with greater confidence in the brick and mortar, in the work-tables and black boards, in the books and methods than in man and his work. It is the teacher who has to vivify this dead matter and by the magic of his personality, make these stones and wood preach

their sermon and sing their psalms, in unison with the dance and play of the infant lords of the future. Suggestion, sympathetic imagination and confidence are necessary in a teacher. Interest and enthusiasm are catching, and it is the teacher alone who can keep the interest in any subject burning. "A teacher should have a certain amount of natural eloquence, quickness of perception and appreciation of foreign character as well as an interest in all that concerns life"—(Dr. Munch). Palmer summarises the qualities and duties of a teacher of language—"The first qualifications of the expert teacher are a knowledge of the foreign language and of the students' natural tongue and the ability to organise the programme to choose the appropriate material and the most appropriate means of conveying and of inculcating it. Another function of the teacher is to furnish explanations. The vehicular language for all explanatory matter should foster and encourage the pupils' capacities of visualisation by adopting for explanatory purposes the principle of visual correlation. Further functions of the teacher are, (a) To cause or to stimulate the pupils to work, (b) To give the pupils opportunities of hearing the language spoken and to act the part of the second person in a conversation, (c) To act as examiner to award marks and to correct errors. The teacher is to react against the vicious tendencies of studies". These quotations relate to the teacher of a foreign language where alone the teaching of grammar assumes an importance unknown elsewhere and therefore have to be modified to suit the requirements of a teacher of mother-tongue. Taught by men who do not know Tamil and who have become despondent because of their failure in life, the children feel no inspiration for any work but acquire wrong habits of expression which they cannot get rid of all through their life.

James in his famous Talks to Teachers has once for all emphasised the necessity for developing the right kinds of habits in the children coming to educational institutions. Of these habits, we, speaking on grammar,

are concerned only with the habits of expression. The tendency of the modern age of cinema is to make use of the eye more than the ear. Our civilisation honours the written letter more than the spoken word and strives after literacy rather than culture. In the three R's, there is place for reading and writing but not for speaking which it was thought requires no teaching. Our education has thus been sidetracked. The very term "the three R's" is the outcome of a commercial age. The plea for literacy is purely utilitarian and has resulted in manufacturing the quill drivers of bureaucracy. Speech is the reality and writing is but a shadow and a symbol. Good speech, as Patanjali has pointed out centuries back, is a sign of culture and good breeding. But we are ever liable to forget that "language is first and foremost a spoken thing not a written thing"—(Ballard). Modern educational writers have realised that the correct method of teaching language and grammar is by teaching the child to speak. "If our aim is to learn to read, write and speak a living language, we shall be adopting not only the most natural but also the most direct and expeditious method of achieving these ends by concentrating in the first place on the mastery of spoken tongue"—(Kittson).

In these days of democracy when unity has to be developed as against parochialism, by abolishing all degrading colloquialism which brand on the speaker with his caste or creed, the educational institutions, *in the absence of healthy family conditions, ought to teach the art of speaking more than anything else*. The child coming to the school does speak Tamil but that Tamil is so far removed from the standard Tamil, which is really for that very reason, a foreign language to the child. The beginning is the important crisis. "Now you know", says Socrates, "that in every enterprise the beginning is the main thing especially dealing with a young and tender nature. For at that time it is most plastic and into it the stamp which it is desired to impress sinks deepest". The dialects and

their knowledge are necessary for this approach. These ought to be approached with a sense of appreciation and reverence. The conception of corruption in a language ought to be forgotten. Slowly the standard dialect should be introduced.

It is very unfortunate that this natural method of education of the ear by concourse of sweet sounds begun under very good auspices at the cradle by the loving mother, singing endearing and soothing lullabies is not effectively continued in our educational institutions. That mother is the greatest of teachers was forgotten and the social degradation of the women sent the educationist to search for truths away from the home. The mother and the woman have once again to be installed on their domestic throne. The classical tradition—a museum show—has blinded people to the virtues of a living language which came to be spoken of as a vernacular or prakrit. Sanskrit and other classical languages which are no longer anybody's mother tongue are studied for giving an access to literature: they are therefore knowledge subjects offering little scope for learning by doing. But in a living language the power of expression is a matter of skill; we learn by doing; it is therefore a skill subject in addition to being a knowledge subject; it is therefore an art. There is no way of learning to swim except by swimming and there is no way of learning a living language except by speaking it.

That no man hears his voice as others hear it because he hears his voice through the bone of his head rather than through his ear alone, is not realised by many teachers, who therefore neglect to practise from early days the art of voice production and correct pronunciation. The child however is nothing, if not musical. Given the necessary ear training the intonation curves and musical patterns, the rhythm of prose, and the metre of poetry, are differentiated and enjoyed by the children. Poetic composition is really a child's play under those circumstances. Nor need

any one despair of the child living in the slum learning the standard pronunciation; for the right form uttered even once by the inspiring teacher, who is in the eyes of these young ones a divine personality will outweigh the use of the colloquial forms though frequently uttered by his fellows of the slum. Of course, as already stated, no feeling of inferiority should arise in the child's mind about his particular dialect. The pronunciation of μ , σ , ω , ρ , τ , σ , σ and δ have to be drilled by phonetic exercises sung as chorus. It is very unfortunate that sanctions even educated people holding the highest degrees should not know the correct pronunciation of these letters. Phonetics is the first and most important chapter in any grammar worthy of that name. The ancient grammarians like Tolkaṭṭiyar have realised the necessity for phonetic training, for it is the first subject that they teach, though as our misfortune will have it, this healthy training was given up in later times.

The next thing to be done is to allow the child freely to talk. There is no use of interfering with the free flow of speech except by way of appreciation and by way of carrying on the conversation in the same way as the mother does, where what we call the subjective language and relative phrases come into full play. When the child is nervous of speaking out, correcting it at every step will only seal its mouth for all time to come. "Watering pot is more useful than the pruning fork". Therefore the wise teacher knows when to smile and when to frown with a great confidence in time, curing the linguistic aberrations. Therefore what is important is that the child should begin to talk however incorrect that speech may be. The Slav proverb has it "Tko Zelidobro Govoriti Mora Natu Cati" (i.e.) whoever wants to speak well, must murder the language. "The man who has killed a thousand, is half a doctor", so says the Tamil proverb.

Teaching the grammar at this stage is positively harmful and hence Herbert Spencer condemns the intensely

stupid custom of the teaching of grammar to children. The grammatical rules only detract the child's attention from the meaning. Therefore one must cry with Jespersen "Away with lists and rules. Practise what is right, and again and again".

In the school the pupils are doing active and passive work. Palmer has insisted on the training of the subconscious.

There is a formless stage followed by a stage of system and co-ordination in the mental development of the child. Nature does not believe in economy. Soon after the development of the stage of system, learning ought to be treated as an art aiming at an economy of effort. Art and nature thus combined become infallible.

But what is the kind of teaching which one indulges in? A text book is usually prescribed and all kinds of studies are carried on with the help of that one Bible of the class. Every sentence is torn to bits. The child is given no time to enjoy the reading; in between the explanations the child has to write sentences of its own, apart from answering questions. Michael West has proved the necessity for teaching (1) Speaking, (2) Reading, (3) Oral composition, and (4) Written composition, as four different units. These are four distinct arts and have to be cultivated as such. Unfortunately this epoch-making discovery has not been utilised to the fullest extent in Tamil land. It is only when this system is followed that the child can become interested, in understanding and expressing, and thus gaining pleasure.

Palmer has again emphasised the principles of segregation with teaching of language. "In order to exclude confusion and misunderstanding during the initial period of conscious study, the phonetic orthographic, etymological, semantic and ergonic aspects of language must be segregated from each other and taught independently. In the process of subconscious study and in the later periods of

conscious study that segregation is neither possible nor desirable". This suggestion is given for the teaching of a foreign language and can be followed only in the higher grades. Too sharp a distinction however ought not be made between grammar and other linguistic usages. Grammatical rules of general application may serve to secure their observation. Co-ordination has its own place in the educational system as much as segregation. Grammar groups, compares and, when the child's mind is properly developed, makes one consciously observe and understand the linguistic phenomena which have become already known and assimilated unconsciously by the student. What is wanted is not the rules of grammar should be learnt by rote but the linguistic sense or the feel, which the Germans call the "sprachgefühl" should be developed. The children should be given plenty of material to imitate not in a disconnected way unconnected with life; and the grammatical conscience will be developed unconsciously.

When the memorising of the sutrams is condemned, it is not because that one is against the past; for the past lives in the present, more than anywhere else, in language. It is an irrational method. The sutrams are mnemonic formulae. They ought not to be looked upon as divine revelations, self-explanatory and coercive. One must not forget usage is the real sanction behind these grammatical rules. Nor is getting by heart to be condemned as intrinsically criminal. "Learning by heart is the basis of all linguistic study; for, every sentence ever uttered or written by anybody has either been learnt by heart in its entirety or else has been composed (consciously or subconsciously) from smaller units each of which must at one time have been learnt by heart"—(Palmer). Without verbal memory, enjoyment of literature is reduced to its minimum. There are certain things like the multiplication table, which have to be memorised, but, all in the course of practical usage, as Ballard has insisted with reference to the multiplication table itself. Drilling has therefore a

place and it must be done with a completeness worthy of the study. It must be done so thoroughly that the child understands it fully. *Grammatical practices merely for the sake of grammar without any ulterior literary or linguistic purpose is positively harmful.* Often one gets a satisfactory result in the drill work, but the result is unfortunately not carried to the actual speaking or writing. Such drills divorced from actual linguistic practice have to be completely eschewed.

All the objections to the teaching of grammar have arisen because of its dictatorial attitude, of its hairsplitting and meaningless distinctions, its wrong application of the classical rules to the living language, the distaste for any study of literature which it engenders, the hollowness of its exclusive claim to a mental discipline, its futility as a guide to correct speech and writing, and its pretensions as the true keeper of the linguistic conscience. Therefore the grammarians of the present day, have scaled down their claim to an acceptable minimum. The magical properties of the grammatical rule which when once discovered was supposed to safeguard the learner from further error are admitted to be superstitions. Modern Grammar points out only very simple and clear distinctions. Multitudinous exercises are avoided. Grammar is said to encourage mental discipline not standing alone but along with many other subjects of study. Instead of insisting upon its indispensability, grammarians are satisfied with the plea that formal grammar is not after all completely useless; it at least helps one to have a connected idea about language. It is conceded that the rules of grammar should be taught only in the higher grades. Co-ordination in linguistic studies is now insisted on. Terms such as subject, predicate and object which are comprehensive and interesting to children to discern, need alone be taught, and even then, as and when they are required for a correct understanding and appreciation of a speech or a writing, through an analysis of a live speech.

Of the heuristic, inductive and deductive methods, it is now agreed that the most effective method under particular circumstances should be used without giving up the practice method. It is no longer logic but psychology that guides the teaching of grammar. Language is a living thing, dealing with real things and a right understanding of the nature of language is necessary to lay down the right principles of study. Grammar is therefore no longer our dictator but our servant helping the building up of a standard judgement. It is granted by the modern grammarians that reflective analytical knowledge of the mother tongue is being built up as a factor in writing and reading. An accumulation of grammatical facts in such studies kindles a natural interest in words, their life, their composition and their varying colour of connotation and denotation; and when once that interest is kindled, the anatomy and physiology of language becomes a fascination (Wyatt, Chubb, Carpenter, Baker and Scott).

Therefore modern grammar is expected to be a natural grammar without tears. Gouin's grammatical method is an example. In spite of this, the very name of grammar has become repulsive. "But cannot even Dame Grammatical be made attractive to the minds of the young?" asks Karl Breul and answers "I think she can and I have no doubt that everything depends on the way in which a teacher introduces her to the children". The playway method has revolutionised education in these institutions where it is followed. Mr. Cook's book has become a classic. Mr. Ryeburn in his book has worked out an interesting and practical scheme of graded linguistic games for Indian conditions. He has provided for the Hide and Seek, Card games, Telegram, Matching and Completion games, Choice games, Word building and Sentence building games and a host of other games which will all sustain the interest of children.

Palmer gives various interesting exercises and games, one of which the Living ergonomics is really an interesting

dramatic hit. It is now agreed that sentence must be taught as a unit and that various model sentences should be learnt as so many frame works in which other words or phrases should be fixed in, by what is now familiar to every teacher as the substitution method. Every model sentence is then enacted, each pupil playing in the appointed order, the role of a part of speech therein, coming in with his smaller or larger groups of phrases and clauses. When each pupil will recite his or her special word and go on substituting, after every act of a sentence is finished. In spite of Jespersen's *Analytical Syntax* and Palmer's book emphasising the ergonomics, no attempt has been made to prepare an ergonic chart for Tamil.

Though the whole programme for the linguistic games had been completely chalked out, in all its detail, by these eminent writers, whose books are familiar to every teacher worthy of the name, very few institutions in Tamil land can boast of following this playway method. The great problem is to conquer the apathy of the teacher. Mental tests have rarely been used for purposes of diagnosis and prognosis.

"Linguists no longer dream themselves as arbiters of speech but simply recorders of usage"—(Whitney). Not even satisfied with this, Ballard and others who are anxious that the language should be stopped from changing for the worse, feel that this can be done successfully, only, when the science of composition takes the place of grammar. Tolkappiyar had already paved the way for this. His book cannot be looked upon as grammar or vyakarana, it can be described only as a treatise on the science and art of composition and literary appreciation. Therefore it ought not to be difficult to follow this path, for any diligent student of Tamil who has undergone any useful course in Tolkappiyam. Tiruvalluvar when he speaks of (eluttu) as the eye, must have had this art and science of composition in his mind.

Merely listening to the word of a teacher is not enough ; one has to learn by doing. The Playway education, the Project Method and the Dalton Plan are therefore very important. Mutual discussions among students, the practical use of things learnt for instance in teaching to others makes one's education perfect, according to the views held by the ancient Tamilians, as is made clear by the following verses :

ஆசான் கூறியவை அமைவரக் கொளினும்
காற்கூறல்லது பற்றலனாகும்
அவ்வினையாள ரொடு பயில் வகை ஒருகால்
செவ்விதினாரைப்ப அவ்விருகாலும்
மையறு புலமை மாண்புடைத்தாம்.

"If a student grasps what all the teacher has taught he will have command only over 25% ; if he moves in addition with other students thirsting for knowledge he gains a further 25% and when he successfully teaches he gains the remaining 50% and his erudition becomes then flawless and great."

Students should be given more responsibility, and greater initiative should be encouraged. The science of composition has to take all these truths into consideration. According to Ballard, the function of the oral composition lesson is to train for public speaking and public debate. Who can deny the importance of public speaking in this age of Democracy ? Any camp fire will open one's eyes to the immense possibilities in a child approached in the proper way.

The making of a writer ought to be the next great aim of education. We perfect ourselves by correctly expressing our thoughts. But today it is not so much the creative inspiration as the examination fever that is the characteristic feature of the class room. Few teachers have learnt the art of the new examiner. The child has to write a composition on the spur of the moment, without striking out any letter. The composition has to come

out of the young brain as perfect as Minerva coming out of the head of Jupiter. Even a Shakespeare and a Newman will be condemned as dullards by our pedagogues. Ballard therefore speaks of the "art to blot" and emphasises preparation, revision and self-criticism. The truth of this point of view can be verified by any one who cares to go through a manuscript class magazine of any school, as contrasted with ordinary student exercise books, containing interesting tit-bits, short stories, descriptions of camp fires, occasional poems in popular tunes, caricatures and pictures, all neatly and elegantly done and thus revealing what can be done when once the interests of the children are aroused. That is how creative art is developed. There is here no spirit of competition which rules our world ; it is all a co-operative effort of the New Age.

Sir Philip Hartog therefore rightly condemns the present unnatural educational formula of writing anything about something for anybody which therefore supplies no incentive to write. Writing is both a record and a message and therefore the first principle of Hartog is that the writer must have the audience in his mind. The second principle is that a skeleton should be prepared before writing the essay. The third principle is that the child should mark its exercises after discussion with the teacher. Thus the creative and critical faculties are developed along with the grammatical conscience without any exercises in formal grammar. "The habit of mental alertness and vigilance so engendered is of vital importance in a democracy" —(Ballard). It is in this spirit that the old Tamil poem speaks of this art of composition leading on to the greatest Freedom.

எழுத்தறியத் தீரும் இழிதகை மை தீர்ந்தான்
மொழித் திறத்தின் முட்டறுத்தான் ஆகும்—
மொழித்திறத்தின்
முட்டறுத்த நல்லோன் முதனுற் பொருளுணர்ந்து
கட்டறுத்து வீடு பெறும்.

The First books printed in Tamil

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM.

The establishment of schools and the introduction of printing was part of the educational programme of the European missionaries who entered India and Ceylon in the sixteenth century. Many of the leading missionaries in the sixteenth century, like Francis Xavier, were scholars who had been educated at the universities of Europe, at Paris, Coimbra, Salamanca and Rome, and came from countries which had felt the impact of the Renaissance and the revival of learning; and hence we find them introducing into India and Ceylon educational methods and techniques which were current in the Europe of their day. Such, for instance, were the founding of schools, both for religious and secular instruction, and the recruitment, training and financing of catechists and teachers, and the language methods they adopted for mastering spoken and written Tamil. One of the pioneer foreign scholars, Henrique Henriques (1520-1600), the first known European to have initiated a scientific study of the Tamil language and to have written copiously in Tamil, even proposed the erection of a Tamil University at Mannar or Punnakayil as early as circa 1560.¹ The work of these leading missionaries was not confined to exclusive educational methods; they made great use of the popular media of instruction that are the theatre and the printed word.

Printing was one of their best allies in the propagation of the Gospel as well as in the spread of literacy, and in spite of what has been said at times to minimise the value

of their contribution to Indian letters and to typography because their motive was religious preaching, the contribution of missionaries to educational methods, to linguistics and language study, to lexicography, and to literature has not been as yet adequately assessed in the overall history of learning in India and Ceylon.² Because their motive was the propagation and the preservation of a particular religion, their contribution to education and literature is not to be underestimated.

The introduction of printing into India was itself of great educational and social significance. In 1556 the Jesuits in Goa opened the first printing press in India with Latin types brought from Europe.³ But during this period the Goa press did its printing in Latin and Portuguese. The first Tamil booklet, however, appeared in Lisbon in the year 1554, two years before the printing press was introduced into India. The Roman script was used throughout the booklet to reproduce Tamil texts. The first known Tamil types were cast in the year 1577 at Goa but they were obviously not satisfactory, and hence a second and satisfactory attempt at casting Tamil types was made in Quilon in the year 1578, and a book of prayers and catechetical instructions printed in Quilon on 20th October 1578. With this booklet of 16 pages entitled *Doctrina Christam* or *Tambiran Vanakkam* (தம்பிரான் வணக்கம்), Tamil became the first Indian and Ceylonese language in which books were printed.

The establishment of the printing presses and the publication of these books were occasions for a justifiable pride in the Tamil districts. The Tamil Christians of the Fishery Coast contributed very liberally to the establishment of the first printing presses,⁴ and the first

¹ S. G. PERERA, S. J., *The Jesuits in Ceylon*, p. 18, De Nobili Press, Madura, 1941; D. FERROLI, S. J., *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol. 1, Bangalore Press, Bangalore City, 1939.

² AMERICO CORTEZ PINTO, *Da famosa Arte da Imprimissao*, esp. p. 297 ff., Editora "Ulisscia" Limitada, Lisbon, 1948.

³ GEORG SCHURHAMMER, S. J., G. W. COTTRELL, JR., *The First Printing in Indic Characters*, pp. 147-160, in *Harvard Library Bulletin*, Vol. VI, No. 2, Spring, 1952.

⁴ *ibi.*, p. 150.

books were received with great wonder, and bought and treasured both by Christians and non-Christians. An Indian poet even celebrated in verse the achievements of the invention which printed and multiplied books.⁵ These facts which are gathered from the Jesuit letters and Francisco de Sousa's *Oriente Conquistado* find a singular confirmation in the Preface to the Tamil *Doctrina Christam* printed in Cochin in 1579. The Preface is written in the name of the missionaries of the Fishery Coast and addressed to the Christians of the Fishery Coast as well as to other Christians whose language is Tamil. "You have desired to have several books which will teach you and your descendants the path to heaven and therefore you have contributed large sums of money towards the press. Therefore we are giving you this book as a gift. Because you spent large sums of money and established a press you have gained respect and praise before the world":

உங்களுக்கமுங்குசந்ததிகளுக்கஞ்சொறகததுக்குப்பொறவழி
படிப்பிக்கத்தக்கபலபொத்தகங்குச்சிலையுண்டாகவேணு
மென்றுவனெகமுதலசுண்டாககச்சிலவளிதீர்களுயாகையினுவி
நதப்பொத்தகமுங்களுக்கநன்கொடையாகவாவிடொமனெக
முதலசிலவளிததுவசுண்டாககிவித்ததினெசங்கையுங்கீததி
யுமுலொகாமுனபாகப்பெற்றீர்களே

The passage shows to some extent that punctuation and dots above mute consonants had not come into use, and the script reforms of Beschi were yet to be made. The orthography of the period may be seen from the printed pages reproduced in the plates. The non-Christians had not merely bought or admired the books; some of their learned men had collaborated with the European author in the revision of the language and style of this early pioneer Christian literature in Tamil.⁶

⁵ FRANCISCO DE SOUSA, S. J., *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo pelos Padres de Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa*, Vol. II, pp. 256-257, Lisbon, 1710; AMERICO CORTEZ PINTO, *Da famosa Arte*, op. cit., pp. 368-369.

⁶ See Preface to *Doctrina Christam*, Cochin, 1579:

"தமிழை நன்னுயறிந்த சில கல்விமான்களைக் கொண்டு தமிழுக்கு நன்றூ"

The date of the introduction of printing in the Tamil country is rather significant when considered with other comparable dates. The first printing by Europeans in China was in 1584 and in Japan in 1590; in the Philippines in 1593. The first printed book which has come to light from the New World is a *Doctrina* in Spanish, Quichua and Aymara printed in Lima, Peru, in 1584, though a *Doctrina* in Aztec and Spanish of which no specimen has yet been found, is believed to have been printed in Mexico City in 1539. The first printing for an African language seems to have been done for Congolese in 1624 and on the same lines as the Tamil Brochure (*Cartilha*) printed in Lisbon in the year 1554. Russia printed its first book in 1563; Constantinople had its first press in 1727; and Greece in 1821. Thus the Tamil printed books of the 16th century seem to be the earliest samples of printing along Western lines undertaken outside of the European continent and its immediate neighbourhood.⁷

THE FOUR PRINTED COPIES.

There has been and continues to be a great deal of conjecture and confusion about the character and content of the first books printed in an Indian language and about the dates and the location of the first presses on Indian soil. Now, however, after the finding and identification of four specimen copies of Tamil publications printed in the

யிணங்கத்தக்க சில வாத்தைசாவை தீர்த்துக் கொண்டு இடறுகள்
வராமல் அநெகமெல்லாந் தெண்டித்தார்".

Preface to *Flos Sanctorum*, 1586: "agora nuevamente en este ano di 86 se imprimio esto libro di la vida de los sanctos las quales comuniqui con algunos naturales que saben y entienden bien esta lengua, y porque estas vidas saliessen bien apuradas gaste en las tresladar en esta lengua mas de tres anos."

⁷ See references to early printing in the works quoted above of AMERICO CORTEZ PINTO, *Da famosa Arte*, and GEORG SCHURHAMMER and G. W. COTTRELL, *The first printing in India characters*, o.c., cf. S. H. STEINBERG, *Five hundred years of Printing*, Penguins Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex (England), 1955. The Welsh Bible was printed in 1588 and the first book in Irish was published in 1571.

sixteenth century more precise data is available regarding the place of printing, their authorship and the circumstances of their composition.

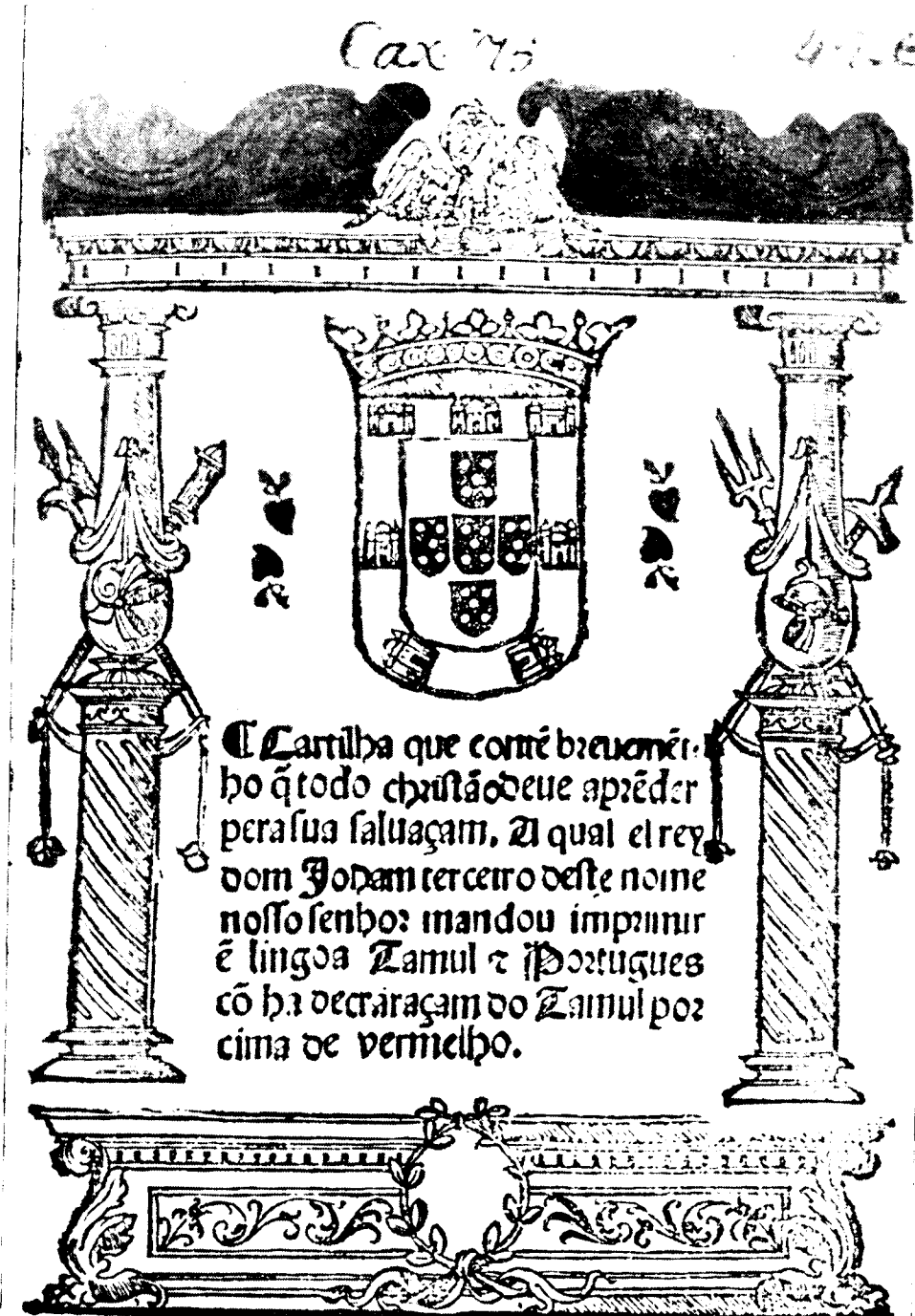
1. *Cartilha*: pp. 38, Germano Galhardo, Lisbon, 11th February, 1554.

The entire title of the brochure as it appears in the title page is "Cartilha che conte breuemente ho q todo Christo deue apreder pera sua saluaçam, A qual el rey Dom Joham tercero deste nome nosso senhor mandou imprimir e lingoa Tamul e Portugues co ha decraracam do Tamul por cima de vermelho". "Brochure which contains in brief all that a Christian should know for his salvation and which our lord the King Dom John the third of that name ordered to be printed in the Tamil language and in Portuguese with the Tamil meaning printed above in red".

This particular copy which is now kept in an iron safe of the Ethnological Museum of Doctor Leile de Vasconcellos at Belem, Lisbon, originally belonged to the Library of the Carthusian monastery of *Scala Caeli* of Evora. The copy was presented to the Library by the Jesuit Theotónio de Bragança (1536-1602) a distinguished scholar who was born in Coimbra, educated in Rome and Paris and who as Archbishop of Evora founded this Carthusian monastery of *Scala Coeli* in 1598. A handwritten note on the copy supplies the information that the copy was his gift to the Carthusian Library.⁸ When later the monastery was disbanded this copy may have gone to the Torre do Tombo, for at the beginning of the twentieth century it was in possession of José Bastos, a former director of Torre do Tombo. In 1909 it was found in the hands of an illiterate person from whom Dr. Vasconcellos bought the copy for his Ethnological museum.⁹

⁸ "Livro da Cartuxa de Scala Caeli deg. Illmo et Revmo Sor D. Theotónio de Bragança, Archbpo de Evora, che fez donacao e foy fundador da mesma casa"

⁹ See article on this booklet by SOUSA VITERBO in the daily, *Diário de Noticias*, March 16, 1909, also *Diccionario Bibliogra-*



Frontispicio da Cartilha de leitura e doutrina em lingua Tamul e Português, admiravel specimen da applicação das artes gráficas ao ensino das linguas

PLATE I

Frontispiece of the *Cartilha* printed in Lisbon in 1554

no truz fol — bepldurado morto : e no sepulcro pado —
 pattu : crâfnel tûqui vetân : culil vâitu .
 fado — morto — e — sepultado;

६४३

[illegible][illegible]

— *Prologo do leitor* —
 — orque en este libro se imprimio, para los devotos malauares q' estan en la corte.
 de la desquena se imprimio todo esta letra malauar q' los leuan Tamil, mas q' q' tambe
 os que no entienden esta lengua, sepan lo que se contiene en este libro, me parecio daros esta
 breu de cartamon en linouate, con los nombres de las fustas principales de las quales e este
 libro se trata, y se oironse estas, pareciendo q' por no poderamos imprimir q' aora todas estas
 serian mas apropiadas, para aquella nueva xpianidad, y basclaron, parte de fustas
 de las q' de hay desde el istano y parte de las q' de la India, y de las q' de la India
 en las uelas de los apóstoles, añadiendo en algunas de las dichas fustas, las conuenciones
 o me parecieron mejores, para bien y provecho de aquella xpianidad, y antes q' este libro
 se imprimiese fue examinado, y aprobado por el P. m. de Cortes, y de los señores m.
 nistrados, de treinta y siete años esta parte q' la saneta obra me entro con otros p. de la
 rom. q' de b. n. y sacrament. en la dicha xpianidad, hize muy grande studio en esta
 lengua con el deseo que tenia de ayudar los dichos xpianos y con mucho trabajo, por q' a
 de P. S. que athena mas bien, de manera q' hize una arte en esta lengua, y en parlar
 de la P. S. de la India se procuró que se hiciese. La imprenta malauar, por un ser de la
 rom. q' de b. n. de entrar en ella era muy gr. official, la qual el hize toda de su mano
 en mucho trabajo, y de b. n. y aora por ende del mismo P. m. me ocupa en componer
 algunos libros, los quales despues de aprobados, se imprimiran en la dicha lengua, a
 oora nueva mente en este año de 86. se imprimio este libro de la vida de los santos
 los quales conuenci con algunos naturales que saben y entienden bien esta lengua, y q' e
 estas uelas saliesen bien a puntadas, q' en las tres ladas e esta lengua mas de tres pa
 rassi por lo q' se entienda de esta lengua, como por lo q' dicen los tales, y tambien e por
 de la vida de los santos q' de b. n. en ella, en lo q' van sin yerro e la lengua, y may de
 a puntadas de lo qual sea oia de P. S. como en el primer m. a. de libro se p. n. de
 p. n. de la misma xpianidad, con esta se da de adu. e q' el alfabeto de esta len
 malauar es mas de lo que se le dio por no se tabla de los dichos setos y fustas, u.
 en la imprenta malauar de la corte de la India. Dada

Enrique Enríquez de la Cruz de Jesús



PLATE IV

The Spanish Prologue (handwritten) of the Vatican Copy of the *Flos Sanctorum*, printed in Punnaikayil (?) in 1586.

In 1948 this copy received publicity by the prominence it received in a work on the history of printing in Portugal. Americo Cortez Pinto was gathering material for his work *Da famosa Arte da Imprimissao* when he happened to mention to Professor Manuel Heleno, the present director of the Ethnological Museum of Belem that he had not come across a rare sample of printing which was mentioned in ancient bibliographies like Innocencio da Silva's *Bibliographia Lusitana* but which even the ancient bibliographers had not seen. Professor Heleno invited him to see the copy of a rare book he had in the iron safe of his museum and the identification was made. Cortez Pinto has devoted a few pages to the description of this unique specimen and has reproduced in colour four pages of this booklet. A manuscript copy of this brochure is said to be in the municipal library of Oporto.¹⁰

The present writer examined the copy during a brief visit to Lisbon in June, 1954, but did not take very detailed notes since he expected photostats to be sent to him of the booklet for study. So far he has not been successful in his attempts to obtain photostats or a microfilm of the copy. Even the reproductions in Cortez Pinto's book do not do justice to the magnificent specimen of printing and language study that is the Tamil *Cartilha* of 1554.

2. *Doctrina Christam en Lingua Malauar Tamul* or தமிழரான் வணக்கம், pp. 16; Collegio do Saluador, Quilon, 20 February, 1577.

This booklet of prayers and rudiments of the faith was entirely unknown to scholars until it was bought by Harvard College and a study was published in the Harvard Library Bulletin in the spring of 1952. The present writer

fico Portuguez, Vol. II, p. 216; Vol. VII, pp. 433, 434; ANTONIO JOAQUIM ANSELMO, *Bibliografia das obras impressas em Portugal no seculo XVI*, No. 650, Lisbon, 1926; AMERICO CORTEZ PINTO, *Da famosa Arte*, op. cit., pp. 357-359 and Plates XVII-XX.

¹⁰ ANTONIO JOAQUIM ANSELMO, *Bibliografia das obras impressas em Portugal no seculo XVI*, op. cit. No. 650.

obtained a photostat copy of the booklet by courtesy of G. W. Cottrell Jr., Librarian at Harvard. This Harvard copy is the earliest example of printing in the characters of one of the languages of India and the earliest available example of printing executed in India in an Indian language.

The copy was sent from India to Rome and received in November, 1579, presumably by Father Pedro de Fonseca, S.J. (1527-1599) who was in Rome (1573-81) as Assistant for Portugal to the General of the Jesuit Order. A legend in ink reads "Portata dall'India. Hauuta dal pre Fonseca del mese di Novembre M.D. LXXIX". The copy seems to have been in one of the Jesuit Colleges of Siena until the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773, and then in the Fideikommissbibliothek in Vienna of the Princes of Liechtenstein. Recently it passed into the European and American book markets and was purchased in January 1951 for the Harvard College Library from William H. Robinson Ltd., of London.¹¹

3. *Doctrina Christam*: கிரீசித்தியானி வணக்கம், pp. 120, Collegio da Madre de Deos, Cochin, 14 November, 1579.

This copy which was in the Library of the Sorbonne and bore the stamp "Bibliothèque de l'Université de France", was recorded by Fr. Robert Streit, O.M.I. in 1928.¹² Subsequently the copy has disappeared from the Sorbonne; it was probably misplaced or taken away during the second world war. Fortunately, while it was yet available at the Sorbonne, a photostat copy had been made for the Jesuit scholar, Fr. Georg Schurhammer, the authority on St. Francis Xavier and his times, and that photostat copy was presented by him to Bishop Francis

¹¹ GEORG SCHURHAMMER and G. W. COTTRELL, *The first printing in Indic characters*, o.c. contains a description of this booklet.

¹² ROBERT STREIT, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, IV, 145.

T. Roche, S.J., of Tuticorin who in turn presented it to the present writer in 1951. It was this copy which was loaned to Harvard for purposes of study and microfilming in 1952 and now continues to be in the possession of the present writer.

Copies of this *Doctrina* were found in circulation in South India as late as 1732, for Sartorius, the Danish missionary, in his Diary for 1732 mentions having seen a copy of this book at Pulicat and another at Tranquebar.¹³

4. *Flos Sanctorum o Libro de las vidas di algunos santos trasladadas en lengua malavar*, pp. 669, (Tuticorin or Punnaikayil), 1586.

The present writer identified a copy of this book in June 1954 in the manuscript section of the Vatican Library. Various writers have given different dates for the *Flos Sanctorum* printed in the Fishery Coast, but from the ecclesiastical calendar given at the end of the book it may be reasonably supposed that it was printed in or before 1587. The Calendar which gives the dates for Ash Wednesday, Easter Sunday etc., begins with the year 1587 and continues on the same page for each successive year until 1614. The Spanish preface by the author leaves no doubt regarding the date since it clearly states that after having had some books (*algunos libros*) printed earlier, finally in the year '86 was printed "this book of the Lives of the Saints". The author also says in the same preface that he has been working in the Fishery Coast for 37 years. Henriques arrived at Goa in 1546 and at the Fishery Coast after a year or two. Hence if he had arrived at the Fishery Coast in 1548 or 1549, the evidence of the preface tallies. The intervening period between the *Doctrina* of 1579 and the *Flos Sanctorum* of 1587 would have given him sufficient time for the composition and printing of what was a monumental work for its time, a book of 669 pages.

¹³ See C. E. K., *Notes on Early Printed Tamil Books*, in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II (1873), pp. 180-181, and *Early Printing in India*, p. 98.

Unfortunately the Vatican copy does not possess the title and introductory pages in Tamil which certainly should have been in the original copy and which would have given the precise dates and place of printing. Instead there is a brief introduction and a table of contents in Spanish written in ink. These hand-written pages may have been substituted in the specimen copy or copies which were despatched to Europe.

The provenance of this Vatican copy is not exactly known. Fr. S. G. Perera, S.J., in his *Jesuits in Ceylon* when listing the works of Fr. Henrique Henriques says: "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'".¹⁴ Fr. S. G. Perera was not able to give me the source of this information nor were the Vatican Librarians aware of any such title. For certain reasons I am disposed to believe that the book mentioned by Fr. S. G. Perera is the *Flos Sanctorum* under a more descriptive title. There is a handwritten note on a fly-leaf of this Vatican copy of the *Flos Sanctorum*: "se dar alla biblioteca Vaticana".

AUTHORSHIP

1. Cartilha of 1554:

The prologue of the brochure was written by three Indians then living in Lisbon. Their names are given as Vicente de Nazareth, Jorge Carvalho, and Thoma da Cruz. They were responsible for the translations and transliteration. The usual sources do not furnish any other information regarding them.

Their work, however, according to the prologue, was supervised by Fra Joam de Vila de Conde. Fra Joam is the renowned Franciscan who was Guardian of the Order in Colombo and who figured prominently in the affairs of

¹⁴ S. G. PERERA, *The Jesuits in Ceylon*, o.c., p. 157.

Ceylon in the middle of the sixteenth century. That Fra Joam was familiar with a Tamil milieu is evident from a multiplicity of circumstances. He travelled in the Tamil parts of Ceylon and India and kept up correspondence with missionaries in these parts.¹⁵ In a speech at the Court of Bhuvanaike Bahu (1521-1551), King of Kotte (Ceylon), Fra Joam cites the *Tirukkural* as one of the works with which the King and court and he are familiar.¹⁶ A Tamil Christian community among whom the Franciscans worked existed in Colombo in the sixteenth century. A Tamil-speaking Catholic poet living in Colombo composed a prose catechism to be chanted and some canticles to be sung under the inspiration of Fra Joam, and Fra Joam sent to Mannar from Colombo "a priest of the country well-versed in Tamil" to help Fr. Henriques in the earlier period of his Tamil studies.¹⁷

2. *The Doctrina Christam* (தம்பிரான் வணக்கம்) of 1577 was made, as a printed note in Portuguese, says in the booklet by Fr. Anrique Anriquez (same as Henrique Henriques) of the Society of Jesus and by Father Manuel of St. Peter. The latter was evidently a native secular priest since he is not designated as belonging to the Society of Jesus: *Doctrina Christaa tresladada em lingua Tamul pello padre Anrique Anriquez de Copanhia de Jesu & pello padre Manoel de Sao Pedro*. The Tamil title, however, bears the sole name of Father Henriques S.J. The omission of the name of the second author may have been merely because of the restricted space available below the block on the front page. The Tamil title reads:

கொம்பஞ்சிய தெ செஞ வகையிலண்டிற்க்கிப
பாதிரியார தமிழிலெ பிறிததெழுதின தம்பிரான் வணக்கம்

¹⁵ See P. E. PIERIS and M. A. H. FITZLER, *Ceylon and Portugal*, Vol. I, Verlag der Asia Minor, Leipzig, 1927; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Ceylon zu Zeit des konigs Bhuvaneka Bahu und Franz Xavers*, 2 Vols., Leipzig, 1928.

¹⁶ FERNAO DE QUEYROZ, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, Book II, p. 241, Colombo Government Press, 1930.

¹⁷ S. G. PERERA, *The Jesuits in Ceylon*, o.c., passim.

In today's characters and mode of writing it should read :

கொம்பஞ்ஞிய தெ சேசு வகையில் அண்டிற்கு பாதிரியார்
தமிழிலே பிரித்தெழுதின தம்பிரான் வணக்கம்

No information other than that provided in the note on authorship is available about Fr. Manuel of St. Peter. He was obviously one of the Tamil-speaking secular priests who since the coming of the Portuguese were being trained at Goa and then sent back to their districts of origin. One of Father Henrique's helpers in the study of Tamil and in the composition of his books was Father Pero Luis, S.J., the first Brahmin to become a Jesuit. His name, however, does not occur as a joint-author in any of the printed books which are available to us.

It is suggested that this Quilon Catechism of 1578 is basically the Catechism which St. Francis Xavier had earlier prepared in Portuguese (1542) and in Tamil (1544) and which in turn had been prepared by St. Francis Xavier on the *Doctrina* published by Joam de Barros in Portugal (1539). If that be so, it should have been subject to extensive revision both by Francis Xavier and subsequently by Father Henriques.¹⁸

Father Henrique Henriques, S.J., the principal compiler of the Tamil books published in the 16th century was a student of law at the University of Coimbra when he joined the Society of Jesus in 1545 at the age of about 25. He reached Goa in 1546 and the following year was sent to the Fishery Coast. On the advice of Francis Xavier he set himself to the study of the Tamil language "day and night" as he says. From his first days on the Fishery Coast (at Tuticorin and Punnaikayil) he commenced a systematic study of the Tamil language modelled on the Latin Grammar of Joam de Barros, and as early as 1552 compiled a Tamil Grammar in Portuguese which he sent

¹⁸ GEORG SCHURHAMMER and G. W. COTTRELL, JR., *The first printing in Indic characters*, o.c., p. 157.

to Rome with a request that it be printed. He was resident at Mannar from 1561 to 1564 and baptized a chieftain from Trincomalie whom the Portuguese intended to put on the throne of Jaffna. He took pleasure in meeting Hindus and Moslems and in discoursing with them on religious matters, as well as in consulting non-Christian learned men regarding the style and language of his Tamil manuscripts. Besides the three books mentioned in this article, he repeatedly says in his letters that he was compiling for print—

- (a) A Grammar of the Tamil language.
- (b) A Vocabulary of Tamil words and terms.

It is not yet precisely known how many of his books were printed in the 16th century. In his preface to the *Flos Sanctorum* he says that before 1586 "algunos libros" (some books) had been published in Tamil.¹⁹

3. *Doctrina Christam* (கிரீசித்தியானி வணக்கம்) Cochin, 1579.

This book in the authentic style of a catechism with questions and answers is the translation into Tamil of the Portuguese work of Marcos Jorge, S.J., a very popular catechism which was first published in Lisbon in 1566 and which continued to be the standard of its type until it was supplanted early in the seventeenth century by the *Doctrina* of St. Robert Bellarmine. The Preface states that the learned Marcos Jorge of the Society of Jesus published this catechism and since then Christians both in Portugal and other kingdoms have benefited by it to a great extent. That the Tamil-speaking Christians might derive the same benefits, this book was being published in Tamil.

¹⁹ For particulars regarding Fr. Henriques, see *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, IOSEPHUS WICKI, *Documenta Indica* in which the letters of H. Henriques are reproduced. See also XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM, *Tamil Manuscripts in European Libraries*, in *Tamil Culture*, Vol. III (1954), pp. 219-220, and BSOAS, Vol. III, p. 147.

This translation of Marcos Jorge came to be used very widely in India and Ceylon. Catechetical instruction was imparted in a very thorough manner by the Jesuits in Jaffna in the seventeenth century so that it was said that the children in the mission of Jaffna were "the best instructed in the whole of the East". Copies of the Tamil catechism were obviously used there in 1644 when Figuereydo wrote: "They are all so well instructed by our Fathers that there is scarcely a boy or a girl who does not know the catechism thoroughly, besides the whole book of Marcos Jorge which has been translated into their language".²⁰

4. *Flos Sanctorum*, 1586 :

The handwritten preface in Spanish found in the Vatican copy of the *Flos Sanctorum* gives many interesting details regarding the authorship of this work. Since it was not necessary for this new community of Christians to have a very elaborate and complete "Lives of Saints", Father Henriques chose those lives which seemed most relevant to a new Christian community. Hence he translated part of the *Flos Sanctorum* of the Friar Diego del Rosario and part of the *Flos Sanctorum* of Lipomani and the *Lives of the Apostles* by Perion. He also added, where it seemed relevant, reflections and observations suited to the readers. He had laboured 37 years among those who spoke Tamil and had written "algunos libros" which after approval had been printed. Finally in 1586 he was publishing the *Flos Sanctorum* after having worked at it for more than three years. In revising it he had consulted "algunos naturales que saben y entienden bien esta lengua" ("some natives well-versed in this language").

Details are available regarding the primary sources of the *Flos Sanctorum*. Friar Diego del Rosario published in Coimbra in 1577 a revised version of his *Historia das vidas e feitos heroycos e obras insignes dos sanctos, com muitos*

²⁰ S. G. PERERA, *The Jesuits in Ceylon*, o.c., p. 157.

sermoes e praticas spirituais que servem a muytas festas do anno. This revised edition should have been available to Father Henriques. The second work which he used was the *Sanctorum priscorum patrum vitae centum sexaginta tres*, one of the first scientific volumes of hagiography. The author was Luigi Lippomano, an Italian, who published this work of eight volumes, first in Venice in 1551 and then in Rome in 1560. The third work he mentions in the Prologue is *De rebus gestis vitisque Apostolorum liber* compiled by the French Benedictine, Joachim Perion, and published in Paris in 1551.²¹

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Cartilha of 1554.

Page 1 : Title page with the coat of arms of King Joam III.

Pages 2-3 : Prologue by the three Tamil Christians.

Page 4 : Indications regarding transliteration and the phonetic peculiarities to be observed in the pronunciation and accentuation of Tamil in Roman script.

Pages 6-34 : Per signum Sanctae Crucis, the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo (Apostles Creed), The Ten Commandments, the Commandments of the Church, the Seven Capital Sins, the Seven Capital Virtues, the Confiteor, the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar and other important responses of the Mass (these last are printed only in Latin).

End : "The present work was printed by order of the King Our Lord in the very noble and ever loyal city of Lisbon and seen by the holy inquisition : printed by Germano Galhardo, printer to His Highness. 2nd of February, 1554. Laus Deo."

The method employed in this brochure of a trilinear printing of the Romanised Tamil version, the Portuguese version, and a word to word Portuguese rendering corresponding to the Romanised Tamil version has been praised as the first introduction in print of such an effective method

²¹ See JOSEPH WICKI, O "*Flos Sanctorum*" do P. H. Henriques, *Impresso no Lingua Tamul em 1586*, in *Bulletin do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, No. 73 (1956), pp. 43-49, Goa.

in foreign language study. Further, the printing in two colours in order to facilitate quick comprehension of the meaning of the Tamil version through the corresponding Portuguese words printed in red above the Tamil version is again a novel didactic introduction for its time²² — an anticipation of Comenius by a hundred years. The Romanised Tamil version is printed in black in large type; below the Romanised Tamil version is the Portuguese version in black but in smaller type, and above the Romanised Tamil version is a word for word Portuguese rendering of the Tamil text.

2. *The Doctrina Christam* of 1578 is printed in Tamil and shows that doctrinal and liturgical material has been added to what was the content of missionary instruction about 1554. It consists of 16 pages of conventional octavo.

Page 1: Title in Portuguese and Tamil and woodcut of the Holy Trinity worshipped by saints and martyrs.

Page 2: Note regarding authorship and transliteration of foreign words.

Pages 3-14: *Per signum sanctae crucis, Credo, The Ten Commandments, the Commandments of the Church, Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Salve Regina, Confiteor, The Articles of Faith, The Capital Sins, The Works of Mercy (Corporal and Spiritual), The Five Senses, The Theological Virtues, The Cardinal Virtues, The Enemies of the Soul, The Last Things, The Eight Beatitudes.* These different titles are prominently printed in Portuguese.

Page 15: Contains a note of typographical interest. It is a type-specimen page of which the first lines reproduce specimens of Tamil types, 7 vowels, *அ* and 94 consonants, and vowel-consonants cast in Goa in 1557. The latter half of the page reproduces eight vowels, *அ* and 116 consonants, vowel-consonants, and double consonants. These consonants are followed by a line of Tamil numerals from one to ten and the symbols for one hundred and one thousand.

²² AMERICO CORTEZ PINTO, *Da famosa Arte da Imprimissao*, o.c., p. 297 ff.

These types are said in the last page to have been cast in Quilon in 1579 and are the types used for this *Doctrina Christam*. The types cast in Quilon are executed with greater skill, are more numerous and more precise than the Goa types. The Quilon prefers “ஈ” to “இ” which is found in the Goa type. No work, however, printed in the Goa type has come to light. This page shows the advance in technique made within a year in the art of casting Tamil types.

3. *Doctrina Christam* (கிறித்தியானி வணக்கம்) of 1579 consists of 120 pages.

The front page contains a large block of the traditional Jesuit Abbreviation of IHS with rays emanating from the circle containing the letters. The title has changed from *Tambiran Vanakkam*, (God worship) to *Krisitiani Vanakkam* (Christian worship) which is certainly an improvement.

Page ii (unnumbered): Contains a note in Portuguese on the author, place of printing, etc.

Pages iii-vi: Introduction.

Chapter I: The significance of the name Christian, pp. 1-6.

Chapter II: The significance of the Holy Cross, pp. 6-12.

Chapter III: The Pater Noster, pp. 12-22.

Chapter IV: The Ave Maria, pp. 22-27.

Chapter V: The Salve Regina, pp. 27-35.

Chapter VI: The Credo, pp. 36-42.

Chapter VII: The Articles of Faith, pp. 42-58.

Chapter VIII: The Commandments of God, pp. 58-74.

Chapter IX: The Commandments of Holy Mother the Church, pp. 74-86.

Chapter X: The Seven Capital Sins, pp. 86-96.

Chapter XI: The Seven Sacraments, pp. 97-103.

Chapter XII: The Works of Mercy (Spiritual and Corporal) and the Theological Virtues, Cardinal Virtues, The Eight Beatitudes, The Confiteor, pp. 103-12.

The book ends with a square IHS Block around which are printed the words: இந்த நாமமில்லா மலொருதரு மீடெறவொ ணாளுது

4. *Flos Sanctorum* :

While the other three publications limit themselves to the prayers and the articles of faith and the explanation of basic doctrines, the *Flos Sanctorum* represents the more ambitious attempt to publish in Tamil a sustained work of considerations of the principal mysteries and feasts, and the lives of the principal saints of the Church's Calendar. As a single work of considerations on the principal feasts of the year, it does not seem that this work of 669 pages has been greatly surpassed in Catholic Tamil Literature during the last four hundred years.

The Tamil title page and the contents in Tamil are not to be found in the Vatican copy. There are, however, four pages of a handwritten introduction in Spanish and the table of contents in Spanish. Since the first page of the Tamil text has the Arab numeral "8" printed in a corner, it is probable that seven pages of printed introductory matter preceded the text.

The following is a table of contents prepared by the writer from the titles and other data furnished in the book.

January :

The Feast of the Circumcision (pp. 1-6) ; The Feast of the Three Kings (7-12) ; Saint Sebastian (12-28) ; St. Vincent (28-34) ; St. Ignatius of Antioch (34-41).

February :

The Feast of the Purification of Mary (pp. 41-48) ; St. Blasius (48-56) ; St. Agatha (56-63) ; St. Apollonia (63-66) ; St. Mathias, Apostle (67-69).

March :

St. Benedict of Nursia (pp. 70-85) ; The Feast of the Annunciation (85-93).

April :

St. Mary of Egypt (pp. 93-108) ; St. Thadeus (109-112).

May :

St. Philip, Apostle (pp. 113-116) ; St. James the Less (117-121) ; The Finding of the Holy Cross (122-128).

June :

St. Anthony of Padua (pp. 129-146) ; St. Paulinus of Nola (147-151) ; St. Sophia (151-156) ; St. John the Baptist (157-165) ; St. Peter the Apostle (165-181) ; St. Paul the Apostle (181-205).

July :

St. Felicity and her Seven Children (pp. 205-208) ; St. Alexis (209-218) ; St. Margaret (218-224) ; St. Eustachius (224-234) ; St. Mary Magdalene (234-241) ; St. Christina (242-246) ; St. James Major (246-258) ; St. Chrysostom (258-263) ; The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (265-271).

August :

St. Dominic (pp. 272-287) ; St. Mary of Snows (287-291) ; St. Lawrence (291-301) ; The Feast of the Assumption (301-307) ; St. Bernard (307-315) ; St. Bartholomew Ap. (315-321) ; St. Gunasius (322-326) ; St. Augustine of Hippo (326-333).

September :

The Nativity of the B.V.M. (333-341) ; St. Hadrian (341-352) ; St. Eugenia (352-364) ; The Exaltation of the Holy Cross (364-369) ; St. Mathew Ap. and Evangelist (369-375) ; St. Michael Archangel (375-380).

October :

St. Jerome (pp. 380-387) ; St. Francis of Assisi (387-406) ; Sts. Simon and Jude Thaddeus (406-414).

November :

Feast of All Saints (pp. 414-423) ; All Souls Day (423-428) ; St. Martin of Tours (429-441) ; St. Cecilia (441-452) ; St. Catherine of Alexandria (453-465) ; St. Andrew (465-482).

December :

St. Nicholas (pp. 482-498) ; St. Lucia (498-504) ; St. Thomas Ap. (504-516) ; The Nativity of Our Lord (516-524) ; St. Stephen (524-532) ; St. John the Apostle (532-545) ; St. Sylvester (545-557).

Movable Feasts :

Ash Wednesday and Lent (pp. 558-565) ; The Passion of Our Lord (566-608) ; The Resurrection (609-616) ; The Ascension (616-622) ; Pentecost (623-636) ; Corpus Christi (636-645) ; Advent (645-651) ; The Last Judgment (652-661).

List of Holy Days of obligation, and of days of fasting and abstinence (pp. 662-666) ; Calendar of Movable Feasts from A.D. 1587-1614 (666-669).

Note : The original has the Tamil numerals printed on each leaf in serial order, but not on each page.

The text of the handwritten Spanish prologue and table of contents in the Vatican "*Flos Sanctorum*".

Prologo Al Lector.

Porque en este libro se imprimyo' para los christianos malavares, que esta'n en la Costa de la Pesqueri'a, se imprimio todo en su letra malavar, que los llaman Tamul. Mas para que tambien los que no entienden esta lengua, sepan lo que se contiene en este libro, me parecio' hezer esta breve declaracio'n en lin-goaje, con los nombres de las fiestas principales de las quales en este libro se trata. Y escogieron e' estas, pareciendo que, pues no podiamos imprimir por agora todas, e' estas serian ma's a prepo'sito para aquella neuva christiandad. Y trasladaronse, parte de *Flos Sanctorum* del R.^{do}P.^e Fray Diego del Rosario, y parte del R.^{mo} Lipomano y de Joachi'n Perionio en las Vidas de los Apo'stoles, anadiendo, en algunas de las dichas fiestas, las concideraciones que me parecieron mejores para bien y provecho d'acuella christiandad.

Y antes que este libro se imprimiesse fue examinado y aprobado por el R.^{mo} Obispo de Cochi'n¹ y de los senores Inquisidores.

De treinta y siete anos a esta parte que la sancta obediencia me embio' con otros Padres de la Compani'a, para doctrinar y sacramentar la dicha christiandad, hize muy grande studio en esta lengua con el desseo que teni'a de ayudar los dichos christianos, y con mucho trabajo, por gracia de N.Senor, llegue' a saberla muy bien, de manera que hize una arte en esta lengua. Y por parecer del P.^e Provincial de la India² se procuro' que se hisiesse la imprenta malavar por un Hermano de la Compani'a³ que antes de entrar en ella era muy grande oficial, la

¹ D. Mateus de Medina, consecrated bishop of Cochín in 1577.

² A. Valignano, Provincial de Goa, 1583-1587.

³ Joao Goncalves.

qual el hizo toda de su mano con mucho trabajo y diligencia. Y assi' por orden del mismo Provincial me ocupe' en componer algunos libros, los quales despues de aprobados se imprimieron en la dicha lengua. Agora nuevamente en este ano de 86 se imprimio este libro de la Vida de los Sanctos, las quales comuniqué con algunos naturales que saben y entienden bien esta lengua. Y para que estas vidas saliesen bien apuradas gaste' en las tresladar en esta lengua mas de tres anos, y assi por lo que yo entiendo desta lengua, como por lo que disen los naturales, y tambien otros Padres de la Compani'a que hisieron grande studio en ella, creo que van sin yerro en la lengua y muy bien apuradas, de lo qual sea gloria a N.Senor, como, en el imprimir este libro se pretende provecho para la misma christiandad.

Con esto se ha de advertir que el alfabeto desta lengua malavar es muy diferente del nuestro y por esso la tabla de los dichos Sanctos y fiestas van en la imprencio'n malavar diferente desta neustra.

Vale

Enrique Enrriquez de la Compani'a de Jes'us, en lenguas malavar por el P.^e Enrique Enrrique Libro de las vidas de algunos Sanctos trasladadas que de la Compani'a de Jesus en que van las vidas de los siguientes Sanctos.

A	C
Adviento de N. Senor	Cathalina
Andre' apo'stol	Christina
Augustino	Christo'val
Adriano	Cecilia
Antonio	Circuncio'n de N. Senor
Apolonia	Comemoracio'n de los defuncto
Alexo	Compacion de N. ^a Senora en la
Angeles	pasion de Christo
Agatha	D
Acencio'n de N. Senor	
Asumpcio'n de N. ^a Senora	Domingo
	E
B	Eustachio
Blas	Estevan
Benito	Eugenia
Bernardo	Epiphani'a
Bartholome' apo'stol	Encarnacio'n de N. Senor

F

Felippe apo'stol
Francisco
Feli'citas con los siete hijos

G

Gero'nymo

I

Juan apo'stol y vangelista
Juan Baptista
Invencio'n de la cruz
Juizio final
Ignatio

L

Lusi'a
Lorenço

M

Marti'n
Mari'a Magdalena
Mari'a egipsiaca
Margarita
Mathi'as apo'stol
Matheo apo'stol
Miguel Archa'ngel

N

Nascimento de N. Senor
Nascimento de la Virgen
N.^a Senora
Nuestra Senora de las Nieves
Nicola's

P

Pedro apo'stol
Pablo apo'stol
Paulino
Purificacio'n de N.^a Senora
Pacio'n de N. Senor

Q

Quaresma

R

Resurrectio'n de N. Senor
Santo Sacramento
Santiago mayor

S

Santo Sacramento
Santiago mayor
Santiago menor
Simonis y Judas
Silvestre
Spiritu Sancto
Sebastia'n con sus hijas
Siete Dormientes

T

Todolos Sanctos
Trinidad
Thome' apo'stol
Tays o Taide

V

Vicente

Reviews

TAMIL ENCYCLOPAEDIA. VOL. IV

Every Tamilian will rejoice over the publication of the 4th volume of the Tamil Encyclopaedia by the efficient and enterprising Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam. This volume is another refutation of the charge that the Tamil language is not capable of becoming the medium of instruction in the University classes. Articles on questions connected with Economics, Mathematics, Science, and Psychology are so rendered as to be easy to follow, though a few require close attention. Technical terms have been, in general, well translated. For instance, the Tamil equivalents for : Citizenship (குடிமை), Automatic Pistol (தானியங்கிக் கைத் துப்பாக்கி), Applied Psychology (செயல் முறை உளவியல்), Fixed and Floating Capital (அசையா, அசையும் முதல்), Instinct of Self-Preservation (தற்காப்பு இயல்புக்கம்), Auto-Suggestion (தற்கருத் தேற்றம்) are, I think, acceptable.

It must however be pointed out that some other terms as : Civil right, Parliament, Indian Union have not been translated. And some of the articles smell of too literal a translation for the meaning of the Tamil sentences to be obvious even after repeated reading. Not all the articles, with all their wealth of information, give the impression of a well-planned piece of composition.

But these remarks should not withhold anyone from wholeheartedly congratulating the editor and his collaborators who have brought out this 4th Volume, which, with its erudite articles copiously illustrated, will give an all-round instruction to the public, as an encyclopaedia is expected to do, and will, for the benefit of students hasten the day when both Science and Humanities in the University classes will be taught in Tamil.

V. M. G.

HINDU CULTURE AND THE MODERN AGE

By

Dewan Bahadur K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

This book reproduces the Special Lectures delivered by Sri K. S. Ramaswami Sastri at the Annamalai University in 1957. An examination of the fundamentals of the Hindu culture as reflected in the Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha Sastras is followed by the distinctive contribution of Tamil culture to the development of the composite Hindu culture. A notable feature of the Hindu culture has been its spirit of toleration and its receptivity to external ideas including those of the West. The author has expounded the intellectual gift of the Hindus, and their development of insight and introspection through Yoga and spirituality. However, one cannot help feeling that in the treatment of the matter, readability is unduly affected by a plethora of quotations.

In his attempt to trace the evolution of Hindu culture he harks back to the theory of P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar that both the Dravidians and the Aryans are autochthones of India. Though reinforced by certain arguments, this view does not seem to be convincing. It is inexplicable why people in early days should have left fertile and extensive India in search of new homes far away. Theories of foreign origin of the Dravidians and Aryans are not to be discarded merely on the ground that they were first formulated by European scholars.

The proficiency attained by the Hindus in Mathematics, Medicine and other Sciences and arts are described at length. The Dharmasastras, Arthasastras, Kamasastras and Mokshasastras which the Hindus have produced are mentioned and their importance explained. The sources of Hinduism like the Srutis, Smritis, Itihasas, Puranas, Agamas, Tantras and Bhashyas as well as the rituals of

the religion are indicated. The contribution of the Tamils to the building of Hindu culture are described and he shows how Hinduism is a product of Aryan and Dravidian deities and practices. The impact of the West on Hindu culture and the lessons that each has to teach the other are examined in the last part of the book. The book is packed with details and the author's vast learning and broad outlook are in evidence throughout the survey. There are unfortunately many misprints in the book.

K. K. PILLAY.

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL
RESEARCH INSTITUTE, Vol. XXXVII, 1956

The 37th volume of the Annals of the B.O.R. Institute maintains the high standard which the Journal has already attained. It presents 11 articles and 16 notes containing discussions of specific points of controversy, besides reviews of certain recent publications on Sanskrit literature and Indian history. Among the articles, that of Sri V. S. Agrawala urges the need of a cultural commentary on the Mahabharata in the light of knowledge provided by Indian History, archaeology, philosophy, religion and literature. Sri S. K. Dikshit discusses the thorny problem of the Kushan chronology, and though this article of his forms but a part of his elaborate treatment of the subject, his conclusions regarding the dates of the rulers are notable. Vast learning and a critical attitude are clearly in evidence; but the validity of his conclusions can be assessed only when the entire paper is published. Sri P. K. Gode places Sudarsanacarya between c. A.D. 1300 and 1500; but the basis of his inference does not seem to be convincing. An interesting paper contributed by the same scholar provides the result of his study on the history of kite-flying in India and outside. But obviously the sources pertaining to the rest of Asia besides India have to be utilised before a complete picture can be had. Mr. Ludwik

Sternbach discusses the extent to which the Garuda Purana is indebted to the Chanakya Rajyaniti Sastra and shows that the Brahaspati Samhiti of the Garuda Purana, far from being an original production, forms but a repetition of the earlier Chanakya Rajyaniti Sastra. Sri Buddha Prakash examines the references to the career and exploits of Chandragupta as found mentioned by Firdausi. In particular, the details furnished about the last Nanda king and the reference to Chandragupta's alliance with Alexander provide corroboratory evidence. Two Vedic Gathas and their social as well as political implications are discussed by Sri R. C. Hazara, while the beginnings of the Sankhya school of philosophy are traced by Mr. Walter Ruben to the 4th century B.C. Sri V. B. Mishra describes the social condition of India during the Medieval period as gleaned from the epigraphs as well as the accounts of the Muslim travellers. The light thrown by Alberuni, Al Masudi and Abu Zaid on the caste system, marriage dress and food of the people is illuminating. Another scholarly study is that of Sri C. D. Chatterjee on Asoka's Pillar Edict which records the benefactions of Queen Charuvaki. Sri Radhakrishna Chaudhary examines the extent to which heretical sects were responsible for the increased elaboration of the orthodox rituals which came to be expounded in the Puranas. In spite of their legendary foundations and palpable contradictions the Puranas constitute a repository of Hindu rites and customs. The critical notes form scholarly supplements to the learned articles found in the Journal.

K. K. PILLAY.

BOOK RECEIVED

A GUIDE TO TAMIL BY THE DIRECT METHOD by
PROF. P. JOTHIMUTHU. Published by the Christian
Literature Society, Madras. Pages 257. Price Rs. 6.50.

News and Notes

LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS

THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY
SANTINIKETAN, WEST BENGAL INDIA

16th June 1958.

The Chief Editor, *Tamil Culture*,
13 Clemens Road, Madras-7.

Dear Sir,

Realising that you wish to promote an understanding of the richness and variety of Tamil culture, through your journal, I wish to seek your help in obtaining worthwhile contributions of about 5,000 words each on any of the following subjects of our interest :—

- (i) Rabindranath Tagore in Tamil Translation ;
- (ii) Tagore and Bharati ;
- (iii) Trends and Tendencies of Modern Tamil Literature.

The last-named may be divided into a series of four articles.

Articles for publication in the *Quarterly* are paid for —although the token honorarium amounts to Rs. 25 only.

As the subject of this letter is one of our mutual interest I have every hope of receiving an early and sympathetic response.

Yours sincerely,

K. Roy,
Editor.

Readers who wish to contribute articles may correspond directly with the Editor, Visva-Bharati Quarterly—
Editor, *Tamil Culture*.

TAMIL DANCES IN AUSTRALIA

Dancer Tilakavathi Kanagasabai of Ceylon is having quite a busy time in Australia. She has so far given a series of solo recitals in Melbourne and Brisbane and appeared twice on TV. The critics greeted her performance of Baratha Natyam with a great deal of enthusiasm although admitting that they could not understand very much of what was going on. Wrote one: "What she relies on, and what carries her performance through, are a light and graceful body, expressive eyes and a superbly descriptive pair of hands. All these are used to their maximum advantage either to evoke a mood or an emotion or to enact a story through the use of symbolic gestures.... Even without a knowledge of the culture one could not fail to be impressed....".

She has been booked to appear in other major cities before her return home towards the end of the year.

—*Ceylon Observer*, July 6, 1958.

USE OF TAMIL FOR GOVERNMENT WORK

The Madras Government have sanctioned the post of a Special Executive Officer to assist the work of the Official Language Implementation Committee and Mr. K. Ramalingam, retired Municipal Commissioner, has been appointed to the post.

The Special Officer will have mainly touring work, visiting offices where Tamil has already been introduced and he will help in the implementation of the programme of switching over to Tamil and solve problems that may arise in such offices.

A sub-committee consisting of experts under the Director of Legal Studies is now engaged in preparing a glossary of legal terms in Tamil.

The Hindu—August 22, 1958.

TIRUKKURAL IN "KRITIS"

The first volume of *Tirukkural Madhura Kirtanai*, composed by Mr. T. R. Viswanatha Sastri of Mayuram, was released at a meeting organised by the Triplicane Cultural Academy at Nammalwar Mansions. Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Home Minister, presided.

Mr. M. P. Narasimhan, Secretary of the Academy, welcomed the gathering.

Prof. P. Sambamurthy, introducing the author, said Mr. Viswanatha Sastri was a scholar both in Sanskrit and in Tamil and his compositions would reveal his talent in music. He emphasised the need for giving patronage to the composers so as to enable them to continue their service to music and to the different languages.

Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, who released the volume, considered it a great *sadana* on the part of Mr. Viswanatha Sastri in rendering "Tirukkural" in *kritis*. He felt that the great ideals found in "Kural" could be popularised easily through the medium of music, besides developing *bhakti* or devotion to God among the people. He expressed the hope that the volume would find a place in all the libraries in the State.

Addressing the gathering, Mr. Viswanatha Sastri mentioned that the first volume contained 41 *kritis*. He would be bringing out, he said, six more volumes, each containing an equal number of *kritis*. He then sang some "Kural" stanzas in the form of *kritis*.

Srimathis Bhooma Krishnamurthy, Mayuravalli and Kousalya entertained the gathering with "Tirukkural" in *kritis*.

The Hindu—July 19, 1958.

DUTY OF TAMIL WRITERS

Inaugurating the third anniversary celebration of the Tamil Writers' Sangam, Tiruchirapalli, Mr. S. S. Vasam, Editor, *Ananda Vikatan*, stressed the need for more writers, so that the treasures in the old Tamil classics could be put into new language to enable the common man to understand them.

He referred to the enormous influence newspapers were having in the modern world and to the rapid advance made in the printing industry and felt confident of the future of writers.

Mr. Vasam also stated that he commenced his writing career decades ago when he was a student in a local institution, at the feet of the Rock temple Pillayar, and referred to the services rendered to the Tamil literary world by writers like Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Dr. T. V. S. Sastri and Mr. T. M. Ponnuswami Pillai, a great novelist. Srirangam had been a market place of great books. Kambar sang in Srirangam and Kalamega Pulavar was born in Tiruvanaikoil so that, Tiruchi could well be proud of its place in the Tamil literary world. Even now Srimathi Kumudhini of Srirangam, Tiruvachakamani K. M. Balasubramaniam and Tiruloka Sitaraman were contributing to Tamil literature. He also referred to the short story competition for the benefit of students and the Tamil novel competition held by *Ananda Vikatan* and appealed to Tiruchi writers to participate in the recently announced Tamil drama competition too.

Dr. M. Varadarajanar, Head of the Tamil Department, Pachayappa's College, Madras, in his presidential address appealed to the writers to combine the best in the old treasures with the new developments in literature. He deprecated the kind of untouchability seen between pulavars, versed in old classics, and the new writers and appeal-

ed to develop contact to mutual advantage. He appealed to the public not to encourage the cheap and vulgar writing in the interest of the future of the country. The modern writer must be modest, fearless and liberal in outlook.

Messrs. K. V. Jagannathan, Editor, *Kalaimagal*, and K. M. Balasubramaniam also spoke, the latter disclosing that the Thiruvachakam was to be translated into German and French and that the English translation was to be released soon.

In the evening session, two resolutions were passed, one moved by Mr. A. S. Raghavan, deploring differences of party, caste and community creeping among Tamil writers and the other, moved by Mr. A. V. R. Krishnaswami Reddiar, President of the Tiruchi Tamil Writers' Association, pleading for the organisation of the different Tamil writers' associations in Tamil Nad into a federation.

The Hindu—July 28, 1958.

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Speaking at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Young Men's Welfare Association at St. Mary's Hall, George Town, Dr. A. Krishnaswami, Member of the Lok Sabha, made a fervent plea for maintaining the *status quo* with regard to the official language of the Union and for having English as the official language for an indefinite period. Mr. N. Sivaraj, Member of the Lok Sabha, presided.

Dr. Krishnaswami said that on the subject of official language there should be no hesitancy whatsoever in postponing the issue to be settled by the next generation, in the interest of unity and other conditions which they had to take note of. There was no use talking parrotlike about Hindi being the national language of India. It was absurd, and illogical, he said, to fix anything like a time limit for

Hindi to become the official language. Even if it be 2000 A.D. there would be perpetuation of controversy over the issue, as the non-Hindi speaking people constituted the majority of the people in the country. If they switched over to Hindi as the official language a few years hence, they would not be in a position, either in the cultural or in the official sense, to play their part in the affairs of the country and the world. If they did not want any further controversy, the better thing would be to accept the proposition that the time was not ripe to decide on a change in the official language. The question should be left to the succeeding generation for a solution in the context of their times. Official language for Union purpose could only be settled years hence when they would have a more mature public opinion, when every citizen was educated up to the age of 14. It was wrong on their part to take advantage of the illiteracy of the masses and then impose something on them. He stressed the need for re-examining the Constitution in this connection.

The speaker said that the Official Language Committee must be apprised of the strength of feeling of the non-Hindi speaking people over the issue of the official language and that the Committee should invite prominent men, who had given their opinion on the question, to clarify their views before it. The problem resulting from making Hindi, the official language, was not really one of having a superficial knowledge of another language. The problem was one of knowing it as well as those who had the advantage of having it as the mother tongue. That was the basis of discrimination which was alleged by many people who had spoken against Hindi being made the official language. The time had now come when no Government, however powerful, could afford to ignore public opinion, which was very pronounced on this issue.

The Hindu—June 5, 1958.

THE KOTAS OF NILGIRIS

The annual conference of Kotas, a Dravidian hill tribe of the Nilgiris, was held at Thiruchigadi, a Kota hamlet, about 25 miles from Coonoor.

Mr. Bishnuram Medhi, Governor of Madras, who attended the conference in company with the President of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee, advised the Kotas to remain united.

A large gathering of Kotas from all over the Nilgiris attended the conference. At the beginning, Kota men and women, in their colourful dress, gave a dance performance, to the accompaniment of the traditional tribal music, which was greatly appreciated.

Mr. C. Raju, a Kota youth, on behalf of the Kotas of all the seven 'Kota-giris' of the Nilgiris, presented an address of welcome to the Governor. The address *inter alia* said: "We have been living amongst these hills from very ancient times, cultivating our lands, smelting iron ore from the hillsides to make our agricultural and other implements, and doing carpentry and pottery work for ourselves and other tribes. Our history has been a chequered one. The total population of the tribe was 1,112 in 1873. Today, it is only 1,272 after a period of 85 years. There were times when the population had gone down as low as 983. Growth of population has been hampered by chronic ill-health, lack of medical facilities and abject poverty. Unless improved medical facilities and planned measures of social and economic welfare are taken, the fear of extermination is always there."

The Hindu—June 5, 1958.

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

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

CONSONANTS

Hints re: articulation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

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

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

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

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

THE TAMIL SCRIPT

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

Vowels	Vowel symbols attached to preceding consonant.	Hard consonants						Soft consonants						Medium consonants					
		k	c	t:	th	p	t	ng	nj	n:	nh	m	n	y	r	l	v	l:	l:
அ a	nil	க	ச	ட	த	ப	த	ங	ஞ	ண	ந	ம	ன	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஊ a:	ஊ to the right of the consonant	கா					ஊ			ணா			னா						
இ i	இ to be joined at the top right of consonant	கி																	
ஈ i:	ஈ to be joined at the top right of consonant	கி																	
உ u	a semi-circle (◌), a vertical stroke (◌) or a loop (◌) to be joined to the bottom	கு	சு	டு	து	பு	து	ங்	ஞ்	ண்	ந்	மு	ன்	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழ்	ள்
஋ u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	சூ	டூ	தூ	பூ	தூ	ங்	ஞ்	ண்	ந்	மு	ன்	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழ்	ள்
ஏ e	ஏ to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஈ e:	ஈ to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	ஐ to the left of the consonant	கை								ணை			னை			லை			ளை
ஓ o	ஓ to the left & ஊ to the right of the consonant	கோ					ஓ			ணை			னை						
ஔ o:	ஔ to the left & ஊ to the right	கோ					ஓ			ணை			னை						
ஔ au	ஔ to the left & ஊ to the right	கௌ																	
ஊ pure consonants	A dot on the top of the consonant	க்																	

- Note.—(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column.
(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel அ (a) has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top.
(3) All the eighteen vowel consonants under க் (k) are shown as a guide; in other cases only the irregular forms are shown, the rest being exactly similar to those shown under க் (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored.

The Kutunhthokai Anthology

H. S. DAVID

In *Tamil Culture* (January 1955, pages 90 to 98), under the title "The Earliest Tamil Poems Extant", I have already shown that some stanzas or poems of the *Kutunhthokai* (குறுந்தொகை) are among the earliest Tamil poems extant. I shall now in a series of articles take up each of the Eight Anthologies (in Tamil எட்டுத் தொகை) and give the reader a short but critical appreciation thereof. I shall discuss in turn the authors, content and form of the poems themselves, the probable time of their origin and the manner of the compilation of the several poems into the present Anthology.

A. THE AUTHORS OF THE SEVERAL STANZAS

In the second edition (1947) of the *Kutunhthokai* Doctor U. V. Saminathaiyar and his son, S. Kaliyanasundaraiyar, list 206 poets as the authors of 391 poems of this work. The authors of the ten remaining poems are unknown. The reader who is interested in these 206 names should peruse their Introduction to the *Kutunhthokai*, pages 50 to 110, under the heading பாடினோர் வரலாறு. The list embraces such well-known names as Ammu:-vana:r, Auvaiya:r, Kapilar, Ko:pperunjco:lar, Ko:vu:r Kil-a:r, Nakki:rana:r, Paran:ar, Pa:lai Pa:t:iya Perungkat:ungko:, Ma:ngkut:i Kil-a:r Maruthana:r, also known as the Singer of Ka:njci songs, from Mathurai, Maruthan Il:a Nha:kana:r, also from Mathurai, Ma:mu:lanar, Mo:ci Ki:rana:r and the famous Vel:l:i Vi:thiya:r, who is mentioned frequently in both the *Kutunhthokai* and *Akanha:-nu:tu* (அகநானூறு). But what is most interesting from a critical angle is the number of poets whose names are made up for the occasion, from some striking phrase or

simile in the poems composed by them. I list 20 below : the majority of these poets have no other name than the one fashioned in this manner.

LIST I.

Name of the poet in Roman and in Tamil letters	Reference in the Kutunh-thokai	The relevant passage which contains very striking similes or significant phrases
An:ila:tu Muntila: r அணிலாடு முன்றிலார்	41:4-6 (1)	மக்கள் போகிய அணிலாடு முன்றில் புலப்பில் போலப் புல்லென்று அலப்பென், தோழி, அவர் அகன்ற ஞான்றே.
Eyittiyana:r எயிற்றியனார்	286:1-2 (2)	உள்ளிக் காண்பென் போல்வல் முள் எயிற்று அமிழ்தம் ஊறும்அஞ் செவ்வாய்.
O:ritpicaiya:r ஒரிற்பிச்சையார்	277:2-3 (3)	செந்நெல் அமலை வெண்மை வெள் இழுது ஒரிற்பிச்சை ஆர மாந்தி.
O:re:rul-avana:r ஒரேருழவனார்	131:3-6 (4)	ஈரம் பட்ட செவ்விப் பைம்புனத்து ஒரேர் உழவன் போலப் பெருவிதுப்பு உற்றன்றால் நோகோ யானே !
Kangkul vel:l:aththa:r கங்குல் வெள்ளத் தார்	387:3-5 (5)	உயிர்வரம்பு ஆக நீந்தினம் ஆயின், எவன்கொல் வாழி? தோழி! கங்குல் வெள்ளம் கடலினும் பெரிதே !
Kayamana:r கயமனார்	9:4-6 (6)	பாசடை நிவந்த கணைக்கால் நெய்தல் இளமீன் இருங்கழி ஒதமல்குதொறும் கயம்மூழ்கு மகளிர் கண்ணின் மானும்.
Kalporucitu nuraiya:r கல்பொருசிறு நுரையார்	290:5-6 (7)	கல்பொரு சிறுநுரை போல, மெல்ல மெல்ல இல்லாகுதுமே !
Kavaimakana:r கவைமகனார்	324:6-7 (8)	கவைமக நஞ்சுண்டாங்கு அஞ்சுவல், பெரும, என் நெஞ்சத் தானே !

Name of the poet in Roman and in Tamil letters	Reference in the Kutunh-thokai	The relevant passage which contains very striking similes or significant phrases
Ka:kkaipa:t:ini ya:r காக்கைபாடினி யார் = the poetess who has sung well of the crow	210:3-6 (9)	முழுதுடன் விளைந்த வெண்நெல் வெஞ்சோறு எழுகலத்து ஏந்தினும், சிறிதென் தோழி, பெருந்தோள் நெகிழ்த்த செல்லற்கு விருந்துவரக் கரைந்த காக்கையது பலியே !
Ka:letikat:ikai ya:r காலெறிகடிகை யார்	267:2-4 (10)	காலெறி கடிகைக் கண் அயின்று அன்ன கரும்பின் வாலெயிறு ஊறிய வசையில் தீநீர்.
Kuppaikko:l- iya:r குப்பைக்கோழி யார்	305:6-8 (11)	குப்பைக் கோழித் தனிப்போர் போல விளிவாங்கு விளியின் அல்லது களைவோர் இலை யான் உற்ற நோயே!
Kutiyitaiya:r குறிஇறையார்	394:1-3 (12)	முழந்தாள் இரும்பிடிக்க கயந்தலைக் குழவி குறிஇறைப் புதல்வரொடு மறுவந்து ஒடி
Ko:ve:ngkai perungkathal- var கோவேங்கைப் பெருங்கதழ்வர்	134:3-5 (13)	குறும்பொறைத் தடைஇய நெடுந் தாள் வேங்கைப் பூவுடை அலங்குசினை புலம்பத் தாக்கிக் கல்பொருது இரங்குங் கதழ்வீழ் அருவி
Thumpice:r ki:rana:r தும்பிச்சேர்கீரனார்	392:1 (14)	அம்ம, வாழியோ, அணிச்சிறைத் தும்பி! Cf. the commentary hereon, op. cit. p. 768.
Nhet:uven:nhila vina:r நெடுவெண்நில வினார்	47:3-4 (15)	எல்லி வருநர் களவிற்கு நல்லை அல்லை, நெடுவெண் நிலவே !
Pathat:ivaikala:r பதடிவைகலார்	323:1 (16)	எல்லாம் எவனோ? பதடி வைகல்! (=பதர்) Cf. "Vanity of vanities: all is vanity," the Bible.

Name of the poet in Roman and in Tamil letters	Reference in the Kutunhthokai	The relevant passage which contains very striking similes or significant phrases
Mat:alpa:tiyama:thangki:ra:ra: மடல் பாடிய மாதங்கீரனார்	182:1 (17)	விழுத்தலைப் பெண்ணை வினையல் மாமடல். Cf. the commentary, op. cit. p. 389, the last para.
Mi:netithu:n:ti la:r மீனெறி தூண்டி லார்	54:3-4 (18)	கான யானை கைவிடு பசங்கழை மீனெறி தூண்டிலின் நிவக்கும் (= rising).
Vit:takuthirai- ya:r விட்ட குதிரை யார்	74:1-2 (19)	விட்ட குதிரை விசைப்பின் அன்ன விசம்புதோய் பசங்கழைக் குன்ற நாடன்.
Villakaviralina:r வில்லக விரவினார்	370:4-5 (20)	வில்லக விரவிற் பொருந்தி, அவன் நல்லகஞ் சேரின் ஒருமருங் கினமே!

The last simile was so graphic and so apt that it was copied in later literature, as at *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i* 2110 a: (சீவக சிந்தாமணி) வில்லக விரல்போற் பொருந்தி.

Two remarks must be made in connexion with these authors of the poems in the *Kutunhthokai*. First, four of these same poets are mentioned as the authors of poems in the other Anthologies and there they are called by the names, fashioned in the manner described above from words or phrases occurring in the *Kutunhthokai*. Thus, O:re:rul-avana:r is mentioned as the author of *Putanha:nu:tu* (புறநானூறு) 193; Kayamana:r is the author not only of *Kutunhthokai*, 9, 356, 378 and 396 but also of *Putanha:nu:tu* 254, of *Nhattin:ai*, (நற்றிணை) 12, 198, 279, 293, 305 and 324 as well as of *Akanha:nu:tu*, 145, 195, 259 and of nine other poems in that Anthology. Likewise, the poetess Ka:kkaipa:t:iniya:r Nhaccl:l:aiya:r composed not only *Kutunhthokai*, 210 but also the ten stanzas, 51 to 60, in *Pathittuppaththu* (பதிற்றுப்பத்து) as line 13 of the concluding (பதிகம்) Pathikam expressly states. That she

was a poetess, not a poet, is clear not only from the termination "ini" in "pa:t:ini" = pa:t:upaval: = she who sings, but also from the proper name cel:l:ai, contained in Nhaccl:l:aiya:r. Thus at the ninth Pathikam of *Pathittuppaththu* from line 2 வேண்மான் அந்துவஞ் செள்ளை ஈன்ற மகன் (= the son she bore), it is clear that cel:l:ai is the name of a female. The initial syllable "nha" in her name, as in Nha-kki:rar, where ki:r is most probably conn.w.Sk. gir=praise, verse, song, seems to be a corruption of Nhal=good, splendid, and is classified by U. V. Saminathaiyar, op. cit. p. 72 of the Introduction, as a particle connoting "splendour" 'ந' என்பது சிறப்புப் பொருளைத் தருவதோர் இடைச்சொல். Likewise, the poet Thumpice:r Ki:ra:ra:r composed not only *Kutunhthokai*, 61, 316, 320 and 392 but also *Nhattin:ai*, 277 and *Putanha:nu:tu*, 249. It must be made clear to the student of Tamil that the final "a:r", in such names as the above, is optional and a mere honorific termination.

B. THE TIME OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE *Kutunhthokai* AND OF ITS COMPILATION

I have now made it quite clear that in a number of instances the names of the authors were fashioned out of the words or phrases found in the *Kutunhthokai* poems themselves and that these names were used to designate the authors of the poems found in four of the other Anthologies, namely, *Nhattin:ai*, *Akanha:nu:tu*, *Putanha:nu:tu* and *Pathittuppaththu*. The second point is more remarkable still. There is no instance of the "vice versa" phenomenon. There are instances, it is true, of similar names fashioned out of words or phrases found in the poems of the other Anthologies. Thus *Nhattin:ai*, 284:10 runs தேய்புரிப் பழங்கயிறு போல. The phrase was so apt and graphic that the unknown author was forthwith named தேய்புரிப் பழங்கயிற்றினார். But no author of the *Kutunhthokai* poems is known by this name or by any other name fashioned in this manner in the other Anthologies. From

these two points it is clear that the *Kutunhtthokai* was the first of the eight anthologies to be compiled, in other words the earliest Tamil literary work extant, if we exclude Tamil grammars, like the *Tholka:ppiam* (தொல் காப்பியம்) from our present consideration, except for three of the *Sūtras* taken from its earliest part, *Elu-uththathika:ram*, 62, 64 and 65.

Sutra 62: சகரக் கிளவியும் அவற்றோர் அற்றே
அ ஐ ஒளளனும் மூன்றலங் கடையே.

„ 64: ஆ எ ஒ
என்னும் மூவுயிர் ஞகாரத்து உரிய.

„ 65: ஆவோடு அல்லது யகரம் முதலாகு.

These three *sūtras* are of the utmost importance in our task of fixing the relative antiquity of the early Tamil classics among themselves and in relation to *Tholka:ppiam* *Elu-uththathika:ram* (தொல்:எழுத்ததிகாரம்). The early mediaeval Tamil grammars, like the *வீரசோழியம்*, *நன்னூல்* and *நேமிநாதம்*, make no such distinction as *Tholka:ppiam* *Elu-uththathika:ram* 62 between “c” and the other “el-uththu” (k, th, nh, p, m) mentioned in the previous *sūtra* (61) of *Tholka:ppiam*. It seems therefore likely that *Tholka:ppiam* *Elu-uththathika:ram* is here dealing with a peculiar feature in the Tamil of its own time. On analysing the words, found in the early classics, with “ca” as the initial syllable, I find that the *Kutunhtthokai* has the least number of these words whereas the *Paripa:tal* (பரிபாடல்) has the greatest, with the *Paththuppa:t:t:u* (பத்துப்பாட்டு) or the *Ten Idylls* in an intermediate position. Thus the *Kutunhtthokai* has only one word with “ca” as the initial syllable, *cakat:am*, at 165:3. The *Paripa:tal*, however, which is generally considered to be the last (in time) of the Eight Anthologies, has the following words with “ca” as the initial syllable thereof:—

LIST II

The word with “ca” as initial in Tamil letters.	The word in Roman letters.	Its meaning in English.	The References in <i>Paripa:tal</i>
1. சகடம்	cakat:am	a cart	10:17
2. சங்கம்	cangkam	a large number	2:13
3. சடை	cat:ai	thick tangled hair	9:5; 11:12
4. சண்பகம்	can:pakam	a flowering tree, bearing a yellow fragrant flower, “ <i>Michelia Campaka</i> ”	12:77
5. சமம்	camam	a battle, Com. po:r	19:42; 21:2; 22-1
6. சமழ்	camal-	{ = be put to shame, wors- ted	20:36
7. சமை	camai	=take an embryo into the womb and bring it to maturity	5:39
8. சலம் ¹	calam ¹	= water	9:6; 10:90
9. சலம் ²	calam ²	deception, as a result of an unsteady character	6:57
10. சலம் ³	calam ³	malice, contrariety	15:58
11. சனம்	canam	people, fr. ck. jana	10:59

LIST III

The word with "ca" initial.	References in the other 6 Anthologies, excluding <i>Kutunhthokai</i> , * <i>Paripa:t:al</i>	References in the Ten Idylls.	References in <i>Ci:vaka chinta:-man:i</i> , <i>Cilappathika:ram</i> , <i>Nha:lat:iya:r</i> , <i>Man:ime:kalai</i>
1. cakat : am or cakat:u	<i>Nhattin:ai</i> 4:9 <i>Akanha:nu:tu</i> 136:5 <i>Putanha:nu:tu</i> 102:2	<i>Perumpa:n:a:ttup-pat:ai</i> (பெரும்பாணற் றுப்படை) 50	<i>Nha:lat:iya:r</i> (நாலடியார்) 2d <i>Cilappathika:ram</i> (சிலப் பதிகாரம்) 1:50; 26:136 <i>Ci:vakacinhtha:-man:i</i> (சீவக சிந்தாமணி) 363 b
2. cat:ai	<i>Putanha:nu:tu</i> 1:13; 43:4; 166:1; 251:7; 252:2 <i>Kaliththokai</i> (கலித்தொகை) 150:9;		<i>Ci:vakacinhtha:-man:i</i> 32c; 1431a <i>Cilappathika:ram</i> 40; 26:225 <i>Man:ime:kalai</i> (மணிமேகலை) 17:27
3. can:pu*		<i>Perumpa:n:a:ttup-pat:ai</i> 220 <i>Mathuraikka:nji</i> (மதுரைக் காஞ்சி) 172 <i>Malaipat:u-kat:a:m</i> (மலைபடுகடாம்) 454	
4. cathukkam	<i>Nhattin:ai</i> 319:5	<i>Muruka:ttup-pat:ai</i> (திருமுருகாற் றுப்படை) 225	<i>Cilappathika:ram</i> 5:134; 14:213 <i>Man:ime:kalai</i> 1:55; 7:78; 20:29; 22:55 <i>Ci:vakacinhtha:-man:i</i> 112b

* can:pu = sedge-grass, elephant grass.

The word with "ca" initial	References in the other 6 Anthologies excluding <i>Kutunhthokai</i> , * <i>Paripa:t:al</i>	References in the Ten Idylls	References in <i>Ci:vaka cinhtha:-man:i</i> , <i>Cilappathika:ram</i> , <i>Nha:lat:iya:r</i> , <i>Man:ime:kalai</i>
5. canhthi*		<i>Muruka:ttup-pat:ai</i> 225	<i>Cilappathika:ram</i> 10:19 <i>Man:ime:kalai</i> 6:61
6. canhthu ¹		<i>Malaipat:u-kat:a:m</i> 393	
7. canhthu ²	<i>Akanha:nu:tu</i> 102:3		<i>Cilappathika:ram</i> 8:19
8. caman	<i>Akanha:nu:tu</i> 188:5; 220:4; 25:19 <i>Putanha:nu:tu</i> 14:4; 72:8; 275:9; 284:5; 309:2; 365:5 <i>Pathittuppaththu</i> (பதிற்றுபத்து) 30:41; 34:10; 40:10, 41:19; 43:9; 52:7; 70:3; 71:20; 76:1	<i>Mathuraikka:nji</i> 593 <i>Muruka:ttup-pat:ai</i> 99	<i>Cilappathika:ram</i> 10:247 <i>Man:ime:kalai</i> 8:59

canhthi = a junction of streets.

canhthu¹ = a junction of streets.

canhthu² = the sandal-wood unguent and perfume, *Sirium myrtifolium*.

The Eight Anthologies and the Ten Idylls are known in Tamil as the *Me:l Kan:akku* (மேல் கணக்கு) I shall here call them the 18 major classics of antiquity. It will be observed that among these the *Kutunhthokai* is nearest to the complete observance of the rule enunciated at *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram*, 62: it has only one word with "ca-" as initial and that only once. On the other hand, the *Paripa:t:al* has eleven such words, occurring

fifteen times in all. In size or length the two works are almost equal. Hence we are justified in stating that (1) the *Kutunhthokai* is a much earlier work than the *Paripa:t:al*, a conclusion we arrive at on other counts as well; (2) with the flow of time the words with the "ca-" initial became more and more numerous. This conclusion is strengthened by a glance at the multitude of words with this initial to be found in the early mediaeval work, the *Thiruva:ca-kam* (திருவாசகம்):—*cakam*, *cakalam*, *cangkam*, *cangku*, *cangkamam*, *cangkaran*, *caccaiyan*, *cat:ai*, *cat:t:am*, *cat:t:u*, *can:t:am*, *cathurpat:a*, *cathurar*, *cathuran*, *cathura-pperuma:n*, *cathurmukan*, *caththi*, *canhthanam*, *canhthu*, *canhthiran*, *camayam*, *camayava:thi*, *cayacaya* = hurrah!; *cayam*¹ = victory; *cayam*² = destruction; *carat:u*, *caran:*, *caranam*, *caratham*, *cari*; *calam*¹ = water; *calam*² = malice; *calanhtharan*, *cali*, *calippu*, *cavalai*, *cal-akku*. Furthermore, *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 62 bans likewise the "cai-" initial for Tamil words: but the *Tiruva:cakam* has the word "caivan" at 2:85; 4:113; 40:35.

Let us now turn to *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 64. It states: "The letter nj, as the initial of a word, can be followed by only three vowels:—a:, e and o". This rule differs greatly from the parallel statements in early mediaeval grammars like the *Viraco:l-iyam* and the *Nhannu:l* (நன்னூல்). The former at *Elu-ththathika:ram* Canthi. 7b states: *nja nha:nku* (ஞ நான்கு) i.e. nj is followed by four of the vowels. Its Comm. specifies these four as a, a:, e and o. The latter at 105 states: a, a:, e *ovvo:t:ru a:kum njammuthal*.

Thus between the composition of *Tholka:ppiam Eluth-thathika:ram* and that of these early mediaeval grammars, there had come into use Tamil words with "nja" as their initial syllable (*Nhannu:l* 105), as well as words with "ca" as initial (*Nhannu:l* 102). We have seen above that the *Kutunhthokai* stands out as the best observer of *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 62. We are happy to state

that it is the best observer of *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 64 as well. It has only one instance of the "nja" initial, viz. *njamali* = a dog, at 179:2. We are therefore justified in ascribing an early date not only to the compilation of the *Kutunhthokai* but also to the composition of a vast majority of its poems. As we pass along to the later texts, even among the 18 major classics, both the number of such words and their incidence increase *pari passu*. In addition, there is the "nji" initial in "njimitu", which also violates *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 64. This increase is exactly parallel to that associated with the "ca-" initial under *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 62 above. I subjoin here a list of words in the other 17 major classics that have "nja" or "nji" as the initial syllable, in violation of the rule aforementioned:—

LIST IV

1. *njamali* = a hunting dog, *Akanah:nu:tu* 122:9; 388:14. *Putanha:nu:tu* 74:3; *Perumpa:n:a:ttuppat:ai* 112, 132, 299; *Pat:t:inappa:lai* (பட்டினப்பாலை) 140; *Kutin-jippa:t:u* (குறிஞ்சிப்பாட்டு) 131.
2. *njamann* or *njaman* = the god of Death, Yama, *Putanha:nu:tu* 6:9 தெரிகோல் ஞமன் போல; *Paripa:ta:l* 3:21; 5:61.
3. *njaral* = a loud sound or noise, to sound loud, *Pathittuppaththu* 30:6; *Muruka:ttuppat:ai* 120.
4. *njin:am* = fat (substantive), *Putanha:nu:tu* 177:14.
5. *njimitu* = the honey-bee or beetle, *Akanha:nu:tu* 59:9; 78:3; 192:10; *Putanha:nu:tu* 93:12; *Kaliththokai* 127:3; *Pathittuppaththu* 12:12; 50:18.

Let us now pass on to the last of the three Sūtras, namely *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 65, which runs:—

a:vo:t:u allathu yakaram muthal-a:thu. This means: "y can be the initial of a word, only when y is

followed by a:". As usual, the *Kutunhthokai* observes this regulation best : it conforms thereto perfectly, avoiding the "ya-", "yu:" and "yo:" initials that are found in other works, even in the 17 other major classics of antiquity. In these the following words violate this rule :—

1. yavanar = the Greeks or Ionians, *Putanha:nu:tu* 56:18 ; அருகாது ஈயா யவனர்; *Pathittuppaththu* Pathikam 2, line 8 ; *Nhet:unhalva:t:ai* (நெடுநல் வாடை) 101 ; *Perumpa:n:a:ttuppat:ai* 316 ; யவனர் ஒதிம விளக்கின்; *Mullaippa:t:u* (முல்லைப் பாட்டு) 61.
2. yu:kam = a black monkey, *Muruka:ttuppat:ai* 302.
3. yu:pam = a high sacrificial pillar = ve:l: vi-ththu:n: வேள்வித்தூண் in the Comm. and at *Putanha:nu:tu* 400:19. The word யூபம் itself occurs at *Putanha:nu:tu* 15:21 ; 224:8 ; *Pathittuppaththu* 67:10, in the above-mentioned sense. At *Mathuraikka:nji* 27 யூபம் means "the headless trunk of a corpse". Evidently this meaning arose by analogy.

Accordingly we may state that in the gradual evolution of Tamil, the palatals "c", "nj" and "y" came to be associated with more and more of the vowels. *Elu-ththathi-ka:ram* 62, 64 and 65 of *Tholka:ppiam* can refer only to the earliest stratum of the extant Tamil literature that is represented by 399 out of the 401 poems of the *Kutunhthokai*. On this test alone, poems 165 and 179 therein should be considered as of a slightly later date than the vast majority of its poems, which (on other grounds as well) we must ascribe to the centuries before and immediately after the birth of Christ. See my above-mentioned article : "The Earliest Tamil Poems Extant."

C. FORM AND CONTENT OF THESE POEMS : THE METRE.

In the earliest Tamil poetry the easier metres, like a:ciriyam or akaval and vanjci were the only ones employed : in later texts we encounter more difficult and elaborate ones. In the 18 major classics we meet only four. This

is explicitly stated at *Tholka:ppiam Porul:athika:ram* 417, which, however, substitutes ven:pa: for paripa:t:al—the metre, not the work. A:ciriyam vanjci ven:pa: kkali ena

Nha:l iyattu enpa pa:vakai viriye: In the *Thiruva:-cakam*, Pope finds fourteen varieties of metre. The occurrence of a variety of metres in any work, e.g. in *Ci:vaka-cinhtha:man:i* stamps it at once as (to that extent) late in composition. The *Kutunhthokai* has only one metre throughout, the akaval.

Except for poems 307 and 391, which contain nine lines, the stanzas of the *Kutunhthokai* range between five and eight lines in size. Each of these lines contains four சீர். but in most of these stanzas, if not in all, the penultimate line contains only three சீர். This last phenomenon occurs likewise in the stanzas of *Nhattin:ai* and *Akanha:-nu:tu*.

The earliest poems in Tamil are short. Unlike mediaeval Tamil poetry, they indulge in no fantastic comparisons, no fanciful numbers, no improbable "incidents" or so-called "events", no nauseating details. They are like cameos. The poets concerned create vivid pen-pictures in our minds with a few deft strokes of the poetic brush. The poems are distinguished by freshness, naivete and the minimum of conscious embellishment. In them is realized the truth of the dictum : "Art lies in concealing art". Pre-eminent among these early poems stand the short stanzas of the *Kutunhthokai*. Each of its stanzas, short though it be, is a complete poem. It is doubtful whether any short stanzas in English, French, Italian or Latin have realized such perfect poems as those of the *Kutunhthokai* in Tamil, if we were to judge them by the vividness of their sentiments and the consummate manner of their expression in such few words. In conciseness they vie with Tacitus, in depth with Milton's sonnets, in the force of sentiment with Shakespeare's, in felicity of expression with Wordsworth's.

Let us take as an example its 130th stanza : it contains four sentences within its five lines.

நிலம் தொட்டுப் புகாஅர் ; வானம் ஏறார் ;
விலங்குஇரு முந்நீர் காலின் செல்லார் ;
நாட்டின் நாட்டின் ஊரின் ஊரின்
குடிமுறை குடிமுறை தேரின்,
கெடுநரும் உளரோ ? நம்காதலோரே.

nhilanh	thot:t:u	ppukar.	va: nam	e:la:r.
vilangku	iru	munnhi:r	ka:lit	cella:r.
nha:t:t: in	nha:t:t:in	u:rin		u:rin
kut:imutai	kut:imutai	te:rin,		
ket:unharum	ul:aro:	nhang ka:thal - o:re:		

The husband of the family has been away for a long time, probably on a business trip : the wife languishes at home, pining for his return. Her female companion consoles her by these reassuring short pithy sentences : "It is quite improbable that he has dug into the earth and entered therein. Assuredly he has not ascended into heaven. He has not crossed the ocean (that lies) athwart, on foot. If we were to search for him, country by country, village by village, house by house, could your beloved escape us ?" It is difficult to find in Tamil literature a stanza to surpass this one, in the points afore-mentioned. Like the Rigvedic *grihe: grihe: or dame: dame:*, there are suitable repetitions, in lines 3 and 4 of this poem. Likewise at *Kutunhthokai* 399:3 *thot:u ul-i thot:u ul-i*; 399:4 *vit:u ul-i vit:u ul-i*. At times these seem to be slightly overdone, as at *Kutunhthokai* 285:1-2 :—*vaikal vaikal vaikavum, va:ra:r. ella: ellai ellaiyum to:nta:r.*

But there are no fantastic repetitions in the *Kutunhthokai* as are to be found in *Nha:lat:iya:r*, as for instance, in stanza 39 : *vaikalum vaikal varakkan:t:um axthe un:ara:r*

வெந்திறல் கடுவளி பொங்கர்ப் போந்தென,
நெற்றுவினை உழிஞ்சில்வற்றல் ஆர்க்கும்
மலையுடை, அருஞ்சுரம் என்ப நம்
முலையுடை முனிநர் சென்ற ஆறே.

vaikalai	vaikalai	vaikumentu	inputuvar.
vaikalum	vaikattam	va:l-nha:l:me:l	vaikuthal
vaikalum	vaiththun:ar	— a:tha:r.	

Except for such *ven:pa:* stanzas as the above, the later poems are much longer than the earlier ones. The growth in size is accompanied by a growth in conscious adornment, called "*an:i*" or "*alangka:ram*". Not that these poetic devices are totally absent in the earliest poems. Thus "*ethukai*" on set purpose occurs fairly frequently in the *Kutunhthokai* as, for instance, in lines 6 and 7 of its 374th stanza : In line 6, the first *ci:r* is தீடும், and corresponding to it, in line 7, the first *ci:r* is கூடினும். Note "*t:i*" as the second syllable in each line. But it is worthy of note that none of the remaining five lines shows the slightest trace of any "*ethukai*". Similarly, "*mo:nai*" occurs frequently in the *Kutunhthokai*. There are instances even of complete "*mo:nai*", பூரணமுகனை or மோனை, where all the "*ci:r*" in a line begin with the same or kindred consonant. Thus *Kutunhthokai* 41:5 (containing 3 *ci:r* only) runs

புலப்பில் போலப் புல்லென்று.

182:1. விழுத்தலைப் பெண்ணை வினையல் மாமடல்

„ 2. மணியணி பெருந்தார் மரபிற் பூட்டி.

391:2. புகரி புழுங்கிய புயல்நீங்கு புறவில்.

The last-mentioned is the best example of perfect "*mo:nai*". But the instances of "*mo:nai*" are not excessive, as in later literature, where they number 70 to 75 per cent of the "*ci:r*" involved. In *Kutunhthokai* 41, they number only 12 out of its 23 "*ci:r*"; in stanza 182, only 12 "*mo:nai*" are encountered out of a possible 27, although the first two lines have four each ; in stanza 391, which consists of nine lines and therefore of 35 "*ci:r*", only 17 "*mo:nai*" are to be found. Thus "*an:i*" is kept within reasonable bounds : it never becomes in the *Kutunhthokai* the chief object of the poet, as it does in later literature to the extent that at times his poem appears too laboured and involved. Let the reader recall to mind the *Nha:lat:iya:r* stanza just cited, stanza 39.

D. THE RETICENCE AND CHARM OF THE *Kutunhthokai*

The earlier poems of classical antiquity, like the stanzas of the *Kutunhthokai* and *Nhattin:ai*, describe the situation e.g. the lovers' meeting or parting, in a few well-chosen words. They suggest rather than describe certain details connected with such situations. There is no attempt in them at a complete description of every limb of the heroine or of any other girl of the poet's choice, as we find in some of the Ten Idylls. For instance, *Porunhara:ttuppat:ai* (பொருநராற்றுப்படை) lines 35-40 describe in detail these limbs of the heroine in question : her vana mulai, koppu:l-, alkul, kutangku. In *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i* the high-water mark of such descriptions is reached. In the words of Pope, *Nha:lat:iya:r* Introduction, p. 43, "the poet carefully photographs everything, using words and giving details" that were better left out. No such grossness is to be encountered in the *Kutunhthokai*. On the contrary, the sexual intercourse between the lover and his beloved is glided over under the innocent term : "laughter", in Tamil நகுதல் =nhakuthal, as at *Kutunhthokai* 169:3 ; 226:7 ; 320:5. *Kutunhthokai* 394:6 has instead நகை விளையாட்டு Cf. *Kutunhthokai* 381:7 ilangku eyitu tho:nta nhakkathan payan e *Kutunhthokai* 384:3 has a variant : nhalan un:u, which is also found at *Kutunhthokai* 112:5 ; 236:6 and at *Nhattin:ai* 15:4 (nhalam). Likewise at *Nhattin:ai* 135:9 ; 187:10 ; 299:9 ; *Akanah:nu:tu* 103:13-14 தம்மொடு தானே சென்ற நலனும், the same complaint is made about the heroine having lost her virginal chastity at the hands of her lover. The poems of this nature are stamped with a deep pathos, which breathes out of every syllable of the short pithy sentences in which this sentiment of heartfelt grief at her abandonment by her new-found lover is conveyed.

I cite here a few sentences from the *Kutunhthokai* :—

எனநலன்.....கானக நாடெனோ ஒழிந்தன்றே
54: 1-5 en nhalan.....ka:naka nha:t:anot:u ol-inhthante:

யானே ஈண்டையனே எனநலனே
ஆனோநாயொடு கானலஃதே

97: 1-2 ya:ne: i'n:t:aiye:ne:. en nhalane:
a:na: nho:yot:u ka:nalaxthe:

விழவு மேம்பட்ட என்நலனே
தண்ணம் துறைவனோடு கண்மாறினறே

125: 4-7 vil-avu me:mpat:t:a en nhalane:
than:n.anh thutaivanot:u kan:ma:tinte:

நலம் புதிது உண்ட புலம்பினானே

133: 5 nhalam puthithu un:t:a pulampina: ne:

In his Comm. on the *Kutunhthokai* U. V. Saminathaiyar explains the above-mentioned term "nhakutal" as "al:av-al:a:vuthal" i.e. sexual intercourse. He elucidates this still further in these words : இஃது இடக்கர் அடக்கிக் கூறியது. Cf. op. cit. p. 477, 750, 771. At *Kutunhthokai* 399:3 he explains "thot:uthal" in the same way. இடக்கர் அடக்கல் means avoiding indecent terms or vulgar language, euphemism.

In connexion with the incidents referred to above, namely the meeting of the lovers, their cherished union and subsequent parting, a variety of apt similes abounds in the *Kutunhthokai*. Stanza 399, a complete poem in just four lines, will serve to illustrate one such simile.

ஊருண் கேணி உண்துறைத் தொக்க
பாசி அற்றே பசலை, காதலர்
தொடுவுழித் தொடுவுழி நீங்கி,
விடுவுழி விடுவுழிப் பரத்த லானே.

Whether this is the truth or a mere poetic convention, the poets of the Love Poems in *Kutunhthokai*, *Nhattin:ai*, *Akanah:nu:tu* and *Aingkutunhutu* (ஐங்குறுநூறு) speak of a certain sallowness or paleness of complexion from love-sickness on the part of the heroine. *Akanah:nu:tu* 156:17 explains it as மணிமருள் மேனி பொன்றிற் கொளலே.

They term it *pacalai*, which M. L., at p. 2396, explains thus: காமநோயால் உண்டாம் நிற வேறுபாடு Let us return to *Kutunhthokai* 399. This sallowness is compared to the moss on the surface of the village-well or tank. When her beloved is beside her and she can be intimately united with him, her sallowness shrinks, just as the moss shrinks when people draw water out of the well. On the other hand, when her beloved withdraws from her, her sallowness spreads, just as the moss spreads, when all the villagers withdraw from their well, as, for instance, at night.

E. THE CLOTHING OF WOMEN IN THE *Kutunhthokai*

The earliest poems of Tamil classical antiquity reveal a stage of material culture that is rather primitive in certain respects, when it is compared with the advanced stage of civilization that we notice in later Tamil poems like *Cilappathika:ram*, *Man:ime:kalai* and *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i*. Take dress, for instance. In several poems of the *Kutunhthokai* the dress of the heroine is described as consisting of nothing more than the leaves of certain trees, like the *a:mpal* or the *ceyalai*, the Asoka tree. At *Kutunhthokai* 214:4-5 *thirunhthil-ai alkutkup perunhthal-ai uthavic ceyalai mulu-muthal ol-iyā*, there is no doubt about this fact. It is no mere poetical convention. Let any one who doubts this read and ponder over *Kutunhthokai* 294:5-7.

துத்திப்பரந்தன் பைத்தகல் அல்குல்
திருந்திழை துயல்வுக்கோட் டசைத்த பசங்குழைத்
தழையினும் உழையிற் போகான்.

The poet describes these leaves as still fresh and green round the heroine's waist. There are several more references to this primitive dress in the *Kutunhthokai* e.g. 125:3; 159:1; 223:4 *muti=tal-ai*, Comm.; 293:5-6; 295:2; 333:3; 342:5; 345:4. The *Nhattin:ai* and *Akanah:nu:tu* which approach closest to the time of the composition of the *Kutunhthokai* stanzas, both contain quite a few references of the

ame nature, the former at 96:7-8; 170:2-3; the latter at 7:; 59:5; 156:9-10; 176:13-14; 183:12; 189:3; 226:3; 259:2. Let the reader contrast with this primitive dress the garments of rich cloth, woven out of exquisite thread, called 'kalingkam', 'thukil' or 'atuvai', worn by the members of the fair sex of a slightly later time. As time goes on, this cloth becomes more and more prominent. In the *Kutunhthokai* there is no mention of either 'atuvai' or 'thukil'; and 'kalingkam' is mentioned only once, at 167:2, which states: *kal-uvutu kalingkam kal-a:athu ut:i:i*. *Nhattin:ai* has more than one reference thereto, namely at 20:4 துளங்கியல் அசைவரக் கலிங்கம் துயல்வர; பூங்கலிங்கம் and at 380:2 கலிங்கம். Likewise, 'atuvai' occurs at least twice in *Nhattin:ai*, namely at 40:5

வெறியுற விரிந்த அறுவை and at 70:2
துறைபோகு அறுவைத் தூமடி அன்ன.

Akanah:nu:tu has likewise at least five references thereto, namely at 86:21-23; 124 in the title of the author of the poem; 136:20; 198:6; 236:11 (*pat:t:u=silk*). *Pathittuppaththu*, although dealing with war, not with love and therefore, like Virgil's *Aenid*, singing more of arms and the man¹ than of women and their clothes, has nevertheless several references to this exquisite garment of women, e.g. at 12:21

நூலாக் கலிங்கம் வாலரைக் கொளீஇ;
and again at 76:13
கழுபுறு கலிங்கம் கடுப்பச் சூடி;
and as 'atuvai' at 34:3
இருநிலம் தோயும் விரிநூல் அறுவையர்.

Other references in the major classics thereto are:

Kaliththokai 65:4; 142:26;
Porunhara:ttuppat:ai 82-83; *Nhet:unhalva:t:ai* 35,
145-7 (*pu:nhthukil*);
Malaipat:ukat:a:m 561 (*Nhul-ai nhu:l kalingkam*).

¹ "arma virumque cano".

In the next section I shall give more instances of the rich clothes worn by men and women of later times than this. Let a few references suffice here.

(a) *Man:ime:kalai* 28:52-53 gives an elaborate description of this "atuvai":—

கண்ணுழை கல்லா நுண்தூற் கைவினை
வண்ண அறுவையர்.

This passage describes the weavers of this coloured and delicately-woven cloth.

(b) *Cilappathika:ram* 14:205-7 describes the cloth shops of drapers as covering both sides of a street in Mathurai. Piles of the most exquisitely-worked cloth of both cotton and wool as well as of silk are to be found in these shops:

நூலினும் மயிரினும் நுழைநூற் பட்டினும்
பால்வகை தெரியாப் பல்நூறு அடுக்கத்து
நறுமடி செறிந்த அறுவை வீதியும்.

What a far cry is this wealth of drapery from that stage of leaf-garments which is described in the vast majority of the *Kutunhthokai* poems!

F. COTTON, CLOTH AND DRESS IN THE *Kutunhthokai* CONTRASTED WITH THOSE OF A LATER EPOCH.

It will be interesting for us to know what types of clothes were used by men and women of those early times. As usual, the *Kutunhthokai* with but one exception, speaks only of the coarse cotton cloth that *a priori* would have come into use in the earliest times. It terms it "thick cloth": "paru:uth thiri" at 330:4; but at 353:5 the word "thiri" means a wick, not cloth, so that "panjei ven: thiri" comes to mean "the cotton-wick of a lamp." That cotton was then cultivated is evident from 72:4 of the same work, where cotton is called "pari:i," instead of "parutti": பரீஇ வித்திய ஏனல், i.e. "the millet-field, wherein

cotton was sown". There is only one other reference to cotton in the whole of the *Kutunhthokai* and that refers to cotton-fibre, used as cords, viz. at 293:2. From the paucity of these references to either cotton or cloth or clothes, one is tempted to conclude that clothing was just then coming into vogue. Let us contrast this with the state of elaborate clothing in slightly later times, as revealed in the Ten Idylls and *Putanah:nu:tu*. By this time several sorts of cloth were in vogue:—

- (1) *Atuvai*. This was cotton cloth, but of a finer texture than the "thiri" above-mentioned, and occurs at *Putanah:nu:tu* 154:10; 398:20; *Porunh-ara:ttuppat:ai* 83; *Citupanjamu:lam* (சிறுபஞ்சமூலம்) 236; *Nhet:unnalva:t:ai* 35. The *Kutunhthokai* does not mention this cloth at all, as we have earlier pointed out.
- (2) *kalingkam*. This was woven out of the finest cotton thread, so fine that the thread was hardly visible. This exquisite cloth is mentioned at *Putanah:nu:tu* 383:11; 392:15; 393:18; 397:15; 400:13; *Mathuraikka:nji* 554, 721; *Nhet:unnalva:t:ai* 134, 146; *Malaippat:ukat:a:m* 561.
- (3) *thukil*. This is explained by the Comm. as "ven:pat:t:u", i.e. white silk, evidently a costly dress, worn mostly by women, as one gathers from the numerous references thereto from *Akanah:nu:tu* and *Putanah:nu:tu* down to *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i*. The *Kutunhthokai* never mentions this: but "thukil" is referred to at several places in other works.² The *Paripa:t:al* which many consider to be the latest of the Eight Anthologies, has also several references to

² *Akanah:nu:tu* 387:7; *Putanah:nu:tu* 337:9; *Perumpu:n:a:ttuppat:ai* 235, 329; *Mullaippa:t:t:u* 53; *Nhet:unhalva:t:ai* 145, 181; *Pat:t:inappa:lai* 107, 168; *Kutinippa:t:t:u* 55; *Maruka:ttuppat:ai* 15, 296; and at *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i* 34d (with kot:i), 67b, 71a, 164b (with kil-i), 235a (with nlu:l), 428b (compared to the spray from a mountain-stream), 617a (where it is expressly called ven:thukil = white silk), 624a (the same), 873d, 375a,

"thukil".³ This cloth was generally interwoven with threads depicting flowers.

(4) *thu : (v) ut:ai* occurs a *Muruka:ttuppat:ai* 138. It really consists of two words "thu:" = pure and "ut: ai" = dress. The Comm. generally equates this cloth with "kalingam" above.

(5) *pat: t: u* = silk cloth. This term occurs not only at *Akanah:nu:tu* 236:11, as I have already stated, but also at *Pat:t:inappa:lai* 107 and *Muruka:ttuppat:ai* 155. In this last place it is called *pat:t:-ut:ai* = silk dress. We notice three things:

(a) *Kutunhthokai* does not have the words "atuvai", "thu: (v) ut: ai", "thukil" and mentions "kalingam" but once.

(b) *Muruka:ttuppat:ai*, which is considered to be the latest of the Ten Idylls is the only one that uses the noun "ut:ai" for dress, although the verbal form "ut:i:i" = "having dressed, clothed oneself or others", is fairly frequent in the 18 major classics.

(c) Although the word-lists at the end of the Ten Idylls or of the Eight Anthologies give the word "a:t:ai" = dress, I have never come across this word in their actual texts. Almost the earliest instance of "a:t:ai" in this sense is at *Pal-amol-i* 26d: "an:i ella:m a:t:aiyin pin" = jewels come after one's dress. *Kutunhthokai*

931a, 1077a, 1094a, 1184d, 1481b, 1558c, 1568b, 1572c, 1715a (with an:ai), 1863d, 2213d (with mut:i), 2475b (with ceppu = a bronze box, wherein these costly dresses were kept), 2505c (with ce:kkai = the bed covered over with silk), 2635b and 2663a (with the attribute "paim" = soft), 2685b (kan:kol: l:a:th thukil, which the Comm. explains as இழை தெரியாத ஆடை = the cloth the texture of which is invisible to the naked eye), 2707c (with pu:nhita), 2880a (where it seems to refer to men's dress), at *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i* 344c it is termed அணங்கு நுண் துகில் which Nhacc. explains as இழை தெரியாது வருந்தும் நுண்ணிய துகில்.

³ At 7:46; 10:79 and 80; 12:93 and 98; 13:2; 16:23; 17:1; 22:19.

295: 1 supports the sense of this proverb or wise saying thus:—

உடுத்தும் தொடுத்தும் பூண்டும் செரீஇயும்

having clothed ourselves first and then adorned ourselves diversely.

We shall not be off the mark in seeing an intimate connexion between "at:ai"=leaf⁴ and "a:t:ai"=dress. This contention appears valid in view of (1) the closeness of meaning between words of the same nature with short and long initial syllables, e.g. kan:=eye and ka:n=to see; pat:u=to suffer and pa:t:u=suffering; (2) the alternance in the length of the basic vowel between early classical Tamil and mediaeval Tamil, which I shall tackle later; and (3) what I have stated above the green-leaf dress of antiquity.

G. HOW THE *Kutunhthokai* ANTHOLOGY WAS COMPLETED.

When one reads through the Commentaries of Nhacc. on the *Tholka:ppiam* and on other works, one constantly comes across citations from the early classics. Most of these are to be found in the extant classics, mainly the Eight Anthologies. But quite a few are not in them. Thus in Part I of his Comm. on the *Tholka:ppiam Porul:athika:ram* on page 553 is found a love poem of seven lines, which cannot be traced to any of the extant Anthologies. On page 556 is found another, of five lines; on the next page there is a third, consisting of seven lines. At the end of page 558, there is a fourth of three lines. On page 568 is a fifth, likewise of three lines. A sixth is to be found at the end of page 574. All these six stanzas are to be found in the Comm. of Nhacc. on but one sūtra of *Tholka:ppiam Porul:-adhika:ram*, namely 146. Similarly, on *Tholka:ppiam*

⁴ At *Kutunhthokai* 9:4; 246:2; 352:1; *Putanah:nu:tu* 103:10; 266:3; *Mathuraika:nji* 624; *Paripa:t:al* 13:50; *Ci:vaka cinhtha:man:i* 2674a.

Porul:athika:ram, sūtra 114, Nhacc. has several citations : of these, the first (on p. 454), the fourth and fifth (on p. 455), the second and third citations on p. 459, the second on p. 462, the second, third and fourth on p. 471, the third on p. 473, consisting of four lines, the third on p. 486, also of four lines, the first on p. 488, likewise of four lines, all the three stanzas on p. 493, the last on p. 499, the last on p. 514, etc. are samples. There are several more throughout the work. Most of these stanzas are of the same style as the *Kutunhthokai* and, like its poems, range between four and eight lines. All of them deal with love and are composed in the "akaval" metre, just like the *Kutunhthokai*. In diction they appear contemporary with that work. Hence we are obliged to surmise that the compilers of the *Kutunhthokai* rejected them on the ground that they did not come up to that level of excellence of sentiment and expression, which they had laid down as their standard.

Now let us advert to what Dr. U. V. Saminathaiyar states on page 11 of his afore-mentioned Introduction to *Kutunhthokai*. "The compilers of the Eight Anthologies had before them poems composed in the three metres :—*a:ciyappa:* (i.e. *akaval*), *kālipa:* and *paripa:t:al*. They first took up the poems composed in the *akaval* metre and dealing with love. These they divided into three groups, starting with the shortest ones and ending with the longest poems. The shortest poems were therefore called the *Kutunh thokai*, while the longest were termed the *Nhet:unh thokai*." From this assertion of the eminent Doctor as well as from my statements and arguments throughout this article, it is quite clear that the *Kutunhthokai* was the earliest compilation of Tamil poems extant.

Two pages earlier, the same learned Doctor makes an admission, which was (independently of him) made by K. N. Sivarajapillai in his "Chronology of the Early Tamils". The compilers had another standard in their

mind's eye, besides that of excellence. This was to make each of the four earliest Anthologies consist of 400 poems. For this purpose they did not hesitate, when the need arose, to compose a few of their own or to take over a poem or several ones of their own time, although they were supposed to be collecting poems of five or six centuries earlier than their own time.

“ அவற்றைத் தொகுத்தவர்கள் ஒவ்வொன்றிலும் நானூறு பாக்கள் இருக்கும்படி தம் காலத்துப் புலவர்கள் இயற்றியவற்றையும் சேர்த்து அமைத்தார்கள் என்று கருத இடம் உண்டாகின்றது.”

Fortunately in the case of the *Kutunhthokai* there was no need for them to supplement the earlier poems with later ones, composed by contemporary poets of their own time : for there was such an abundance of these early *short* poems, as I have already shown. In the case of *Nhattin:ai* and still more of *Akanah:nu:tu* and *Putanah:nu:tu* there seems to have been such a need. It is this fact that explains the peculiar antiquity of style and diction on the part of the *Kutunhthokai* and the exceptional conformity of this anthology, in preference to all others, to the ancient regulations, enunciated at *Tholka:ppiam Elu-ththathika:ram* 62, 64 and 65, which I have already elucidated above.

H. AN OBJECTION AND THE ANSWER TO IT.

The Objection :—We now know that the Dravidian civilisation in India itself goes as far back as the third millennium B.C. How is it then that you can state that the *Kutunhthokai* poems show the ancient Tamils or Tamilians in the *primitive* stage of culture, with women clad in leaf-garments and with cotton clothes just coming into vogue, about the third or fourth century B.C. ?

The Answers :—(1) In three of my articles to "Tamil Culture", namely "the Affinities between the Ancient Cultures of Crete and Egypt and those of India and

Sumer", Part I⁵ and Part II,⁶ and "the Exact Connexion between the Harappan and Sumerian Cultures",⁷ I have myself maintained that the Harappan culture is Dravidian and that it dates from at least 2,700 B.C. in North India. But I have also stated there that under the hammer-blows of Indra's war-bands, aided by the swift horse-drawn chariots that the Aryans were the first to employ in war, the Harappan Empire and, to a great extent, the Harappan civilisation were destroyed about 1,800 B.C. It happens often in the course of history that without the physical basis of material welfare, minimum comforts and a bit of elegance, as a result of destruction by repeated earthquakes, as in Crete, or of wars, as in Mexico, with the consequent poverty and destitution, an ancient and flourishing civilisation is almost totally obliterated and is only with great difficulty and by slow stages rebuilt. Such may very well have been the case with the Dravidians in India.

(2) It is true that in my article to "Tamil Culture", "the Earliest Tamil Poems Extant",⁸ I have maintained that *Kutunhthokai* 75 and *Akanah:nu:tu* 265 were composed when the Nandas were in the height of their splendour and before the accession of the Maurya Emperors to the throne of Pa:t:aliputhra in North India, i.e. c. 324 B.C. But there is nothing to prevent a few of the *Kutunhthokai* poems being composed much earlier than this. Further research is necessary in this matter.

(3) It is good to have more than one string to one's bow. Accordingly I am prepared to give an alternate explanation for the phenomena, which I have exposed in sections E and F above. The Tamils, like many Eastern peoples, are great traditionalists, especially on festive and ceremonial occasions. Tamilians, who throughout their

⁵ Vol. IV, 2, pages 169 to 175.

⁶ Vol. V, 1, pages 56 to 65.

⁷ Vol. V, 4, October 1956.

⁸ Vol. IV, 1, pages 90 to 98.

lives use tables and chairs for their meals which are served on plates, are known even today to discard all this and their forks, spoons and knives as well, when they are invited for a wedding feast. Then they recline on a mat or mattress and consume the festive meal of rice and many curries with their hands out of plaintain-leaves. On this analogy we may state that while the female sex in the *Kutunhthokai* days used cotton clothes ordinarily, the heroine was decked in leaf-garments on ceremonial occasions: and these happen to be the very ones mentioned in the *Kutunhthokai* poems concerned. This does not detract from their antiquity.

Kannan Pattu

(Translation from Bharati)

P. S. SUNDARAM

A poem is the product of an individual temperament ; It is also conditioned by the peculiarities of the language in which it is written, and the race and culture of which it is the efflorescence. That in these circumstances it is essentially untranslatable is a truism. "It were", wrote Shelley, "as wise to cast a violet into a crucible that you might discover the formal principles of its colour and odour, as seek to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet".

But great poetry is not only the product of an individual and a race but also, both in its origin and appeal, universal. The great poet belongs to all the world, and unless his greatness is of a quality to be perceived even through a (reasonably good) translation, it is idle to claim that he is a world poet—only his greatness cannot be gauged by anybody unacquainted with his language !

In his programme for Tamil which Bharati drew up in one of his poems, he made it clear that it is no use our whispering to each other in secret about our ancient glory. "The test of great poetry is that people of other countries also should recognise its greatness".

The following translation was made with the conviction that, properly rendered, Bharati could make a profound impression as a lyric poet on foreign readers. Throbbing with emotion and exquisitely musical, his poems are best rendered in English in regular metres with all the resources of rhyme.

The poem that follows is taken from Bharati's *Kannan Pāṭṭu*, a series of lyrics extolling Krishna in his various aspects of Friend, Father, Mother and Child, Teacher and Student, King, Playboy, Servant and Master, Lover and Beloved, Family Goddess. There are twenty-three of these poems, many of them in the form, popularised by Browning, of dramatic lyrics. Though Krishna is the form more widely known, the Tamil form Kannan used by the poet has been retained. Those whose mother tongue is Hindi should have no difficulty in recognising in this form their *Kanha* or *Kanhai*.

KANNAN, MY BELOVED

Like a fly on a hook,
Like a flame in the breeze,
My poor heart a-flutter
Throbbled in unease ;
Like a caged parrot
I moped all alone—
What most pleased me once
Now made me groan.

கண்ணன்—என் காதலன்

தூண்டிற் புழுவினைப்போல்—வெளியே
சுடர் விளக்கினைப் போல்,
நீண்ட பொழுதாக—எனது
நெஞ்சந் துடித்த தட !
கூண்டுக் கிளியினைப் போல்—தனிமை
கொண்டு மிகவும் நொந்தேன் ;
வேண்டும் பொருளை யெல்லாம்—மனது
வெறுத்துவிட்ட தட !

Stretched on my mat,
Fretful and weary,
I found even my mother
Dismal and dreary :
And as for you friends
Ceaselessly chattering,
Like a disease I dreaded you
And your pattering.

No food for me, dear,
No sleep and no rest ;
Nor fragrance in aught—
Even flowers the best ;
No firmness, no fixity,
Only confusion ;
No joy even fleeting,
Pain in profusion.

பாயின் மிசை நானும்—தனியே
படுத்திருக்கையிலே,
தாயினைக் கண்டாலும்,—சகியே !
சலிப்பு வந்த தட !
வாயினில் வந்ததெல்லாம்,—சகியே !
வளர்த்துப் பேசு வீர் ;
நோயினைப் போலஞ்சி னேன் ; —சகியே !
நுங்க ஞறவையெல் லாம்.

உணவு செல்லவில்லை ;—சகியே !
உறக்கங் கொள்ளவில்லை.
மணம் விரும்பவில்லை ;—சகியே !
மலர் பிடிக்கவில்லை ;
குண முறுதி யில்லை ;—எதிலும்
குழப்பம் வந்த தட !
கணமும் உள்ளத்திலே—சுகமே
காணக் கிடைத்த தில்லை.

Milk tasted bitter
And bed proved a-scarring ;
Dear Polly's twitter
Hateful and jarring :
Four doctors in conference
Said, " Too late they have seen us " ;
The bridge-side astrologer
Blamed Saturn and Venus.

In a dream, on a night,
Unseen, unknown,
Somebody touched me—
My heart's very own.
Woke I a-quiver
My sweet one to capture :
Naught was to seize there
Except the rapture !

பாலுங் கசந்த தட !—சகியே !
படுக்கை நொந்த தட !
கோலக் கிளிமொழியும்—செவியில்
குத்த லெடுத்த தட !
நாலு வயித்தியரும்—இனிமேல்
நம்புதற் கில்லை யென்றார் ;
பாலத்துச் சோசியனும்—கிரகம்
படுத்து மென்று விட்டான்.

கனவு கண்டதிலே—ஒருநாள்
கண்ணுக்குத் தோன்ற மல்,
இனம் விளங்க வில்லை—எவனோ
என்னகந் தொட்டு விட்டான்.
வினவக் கண் விழித்தேன் ;—சகியே !
மேனி மறைந்து விட்டான் ;
மனதில் மட்டிலுமே—புதிதோர்
மகிழ்ச்சி கண்ட தட !

A cool wave drenched me,
I was myself again ;
In all parts of the house
Did my relish regain ;
Desire surged upward—
My heart Joy's abode—
Fear was a dead thing,
Beauty in strode !

The spot where he touched me
With his finger and palm—
It thrills and it tingles,
It stills and is calm.
Who is this unknown ?
I thought and I thought :
And there stood Kannan's image
With shapeliness wrought !

உச்சி குளிர்ந்ததடீ—சகியே !
உடம்பு நேராச்சு ;
மச்சிலும் வீடுமெல்லாம்—முன்னேப்போல்
மனத்துக் கொத்த தடீ !
இச்சை பிறந்ததடீ—எதிலும்
இன்பம் விளைந்ததடீ ;
அச்ச மொழிந்ததடீ !—சகியே !
அழகு வந்த தடீ !
எண்ணும் பொழுதிலெல்லாம்—அவன்கை
இட்ட விடத்தினி லே
தண்ணென் றிருந்ததடி !—புதிதோர்
சாந்தி பிறந்ததடீ !
எண்ணி யெண்ணிப் பார்த்தேன் ;—அவன் தான்
யாரெனச் சிந்தை செய்தேன் ;
கண்ணன் திருவுருவம்—அங்ஙனே
கண்ணின் முன் நின்ற தடீ !

Some Aspects relating to the Establishment and Growth of European Settlements along the Tamil Coast in the Seventeenth Century

S. ARASARATNAM.

The phenomenon of large settlements of foreign traders in the main centres of Asian trade does not begin with the coming of the Europeans to Asia. The studies of Moreland on India and Van Leur on the Malayan Archipelago have shown that there existed in both these regions trading settlements of foreigners in such places as Calicut and Malacca.¹ Arab settlements were a feature of Indian trading stations, just as Chinese colonies flourished in the Malay Archipelago. Not much evidence, however, is forthcoming on the nature of the relationship between these traders and the indigenous sovereign and the rights normally enjoyed by the former against the latter. Moreland would have us believe that even before the Europeans there was in existence a kind of mercantile extra territoriality by which the foreign settlement had acquired the right to manage a considerable part of its internal affairs without interference from the lord of the land.² The Mopla merchants of the Malabar and Madura coasts had their own separate heads who dispensed justice for members of their community according to their own laws and

¹ W. H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (London, 1923), pp. 220-226 ; J. C. Van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* (The Hague, Bandung, 1955), pp. 194-196.

² Moreland, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-222.

freely followed their own religious and social customs and practices. Such rights exercised by foreigners were not held to interfere with the sovereignty of the ruler

When, in the 17th Century, various European powers entered into competition for the trade of India, there was no one set pattern of practices or regulations that traders could follow. Coming, as they did, from a distance of thousands of miles, it was but natural that they should try to set up more permanent habitats in the centres of trade than their Asian counterparts. With the increase in the volume of trade that each nation was handling, its ties with the Indian soil became greater. A greater number of its officials had to be stationed in India; larger godowns were needed to store up its goods; a greater hold was necessary on the people to whom it was increasingly larger advances of capital. Factory grew into fort, fort into settlement. While this was the broad pattern of development, the manner in which it took place varied infinitely with each power and every region. The most elementary connection was where the European power had just a hired house on the mainland which contained both its one or two officials and all its goods awaiting transportation. From there it moved on to the construction of a larger dwelling, belonging to it completely or by an eternal lease of the ground on which it was constructed. A major advance towards security was taken when the power received permission from the sovereign and constructed a fort within which its residences and all its effects were protected. This permission was grudgingly given, if ever, following a military defeat at the hand of the European power. When the European power was able to persuade the sovereign to renounce all his rights to the land on which the fort was situated, sometimes by commuted payment of the taxes that the place was obliged to bring, the fort became absolutely free of any interference from the local authority. Outright conquest was, of course, the pinnacle of authority which few European powers could afford.

Once the fort was constructed and some measure of security ensured for the European the settlement grew. The officers found it safe to live with their families within the area of the Fort. Thus a European community sprang up and around them, attending to their needs and performing the various functions connected with their trade, collected an indigenous community of mixed castes. The greater the security afforded by the place, the larger the European community, the bigger the town and its Indian population. The 17th Century, generally speaking, was in South India a period of instability and political strife. This feature in turn affected the growth of European settlements in some cases favourably, in others adversely.

The legacy of the preceding century is of some importance. The Portuguese had held undisputed supremacy as the only Western power along the Indian coast. Their attention was centred predominantly on the Malabar coast and later northwards to Goa and Daman. However, as they realised the potentiality of the cloth trade between the Carnatic coast and the East Indian Islands, small settlements of Portuguese traders began to grow up on the Eastern coast too. Of these the most noteworthy is that of San Thome. The prevalence of a legend connecting up this place with the Apostle St. Thomas encouraged the proselytising zeal of the Portuguese who erected a church here. In the course of the 16th Century, this settlement seems to have developed both into a seat of intensive Catholic missionary activity and of prosperous trade. Travellers' accounts of both this century and the next speak of the existence of several churches, monasteries and a Jesuit College. The many legends that were current in these times and reports of miracles connected with various aspects of the Apostle St. Thomas made the place a centre of pilgrimage not only for Catholics but even for Hindus from villages round about. There was a large Parish of Christian converts looked after by several priests. It would appear that a spacious and well-constructed town had grown

up here and a considerable harbour handling a large volume of trade.¹

Another region where the impact of the Portuguese was felt was along the coast of Madura in the southernmost part of the peninsula. Because of its proximity to the centres of Portuguese power in Malabar and Ceylon their influence had begun to make itself felt in the course of the century. They were attracted here by the existence in interior villages of supply centres for all manner of coarse and fine textiles and a pearl fishery along the coastline. With the acquisition of Tuticorin there followed a gradual process of penetration ending up not merely in the control of Tuticorin and the seven other harbours here but even of an undisputed exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction over the Paravas who inhabited these harbours. This development was helped by the fact that the Nayaks of Madura were not greatly concerned with the control of trade and the exercise of authority over the coastline. This they seem to have left in the hands of the Paravas, Muslims of the coast and foreigners, being merely content to maintain an open door policy with regard to trade.² The way was thus open for the superior European power to emerge into a position of dominance. Local events themselves played into their hands. There had always been friction between the Parava and the Muslim inhabitants of the coast. In the course of one of these internecine conflicts the Paravas hit upon the expedient of summoning aid from the Portuguese who willingly took them under their protection. Under the protection of the Portuguese the Paravas were established in positions of dominance along the coast and in return they embraced Christianity *en masse*. A few years later Francis Xavier, the celebrated missionary, took up residence

¹ All evidence collected together in Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras I* (London, 1913), pp. 286-305.

² S. Arunachalam, *History of the Pearl Fishery on the Tamil Coast* (Annamalai Nagar, 1952), pp. 96-8.

among the Paravas and instructed the people who had embraced Christianity only in name.¹

These events had given the Portuguese a political and a religious foothold on the Madura coast. There were no Portuguese settlements as such here. There was no place conducive to the development of European settlements. But the religious tie was strengthened and the whole coast was littered with churches and seminaries. Early observers of the Dutch East India Company, which displaced the Portuguese, speak of the immense influence of the priests over the people. There were three large churches in Tuticorin built of stone. Each of the smaller ports had a church of its own. The influence of Catholicism in this region may be gauged from the fact that later on, when the Portuguese had lost their political control over Ceylon, Madura became the centre of clandestine missionary activity in Dutch possessions. The Portuguese settlement proper in this area is further eastwards in Nagapatnam. This was a walled-in town built and owned by the Portuguese and was the seat of their naval and military power in this region. There were, consequently, several Portuguese families in residence here and an active social life. This is evidenced from the fact that when they were expelled from this place in 1658 the Dutch found that the majority of the inhabitants were either *Mestices* (in the definition of a contemporary Dutch writer) 'such as are born of a Portuguese father and a she blackamoor', or *Kastices* 'such as their fathers were blackamoors and their mothers Portuguese women'.² Here too there were several large churches and houses built according to Portuguese fashion.

It is evident that though actual Portuguese settlements on the Tamil coast were few and far between their influence was felt in several of the trading centres in this region.

¹ G. M. Moraes, *St. Francis Xavier Apostolic Nuncio, 1542-52* (Bombay, 1952).

² Mr. John Nieuhoff's remarkable *Voyages and Travels in A Collection of Voyages and Travels II* (London, 1745), pp. 198-199.

Their religion proved to be a notable medium for the extension of their influence and had penetrated parts of the coastline. Their comparative freedom of intercourse with the native inhabitants had resulted in a group of half-caste peoples who inhabited some of the sea ports. As privateers and fidalgos they were found all over, sometimes sailing their own vessels, at other times in the employ of private Indian merchants. Long after their political power in India had declined their influence remained and, as will be seen later, they played an important role in the founding and development of many a European settlement in India.

The 17th Century brings more European nations into the scene. Dutch, English, Danes and French, in turn, seek their fortunes in Asian trade. The Coromandel coast, forming a vital link in this trade, attracts all of them who begin to work for footholds in this area which would give them positions of vantage in relation to the trade. Ideas of monopoly and political control follow in the wake of competition. Trade has to be backed by power if it is to be safeguarded from an enemy nation or even to be wrested from her. This power has to be lodged at convenient points along the coastline and secured from both the Europeans as well as indigenous states. A new emphasis is thus given to the problem of European settlements. As a result of this European competition, the share of the Europeans in the country trade which had been negligible in the preceding century, now began to increase by leaps and bounds. The European trading nations were thus on the look out for suitable places along the coast which may be used as centres of their trade. None of them was looking for political aggrandizement. It was sufficient if, by consent with the native authority they could lease out strategically situated places insured with certain recognised rights.

The first reaction of the native powers was to receive the prospective traders with open arms and bestow several favours on them. The powers encountered little or no diffi-

culty in contracting treaties with local princes guaranteeing certain privileges. In the first place they were permitted to occupy a certain demarcated territory and to erect structures for their residence and storage of goods. In April 1610, the Dutch East India Company entered into a treaty with the Raja of Carnatic by which they were allowed to reside and trade at Pulicat (Paleacatte). They were to pay toll on all incoming and outgoing goods at the concession rate of 2%.¹ Two years later by a further treaty they were allowed to construct a fortress there which they completed soon after with the name of Fortress Geldria.² Later when the King of Golconda overran the Carnatic, a treaty was entered into with him by which they were given complete freedom of tolls at Pulicat.³ In 1639 the English acquired similar concessions at Madras. They negotiated with the Nayak Damarla Venkatadri, Governor of the area for the King of Carnatic, and received the right to trade freely there and to construct a fortress. This was Fort St. George. They were also exempted from the payment of all customs dues.⁴ When in 1658 the Dutch had expelled the Portuguese from Nagapatnam, they sought to reinforce this right to conquest with a treaty of recognition with the Nayak of Tanjore in whose domains the city lay. Here too they secured freedom from tolls.⁵ Thus all the trading powers were unanimous in their desire to secure some recognised title to their settlements and to put the whole problem of customs dues on a definite footing.

The right to construct fortresses and keep the settlements in a state of preparedness for war was generally desired by the European power but not always granted. It was desired because it would give the Europeans the security that was necessary for the expansion of their trade and would provide a defensive shield behind which the

¹ *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, Ed. Heeres, (Hague, Batavia, 1887-1931), I, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁴ W. Foster, *English Factories in India, 1637-41*, p. 157.

⁵ *Corpus Dip.*, II, p. 138.

settlement could develop. Madras and Pulicat, the two settlements that prospered in these years, owed their prosperity mostly to their fortified character. It was not always granted because it would cut into the sovereignty of the indigenous state if it were to admit an armed power within its borders. On the coast of Madura, the Dutch tried their best to secure permission to erect a fortress. Successive deputations were sent to the Nayak and peaceful persuasion as well as force was used but the Nayak was adamant in his refusal to permit an armed fortress anywhere in his domains. He was, however, quite willing to give the Dutch the right to build ordinary houses anywhere along the sea coast for purposes of trade.¹ The history of the Dutch settlement at Tuticorin illustrates the practicality of European policy in this respect. More than once the armies of the Nayak attacked the settlement and the Dutch had to withdraw with all their movable assets into the security of their possessions in Ceylon.

The right to administer justice and punish offenders for acts done within the area of European jurisdiction was generally given without any fuss. This provision is seen in its most effective aspect where it relates to the enforcement of payment of debts that merchants have incurred on the delivery of goods for which advance payment has already been made. There had to be some effective machinery to ensure the security of money invested by the Europeans in the land. The *Caul*² granted by the Madura Nayak to the Dutch in June 1645 states: "You shall have right of preference on all merchants who trade with you and are in debt to you; your money will be paid first even from what they owe me".³ In Pulicat they were given the right to seize and place under arrest anyone who failed to fulfil a contract for the delivery of cloth.⁴ In Madras the native authority promised the English that they would make good

¹ *Corpus Dip.*, II, p. 145.

² 'A lease or grant in writing' see *Hobson-Jobson* SV COWLE.

³ *Corpus Dip.*, I, p. 456.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-85.

any sum the English may lose through defaulting merchants or weavers and deliver their persons to the English authority if they happen to abscond in the interior.¹ Another aspect to this problem was the administration of criminal justice within the settlements in order to preserve law and order. Generally there was agreement to return absconding criminals in each other's territories. There is record of a murder committed in Madras and the Naik was informed of it. Though those involved were native inhabitants the Nayak issued instructions that justice be done according to the laws of England.² For the development and prosperity of the settlement it was essential that it received a reputation for orderly government and impartial administration of justice.

Geographically, most settlements tended to divide themselves into two sections—a European quarter and a quarter inhabited by local inhabitants. The European quarter was situated along the sea and would consist of buildings used as stores and houses for the officers. If there were a fort it would usually embrace the European section of the town as in Madras and Pulicat. The soldiers were generally stationed here and the place was so fashioned that in the event of an attack from inland they could protect their lives and property within this fortification. Beyond this was the native town where lived the merchants, labourers who performed all kinds of services to the Europeans and, in some instances, those few Indians who had become Christian converts. Sometimes, as in Nagapatnam and Tuticorin, entire families of weavers chose to leave their villages and settle down under European jurisdiction, particularly if they found the native authority exacting in its impositions. When sufficiently good relations had been established with the local authority and the people as to produce a sense of general security, European families ventured out of the fort and lived in the native quarter. This was unavoidable

¹ Foster, *English Factories*, 1637-41, p. 157.

² *Ibid.*, p. 315.

later as the European population increased and all could not find room within the fortified town. In Madras towards the latter half of the 17th Century most of the subordinate employees of the Company, both civil and military, were living in the outer town. It is seen from Abbe Carre's observations that it was not unusual to meet Englishmen and other Europeans in the interior of the country.¹

The growth of the settlement and the prevalence of an active social life within it depended on several considerations. Some of the powers followed more restrictive policies than others and this hindered progress. The rapid development of the English settlement at Madras as contrasted with the Dutch at Pulicat showed the advantages of a more liberal general attitude. European observers of the 17th Century of all nationalities are unanimous in their view that the city of Madras was a model European settlement in India and was far ahead of others of the same type. Though at the beginning of the century, the English began their career in the East as rivals of the Portuguese and allies of the Dutch, after the first three decades this position changed and from then on they were more friendly towards the Portuguese than to the Dutch. The Portuguese were by now feeling the full force of Dutch opposition to their positions in the East and hence were becoming increasingly dependent on the English. Thus, though to begin with they opposed the establishment of an English settlement so close to their own at San Thome, later on there were friendly relations and mutual co-operation between them. The circumstances that favoured most the rise of Madras, however, was the fall of San Thome to the King of Golconda in 1662. This resulted in a mass exodus of Portuguese and their dependents to Madras. Thus the population of Madras increased immensely and the English were in possession of valuable man-power of the type they could use for their diverse needs. It was observed by several people in the latter half of the 17th Century that there were

¹ The Travels of Abbe Carre, 1672-1674 (London, 1947) II, p. 358.

plenty of Portuguese settled in the city of Madras. Some of them were taken into the local defence force and supplemented the usually meagre English garrison. "The number of English may amount to three hundred", says a contemporary, Fryer (1673), "of Portuguese as many thousand".¹ Some of the Portuguese were men of considerable affluence, being successful traders. But most of them were odd jobmen and not particularly well off. There was a carefully maintained distinction among them of white Portuguese and black Portuguese and intermarriage between these two groups was very rare. The latter were those who had intermarried with Indian races while the former had maintained their racial purity. Their general living habits left much to be desired.

One of the factors that attracted the Portuguese and their Indian co-religionists to Madras was the toleration in matters of religion practised by the English. To begin with, the Indian states granted to every European power that sought to settle along this coast the right of unhindered practice of its own religion. It was in the divisions between Catholics and Protestants that the trouble arose. It has been seen above that the Portuguese had succeeded in establishing pockets of Catholicism in many parts of the coast. The later Protestant powers would naturally be expected to view those with hostility. Happily for the prosperity of the English settlement of Madras, these differences were not allowed to come in the way of a policy of religious tolerance. In fact, both from official records and unofficial travellers' diaries, there is evidence of a flourishing and active Catholic community, public worship of their faith in their churches and priests to attend to their spiritual wants. Much of this was due to the existence for a long time of two French Capuchin priests, Father Ephraim and Zenon, who maintained cordial relations with the political authority and won several concessions for the Catho-

¹ John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia* (London, 1909) I, p. 107.

lics. Owing to their long residence in the country (over 40 years) they had a phenomenal knowledge of local customs and habits and were of immense help to the English in matters of trade and politics.¹ Besides the English preferred having them in the settlement to having Portuguese priests of whom they were very suspicious.²

The split in the Christian faith which so dominated the history of Europe in these years was reflected in the East also. Largely owing to the influence wielded by the two French priests and the presence of a large Portuguese community, Catholicism appeared to be much more virile than Anglicanism in Madras. This offended the Anglican priests who urged the officials to take strong action against Catholicism. Even among the employees of the Company, there appeared to be several Catholics and others who embraced Catholicism because of their marriage with Portuguese girls who were the only whites available for matrimony. The Anglican community was not well looked after and during certain periods there was no chaplain at all in the Fort. Rules and regulations there were against the public practice of the Catholic religion but their compliance depended on the Agent and high officials of the Fort. Sir William Langhorn, Agent at Madras 1670-77, was, for example, more tolerant than most others and was very accommodating to the Catholic community. His action in firing a salute of guns at the consecration of a newly built Catholic Church in Madras brought on him the disapproval of the Directors from London who also wrote: "We.....desire to give as little countenance and encouragement to that religion [Catholicism] as they do to ours; and we would have you discountenance and discourage all of our nation that any ways incline to that profession".³ His successor Master (1677-1681) was less tolerant and took several measures to curtail the activities of Catholic priests and to reduce their

¹ *Travels of Abbe Carre*, II, pp. 549-553.

² Fawcett, *English Factories in India*, 1670-77, II, p. 154.

³ Quoted in J. Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time* (Madras, 1882), p. 47.

increasing influence over English inhabitants of the city. The Test Act of 1673 forbidding Roman Catholics from holding office under the Crown was strictly applied in India also.¹ Yet never was such drastic action taken as would result in a mass exodus of Catholics that would have affected the prosperity of the settlement.

The Dutch experienced even greater difficulty in dealing with the Catholics in their settlements. On the Madura coast they had succeeded to positions that the Portuguese had held for long and they felt that the extirpation of the political power of the Portuguese from that region should be followed by the rooting out of their religion too. In this they had to admit failure. The Parava community along the coast stuck doggedly to their faith and no amount of prohibitory bans by the Dutch would wean them away from their loyalty. The Catholic priests continued to use the Kingdom of Madura as a base for their activities and secretly attended to the needs of the Paravas. Soon after the Dutch conquest of Tuticorin in 1658, Fr. Baldaeus, a Protestant *padre* in the service of the East India Company, was asked to carry out a reformation of the Church in this town and its dependencies. He records, with frankness, the failure of his efforts and the fact that the Paravas preferred to walk miles into the country to be administered by their own priests than listen to the preaching of the Protestant religion.² Though their political hold over the Parava community was complete and the latter were loyal to them, they never could win them over to their religion. Language was a great barrier between the Protestant priests and the people. Very few of them could speak Tamil, while as Rev. Valentijn observes, most of the Catholic priests could speak, read and write the Tamil language.³ The Protestant faith itself was not as attractive as Catholicism, with its rich ceremonialism. Baldaeus records that once he removed

¹ Fawcett, *English Factories in India*, 1678-84, IV, p. 6.

² Baldaeus, *Naewkeurige Beschryvinge Van Malabar en Choromandel, en het Eyland Ceylon* (Amsterdam, 1672), p. 150.

³ Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indian V* (Amsterdam, 1726), p. 237.

the images and ornamental decorations from the Catholic Church at Tuticorin, the Paravas refused to enter it.¹

One problem that confronted all European powers was that of keeping men of their own race in good behaviour. Authorities in most settlements were hard put to it in exercising discipline among their men. The average type that came out East were adventurous and not very educated. Those settlements which had so expanded as to necessitate Europeans living in the native quarter were the most difficult to handle. An overfondness for the bottle, consequent brawls and sexual immorality were the common vices. Everyone blamed the Portuguese as bringing down the tone of moral life in any place. The English at Madras grappled with this problem seriously as they were concerned with maintaining the reputation of the city. Regulations were introduced in 1672 limiting the opening hours and quantity of liquor served in taverns.² In a letter written by the Company's Chaplain at Madras, Rev. Warner, to the Directors (1676), he complains bitterly about the 'drunkenness, debauchery and profaneness' that prevailed in the settlement and the generally poor attendance at Church on Sundays.³ The Dutch in Pulicat were faced with similar problems. They found that those soldiers who were forced to live outside the Fort generally got married to local women and their life left much to be desired. The Dutch seem to have generally had a reputation in these parts for intensive drunkenness. Daniel Havart, a contemporary Dutch writer, takes the trouble of refuting this and says that it is a story spread by their rivals, the English and the French, to tarnish their reputation.⁴ However, as far as the native of Coromandel Coast was concerned, the European of this time was generally noted for his excessive drunkenness.

¹ Baldaeus, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

² Fawcett, *English Factories, 1670-77*, II, pp. 31, 150, 179.

³ Quoted in Wheeler, *Madras*....., pp. 34-36.

⁴ Daniel Havart, *Op en Ondergang van Cormandel* (Amsterdam, 1693), pp. 134-5.

The Seventeenth Century is of interest in the study of European contact with India as being a period when the attitudes of Westerners towards Indians is not coloured by the outlook of superiority which is so characteristic of a later age. Consciousness of difference there is and Europeans in India generally feel that they are in a land of strange people and strange customs. These differences are generally given expression to in a straightforward manner and with the least inhibition. There is evidence of a general desire to learn and know more about the people among whom they lived and to accommodate themselves more to their environment. Yet the European settlements maintained a character of foreign outposts, limited in their extent and the influence they wielded in the countries where they were implanted. However, the growing interest they were showing in the religions and customs of the people around them was to bear fruit in the next century when there emerge some distinguished scholars of all nationalities who have left behind valuable works on the language, history and culture of the Indian people.

Religious Landmarks in Pudukkottai

(Continued from TAMIL CULTURE, Vol. VI, No. 1)

LEO P. BAZOU.

VELS, COLAS, PANDYAS AND THE 'MERCHANT-PRINCES'.

Grants belonging to this new period are ascribed to the Cola and Pandya monarchs, even when they were due to the generosity of the local chieftains—the Muttaraiyars, the Irukku Vēls of Kodumbalur, the Pallavaraiyars of Sendamangalam, and the Vanniyan chiefs of Sirukkudi or the more famous and more powerful Guilds of Merchant-Princes who had undertaken the expenses. There is ample evidence of the luxuries enjoyed by the more important cities of Tamilagam, and of the large trade Dravidian emporiums carried on with the rest of India as well as with foreign countries in the Far-East and the distant and exotic lands of the Mediterranean West.

We might have remained in almost complete ignorance of the part played by the Pudukkottai region in the fields of culture and trade, if inscriptions had not survived to tell us of famous trade-guilds with high-sounding titles, such as 'The Five Hundred of the Thousand Districts in the Four Quarters', or 'The Eighteen towns', that traded 'with the Six continents'. It is not therefore mere chance which made Nāttukkottai Chettiyars, the genuine inheritors of the Middle Age 'Nagarattars', build their palatial residences in well-laid out towns in this area.¹

¹ K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, pp. 650 sqq. and 675; on Merchant-Guilds see also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, Vol. I, 1955, pp. 158, 318 and 319; *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, 1932, passim.

But it was the spade which brought to light, in 1898, at Karukkakurichi, a village of the Kurinji region, typical evidence in the form of a hoard of Roman coins. Such finds are not uncommon on the site of ancient cities in Tamil Nād, but the considerable amount of gold coins found here gives it special significance. As many as 501 pieces bearing the effigies of ten successive Roman Emperors, from Augustus (29 B.C. to 14 A.D.) to Vespasian (69 to 79 A.D.) were unearthed here.²

Whether the actual donors of grants to Brahmanical institutions under the Colas and the Pandyas were princes or merchants, it is certain that Brahmanical Hinduism, even when it received royal recognition and patronage, did not succeed in stamping out ancient forms and values. The Dravidian 'Mother' kept her shrines by the side of the Brahmanized male deity and women had not yet lost their honoured place in society. Local princesses are frequently quoted in inscriptions as the main benefactresses. Inter-marriage took place between chieftains, which continued right up to our own days e.g., between the royal houses of Pudukkottai, Sivaganga and Ramnad. Famous dancing girls are frequently referred to in inscriptions; Brahmanical Hinduism, which had declared married women impure for sacrificial purposes, nevertheless allowed dancing girls almost the same rights as men and kept them in the service of its altars.

Such fine structures as the three masterpieces in stone called the *Mūvar Kovils*, at Kodumbalur, were the work of a local chieftain Bhuti Vikramasekari and of his two wives, Karralipirattiyal and Varugana.³ Kongavanam of the Kodumbalur Irukku Vels conceived the daring project of bringing the water of the Cauvery to his capital in the northern-western portion of Pudukkottai just below Manapārai. He is reported to have actually begun digging a

² S. Radha Krishna Aiyar, *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, 1916, p. 51.

³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, Appendix iv.

canal.⁴ But thanks to the Muslim invasion of the 14th century this capital city, which at one time boasted of as many as a hundred and eight shrines to the Lingam, is now a heap of ruins. The temples that have survived and the basements and sculptures still to be found amongst the ruins show what an important cultural and religious centre Kodumbalur must have been.

Deep mounds of earth, formed by the crumbled mud-houses, have considerably raised the level of the ground round the surviving temples, like a heavy shroud over a dead past. Thus have persisted the two Nagarams or Merchant-Guilds, which had for centuries enjoyed commercial and religious importance. And this story of woes repeats itself in many other once beautiful cities, of which ruined shrines in the invading wilderness are all that remains. Such is, among others, Madattu Kōvil, about halfway between Kiranur and Viralimalai, a beauty in stone of the purest Vijayanagar style; there is not even a hamlet there now. Such is again Narttamalai with its twelve surviving temples and its many rock-caves round an almost depopulated village.

To the early Cola period, which marks the transition from the Pallava style, are to be ascribed a group of small but finely chiselled shrines, all in stone, at Kaliyappatti, Tiruppur, Visalur, Pannangudi, Tirukkattalai, Kannakudi, Narttamalai, Viralur and Enadi. Up to the middle of the 11th century new temples, including two Jain shrines, were still being built and ancient ones enlarged or remodelled in about thirty different places. From the middle eleventh century to the decline of the Great Colas in the 13th century, thirty more places show new structures and a significant feature is that shrines to the 'Mother' are built within the precincts of temples dedicated to the Lingam;

⁴ On the Irukkuvels of Kodumbalur see the learned study of M. Arokiaswami M.A., Ph.D., *Velar Basin*; also *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 176 sqq.

the village people also went on erecting shrines of their own, apart from the official ones.

Each new structure meant more grants for the erection and the maintenance of its priests, servants, musicians, dancing girls, as well as for the performance of the daily *Puja*. The management of these temples and their revenues by the 'Ur' or village community, sometimes jointly with the Brahmin 'Sabha' and the 'Nagaram' Merchant-Guild, gives one the impression that, in spite of heavy taxation and forced contributions towards the maintenance of this official form of worship, we are dealing with a contented peasantry.

It was too good to last. The time would arrive when Merchant-Guilds would have to hand over to the village Community their part in the management of temple affairs, and the villagers would show themselves less and less ready to settle their tithes for the worship of the gods and the maintenance of their servants. The secular power would have to intervene. Looking over the Narttamalai vale from one of the several hills that surround it, one cannot help becoming pensive. This too peaceful and intimate coomb with its now dry tanks and barren fields is a picture of desolation. But the many shrines and temples that mark every prominent spot in the depopulated village or on the slope of the hills, the caves and natural caverns and Mutts, Jain or Brahmanic, its Merchant-Guilds which have not been heard of since the 14th century, had all contributed to make the vale and the hills once hum with prayer and trade.

There are still a few Brahmins left, survivals from a forgotten age; this may be the reason why they are men of simple taste and gentle disposition, men of few words too, whose subdued manner of speech is that of men given to inner thoughts. Discretion, a sense of the artistic, politeness without affectation, soft speech in melodious Tamil, which has none of the hardness and guttural quality of

other places, are also typical features of the ordinary village people. It would seem that centuries of religious and cultural attainments have left their deep imprint upon the souls of all.

The religious structures here may not have attained the large proportions of the more important temples elsewhere. Lack of size is more than made up by the artistic dexterity which the local craftsmen brought to bear on their work and the refinement of the finished article. We are not dealing here with mass-production but with works of real art, and executed by artisans who, inspired by devotional fervour, treated them as a labour of love. The stone-cutters, carvers and sculptors, who worked here may not all have been artists as famous as their contemporaries elsewhere who enjoyed the patronage of kings and the rich but trained in highly-patronized schools their works, if simpler, show purer lines and a more delicate touch. The dancers their chisels carved—whether it was a Nataraja or a dancing girl, a complete sculpture or a mere carving upon a pillar, whether the artist was given the opportunity to display his full skill and produce his best or was left only with the drudgery of a mere sketch in stone—have here more elegance in their poise and more artistic and delicate touch in the rendering of bodily forms than will be found elsewhere, or in later periods.

The size of these earlier sculptures may be much smaller than those of the Madura Naick school (of which there are to be found here many examples) and were all inspired by religion, unlike the masterpieces from Naick times with their larger than human size statues, which are often highly sensuous, if not obscene. Early feminine forms, even when in the nude, are never immodest or alluring, and their rhythmic poise is more natural and more enchanting, too, because of the very absence of self-consciousness and self-conceit on the part of the Pudukkottai artist.

Religion and discretion seem to have been the prevailing keynote, the inspiring motive under the still prevailing influence of the cult of the 'Mother'—the 'Benign Mother', as opposed to the fierce Kali of later days. The softness inculcated by the deeply humanized Jain monks had not yet been forgotten, and the 'Mother' from Dravidian days had not yet degenerated into the Brahmanized 'wife' or at her best the 'consort' of the male deity. She is still the 'Maid', unwedded and unattached, the ever-Kaniya and Kumari, the traditional 'Mangai', 'Māligai', 'Mathandai' and 'Bālamma'.

Siva himself, whether in the Dakshinamurthi or the Nataraja form, is still the *Ishta Devata* that inspired the devotion of the early Saiva Hymnists. Here we find Dravidian art at its best. The statuary of the Saiva and Vaishnava rock-cut caves at Malaiyadipatti stands in a class apart both by its majesty and its refinement. In both these twin-caves large scenes have been chiselled out of the living rock with figures as large as life itself, if not larger, as in the case of the reclining Vishnu. The artist responsible for this particular masterpiece knew how to handle a chisel and a hammer. The imposing head of the sleeping Vishnu over-shadowed by the five-hooded Naga is by itself a study of strength in repose, softened down by a lingering smile upon the lips of the dormant deity.

In a class apart, too, stands the ruined temple of Madattu Kovil, a fine example of Vijayanagar style. In the implacable bright sun, it shines even today in all the splendour of stones that have just come out of the hands of carvers; upon each pillar or cornice can be seen miniature masterpieces which are still a treat to the eye. The smiling Seven Virgins carved out of a single stone which lies abandoned among the ruins makes one regret that so much beauty should lie uncared for in a deserted place, with hardly any discriminating visitor to appreciate and enjoy.

THE NAICK PERIOD

During the all too short interval between the decline of the Great Colas and the onslaught of the Muslims, the Pandyas made a few repairs and improvements, here and there, and added a few more shrines to the 'Mother' at Kudumiyamalai, Narttamalai, Puvalaikkudi etc. The Muslim drive into the Southern Tamil districts, which lasted a few decades during the 14th century resulted in troubled times, bringing back a renewal of the feudal system; it weakened such institutions as the Merchant Guilds and the Village Communities. In the absence of a stable government which can ensure peace, agriculture and commerce as well as culture and religion suffered. Under the titles of *Araiyars*, *Arasus* or *Nadalvars*, local chieftains succeeded like the Velirs of ancient Tamil poetry, in raising themselves from the position of clan or village headmen to that of potential rulers over part of the country or *Nād*. They founded new dynasties and fought one another, plundering their neighbours under the pretext of protecting their own peasantry. Recurring famine and epidemics completed the tale of woe in 1436, 1450 and 1451.⁵ Those who survived had to migrate in search of a living. Villages became depopulated, and many towns lost for ever their importance, some of them surviving as mere hamlets today. With the abandonment of religious festivals which had for centuries attracted pilgrims and favoured trade, the Merchant Guilds died out. The Brahmins lost their benefices, and they too, left. The temples were uncared for.

When the Madura Naicks restored order and peace, they had to recruit Brahmins from their own Andhra Desa. But not a few among them showed more willingness for secular occupations than for the mere reciting of *mantras*. We find them in the service of the ruling princes at the various courts of the Pudukkottai Rayars and Tondamans,

⁵ Radha Krishna, pp. 80 sqq, 110 and 111.

as well as in the service of the Madura overlords and their Southern Barons, the famous Poligars, as counsellors, ministers and even generals of armies on the battlefield.

With the loss of its rich patrons drawn from the merchant class, another institution, that of the Dancing Girls, became so impoverished that its members were driven to accepting service under temples. Gone were the days when Umaiylvi Natchiyar, more commonly known as Periya Natchiyar, the daughter of another famous dancer at Kudumiyamalai, could not only offer the high sum of 73,000 gold coins for a temple land, but also add one more shrine to the Mother within the great temple precincts under the title of Malaiya Mangai or Soundara Nayagi. Was our Natchiyar by any chance a great-grand-daughter of the temple priest's sweet-heart of the legend, to whom the priest had the temerity to present the very garland of flowers destined for the deity?

If Brahminism knew a renewal in the Pudukkottai country, as it did in the rest of the Southern districts, no new temples were built. New structures were simply added to the ancient ones, large sculptures, vast corridors and mandapams; but the size and, at times, exaggerated realism of sculptural forms do not make up for the absence of religious inspiration. The sculptures of this period show unquestionable skill and power of expression, but they are the products of secular masters of the chisel and not of artists inspired by religion.

The quarrels and wars which followed the death of the last Madura Naick, in 1731, led to foreign invasion. Tamil Nad became the playfield of adventurers, both Indian and European, Chanda Sahib, the Mahrattas, the Nabob of Arcot, the Nizam of Hyderabad, Hyder Ali and his son Tippu Sultan, the English from Madras and the French from Pondicherry. These troubled days brought about a decline in the ascendancy of Brahmanical Hinduism.

The Dravidian cult had not to come back into its own, as it had always been there since prehistoric days as the cult of the Mother, that of her companion Murugan-Siva-Aiyanar-Karuppan, the worship of ancestors and the rites of fertility. Though both deities and cults had been incorporated in Brahmanical temples, the people had gone on erecting altars of their own. Ancient cults die hard.

II. VILLAGE RELIGION

THE 'MOTHER' AND THE 'AIYANAR'.

The Pudukkottai region provides typical examples of the survival of the sacred places, even when the religion itself has changed. Here as elsewhere in Tamil Nad, Brahmanical Hinduism has perpetuated the ancient altars by building its own shrines over the tombs of primitive Dravidian worthies. It has perpetuated, too, the cult of ancestor worship by adding it to its pantheon. The ancestral cult, far from declining under the pressure of Aryan concepts, cults and institutions, reacted by stamping its own mark deeply upon the new religions. So much so that it is well-nigh impossible to disentangle what is their own from what they have borrowed from the Dravidian cult.⁶

Our knowledge of Pudukkottai's past begins, as we have seen, with the dolmens and other burial forms found near tanks and water-courses. One would overlook the coincidence that the rocks and the hills in which the Jain monks settled, later on, are fertility elements in themselves, if the paintings of Sittannavasal were not here to show what part fertility elements played in the Jain tenets and symbols.

It is not fortuitous either that the Pallava shrines and the early Cola temples, as well as some others of later

⁶ See the scholarly work of N. V. Ramanayya, *Origin of South Indian Temples*, 1930.

periods, had no other symbol or object or worship than the Lingam with, or without, its Yoni pedestal. Scholars continue to discuss whether or not the Lingam in its most ancient forms in India was meant to represent a phallic symbol, as if it did matter much either way. A rock or stone, the more so a 'particular' stone that has been 'found', that is, one that has not actually been chosen but has revealed itself as 'sacred' because of its *hierophanic* quality, is as much a symbol of fertility and giver of life, a *lithic kratophany*.⁷ Such are the so-called *suyambu*, or self-made, Lingams venerated in most ancient temples.

The primitive Lingams found in many shrines of Pudukkottai are perhaps of laterite but one cannot be certain as generations of Pujaris have, by anointing them with ghee and adorning them with sandal and vermillion, blackened them out of shape and recognition.

In the absence of natural springs in such a dry country as Pudukkottai, water itself became precious and sacred. On the slopes of the rockhills in which the Jains established their hermitages and the Saivites their shrines, water, in the shape of the smallest tarn, even a mere pool of rain-water gathered in a socket of the rock, becomes a 'mountain-lake', or a 'perennial spring'. The lotus that breeds in such pools, and much more still the 'immersed Lingams', that have been lowered into them for perennial bath in such hallowed waters, have acquired great sanctity.

A fertility concept again is contained in the legend of the Tiru Gokarnam temple in the Pudukkottai town, according to which the tutelar goddess of the Tondamans, the 'Celestial Cow Kamadenu', brings water daily from the Ganges to bathe the temple Lingam. The tarn upon the near-by hillock is said to have been cut out of the rock with her horn for the purpose of storing the sacred water. Has not this legend also inspired the common motif, so

⁷ Eliade, pp. 191 *seq.*, and Lceuw, pp. 41 *seq.*

often carved in stone, of the sacred cow giving her teats to the Lingam as she would to her own calf, as also of the many representations of the 'Mother' with a cow's head and a woman's body?

It is perhaps this same concept which inspired the people at Kudumiyamalai to place as a water-spout to their tank of rain-water a stone slab with a cow carved upon it. Do not the villagers of Ammanchatram in Narttamalai call their village tanks *Pal Urani* and *Karkandu Urani* (milk and sugar candy ponds)? These two tanks provided drinking water to the Jain Monks who once dwelt in the eight natural caves at the summit of the rock-hill, and to the early men who had occupied them long before Jainism came south, the prehistoric men who buried their dead near the sacred waters of the tanks? Such sacred places are so rich in past memories, so full of what the Romans call the *numen*, that people have ever been unconsciously attracted to them. One of the many heaps of stones that have rolled down from the rockhill mark the spot where a Sakkilici lost her life in such tragic and romantic circumstances that she was ranked among the *Pattavals* or deified Mothers. It is no wonder, therefore, that the royal family of the Kolattur Tondamans chose to bury there their queens. Life and death are intimately connected, for in spite of death life endures.

If we were somewhat shocked to meet on the Melamalai, in this same hallowed range of Narttamalai, the tomb of a Muslim saint in the neighbourhood of Jain, early Saiva and Aiyanar shrines, it was not because of the presence of one more religious form, but because of the very incongruity of its modernity. As if to make up for this invasion of profane secularity among so much grandeur and so much sacredness, further on in the same hill, amidst a dense grove of trees is found a rustic open-air shrine to the Aiyanar. He dwells there in the company of the Mother and that of the Seven Virgins, his sisters, represented on small clay-tablets. In their long robes that

seem to have come out of a nursery book of fairy stories, they look charmingly like so many sleeping beauties. In this primeval shrine reminiscent of a Roman *Lucus*, one almost feels a pervading 'presence', for here are enshrined the simple faith and hope of agriculturist clans who for many centuries have been attracted by it.

The shrines to the Aiyanar that stand usually in the open, *sub diu* are commonly fenced with broken granite slabs which must have come from the nearest burial site, as also the small altars of that primitive faith, dolmen-like in shape. Villagers still erect small dolmens in front of their houses to serve as domestic altars. They are often used as henscoops for the poultry at night; both the profane and the sacred are usually rather mixed up, as are so many other South Indian symbols. But even if such miniature dolmens may not always serve their higher purpose, it is never lost sight of; upon such altars people do occasionally make vows and take their most binding oaths.

There is hardly any village without a shrine, not only to the Mother, but to the Aiyanar, and most villages in the Pudukkottai have several. One cannot mistake a shrine to the Aiyanar or to his double, Karuppanaswami; the many pottery horses, large and small, half of them in a state of crumbling, indicate these shrines. The traveller may falsely conclude that here is a dying, if not altogether dead, religion; the presence of so much pottery debris arises out of the great veneration in which whatever pertains to the Aiyanar is held. According to tradition, which is true of all ancient cults, nothing may be touched, and far less removed, which belongs to the sacred. The shrine to the Aiyanar may be renovated by the addition of some more clay horses or some more clay statues. Enormous horses or elephants in brick and lime—we have seen fine examples in stone too—may be erected, but all clay debris are carefully preserved as sacred relics.

In all shrines to the Aiyanar we met in our journeys through the Pudukkottai country, and we met a good many indeed in our wanderings from place to place, we found traces of recent worship, flowers that were just fading away and sacrificial hearths with their still fresh ashes. Here the puja and the common festive repast for a family, a clan or a village, had been recently prepared and shared.

By his shrines, as well as by the cult with which he is associated, the Aiyanar summarizes the inheritance from an ancestral past intimately connected with the cult of the Mother. Today he is still, indeed, the Mother's companion but her son—not her husband, Siva having usurped this role. Under his many names and titles as well as under his multifarious forms, the Aiyanar has remained an agricultural deity, inheriting or simply taking upon himself the Mother's concepts. Forms, titles and names may vary from village to village, and from one shrine to another even in the same village. Even so, we can trace him back to the days of ancient Tamil poetry when he was known as Murugan, the 'fragrant son of Kottavai', the victorious Mother. His shrines have mostly remained what they must have been in that forgotten past, open-air shrines, though there are temples in dressed stones dedicated to him in Pudukkottai which go back to the beginning of the XVIIth or earlier century. Such is the one built by the Vallambars at Mangudi. Those 'Vallam Totta Vellalas', or *heretics* from Vallam in Tanjore, came and settled here, according to their Purana, rather than abandon their ancestral worship. They have so faithfully adhered to their Dravidian faith that they still call Saiva and Vaishnava forms of worship 'Devil-Dance', *Pēy-āttam*; this latter term is perhaps equivalent to what we call heathen-worship, that is the dreaded rival faith. Devil-worship is as objectionable to the Tamil villager, at least in ordinary circumstances, as it is to the Christian missionary, though with a difference.

The importance of the Aiyanar did not escape the ever-awake Brahmins. He was given the Sanskrit name of *Sāstha* (Sāttan in Tamil, which has nothing in common with its Christian namesake). Sattan stands for a dignified master, and for God too, that is the One who governs, chastises and warns. The name has survived in *Sāttampillai* or the village master of pial schools. Having taken from the Mother her fertility rites, he is the object of the faith and veneration of young girls craving for a husband, and of the newly-wed, eager to be favoured with the gift of a child. Like those of the Mother, his shrines receive offerings of bangles, of plaited small sheaves of new rice, and bits of rags that may be found hanging from a *Pala* tree, of which the very name is suggestive of a 'babe'. The rags stand there as a symbol of swaddling clothes, and bespeak of newly-realized motherhood.

These attributes of fertility are symbolized under a variety of forms—Siva coming out of the Lingam, a Lingam with an entwining Naga, or the image of a boar; the common fish relief; the many Naga-stones placed upon raised platforms under a margosa-tree; the presence of dancing scenes, or of 'temptation' tableaux, crudely suggestive, on the brick and lime structures of Aiyanar's horses or elephants. Apsaras or Yakshinis (Celestial Damsels, cloud-maidens, or 'Fertility Spirits') are traditional symbols in Indian religious art, but in some temples of the Madura Naick period, such symbolism is no longer mere 'provocative suggestiveness' or 'allegory' as in the Buddhists monuments of the Sanchi and Mathura schools, but, as Karl Khandalavala remarks referring to the similar scenes in the temple of the Sun at Konorak, 'the limit of sensuousness permissible in sound aesthetics'.⁸ While in the temple of Minakshi at Madura, for instance, the temptation scene shows both art and restraint, the two larger than life size groups, which face one another in the hall of the

⁸ Khandalavala, p. 33.

Kudimiyamalai temple are rather crude and frankly obscene in their realism. It may be art, but it is no longer religion; it is also perhaps anti-clerical, representing as it does ascetics in their most unbridled lusty moods.

The Aiyanar is represented as single, as he should, with a youthful, almost childish, countenance inherited from Murugan as *Bālan* or *Kulandai*; but he is also found like the grown-up Murugan in Brahmanical Hinduism, with two wives, Puranai and Pushkalai, or like the Tamil 'Pillaiyar' who, under the form of 'Kulandai Nayakkar' or young Ganesan, is shown at Kovilur with two shy young brides. In some places the Aiyanar is represented as *Pavadai Rayan*, the Princeling in petticoat, the typical Mother's child.

We ought not to be perplexed with these Protean forms of the Aiyanar, even if they involve a change, admixture or a confusion of sexes both in Brahmanical Hinduism and in the village cults. The male deity is, after all, but the double or the shadow of the Mother, as Siva himself is in his Ardhanari or hermaphrodite form. Does he not, at the Rock-temple in Tiruchirapalli, become *Tāyumānavar*, or the 'One who took also the functions of the Mother'? Do not the priests as well as the male worshippers of the Aiyanar, come in many places in female attire? The Mother-complex is so deeply engrained in the religion of the people that boys and men seem never to outgrow completely this early stage of childhood that made them one with their mother. One remains not only one's mother's child but as little dissimilar from her as nature allows.

But if the Aiyanar is at times independent of the Mother by inspiring a worship quite his own, he cannot easily cut off all relationship with the one that has given him his existence. The shrine to the Mother is never far-away from his, even if it is a mere mud hut with a thatched

roof and there will be also found another shrine, or at least the images, of the Seven Virgins, his sisters. These kind and indulgent Virgin-Mothers look like so many benevolent spinster-aunts, but maids who, like the Mother herself, participate in her maternity and care for the welfare and well-being of the village people. Thus does Dravidian religion duplicate and multiply its concepts and forms.

(To be concluded)

The Law of Thesawalamai

H. W. TAMBIAH.

THE ORIGINS OF THESAWALAMAI

Thesawalamai தேசவழமை literally meaning the "Customs of the country" has governed and still governs the destinies of nearly an eight hundred thousand Tamils in Ceylon. A critical analysis of some of its fundamental concepts supports the contention that there have been two waves of immigration, one from the west coast of India, which brought a people whose pattern of society was matrilineal, and whose customs were akin to the Marumakattayam law and laws of the Mukkuwas of Ceylon, and another from the Coramandal coast which brought a band of people whose family organisation is based on the patrilineal pattern similar to the Tamils of Tirunelveli, Pondicherry, the Colombo Chettiers and the Vellalas of Puttalam.

THE THESAWALAMAI AND THE MARUMAKATTHAYAM LAW

The customary law of usages of the Malabar is the Marumakattayam law, a system of law based on the matrilineal system of society, the principles of which are akin to the Aliyasanthana Law prevailing among the Canarese in India and the Mukkuwa Law of the Mukkuwas of Ceylon. Mayne in his monumental work on *Hindu Law* speaks of the "remarkable similarity" of the Malabar Marumakattayam Law to the usages of the north of Ceylon as stated in the Thesawalamai.¹ As stated earlier further research on this subject reveals the fact that the Thesawalamai is a blend of the customary laws of the first

settlers who perhaps had a system of law which was very much akin to the Marumakattayam law and the customary laws of the later colonists having their roots in a system of law prevailing among a patrilineal society. In order to appreciate these remarks it is necessary to explain some of the fundamental differences between the systems of customary law among a matrilineal society and a patrilineal family.

In a matrilineal society, the family unit consisted of all the descendants of the female line of one common female ancestor. Thus, the 'tarwad' of the Marumakattayam and the 'kudi' of the Mukkuwa Law consisted of all the descendants of the female line of one common female ancestor. In such a pattern of society relationship could only be claimed through the female. The husband had no power over the ancestral lands. The manager of the family is usually the mother's brother but his ancestral property devolved not on his children but on his sister. The senior male in the family whether in the 'tarwad' or the 'kudi' became the head and manager of the family property. In Marumakattayam Law he was known as the 'Karnavan'. Under the Aliyasanthana Law he is known as "Ejaman". The manager of the family unit looked after the ancestral property for the benefit of the members of the family and on his death his ancestral property did not devolve on his children but on his sisters, his undoubted relations.

In Malabar a custom arose which enabled the manager of the 'tarwad' to establish his own daughters in life providing dowries out of his acquired property. Each one of his daughters who has been so endowed started a separate family known as the 'täivalillam' தாய்வழிஇல்லம் which, although it started an independent existence, was regarded as a branch of the 'tarwad' which has separated more or less from the parent's stock.² The institution set

¹ See Mayne, *Hindu Law*, 7th Edition, page 3.

² See Lewis Moore, *Malabar Law and Customs* (3rd Edition) p. 424.

out above has its counterpart in Mukkuwas Laws.³ These principles peculiar to a matrilineal society are the outcome of a system of society where the eldest female was regarded as supreme in family circles, the marriage unions being not permanent, the male having a precarious existence. The members of the family looked upon the mother of the family as the undoubted relation through whom all descent could be claimed. The mother's brother has an important place in the family. Endowed with superior physical prowess, he looked after the property of his sister. Dr. Ehrenfels in his work on '*Mother Right in India*' has traced many matrilineal systems of society in India and Ceylon.

In a patrilineal system of society the eldest male was the manager of the family property, the females who were married out had no claims to the ancestral property of the family. The male members of the family had joint interest in the family property which only became separate on a partition. Mayne has shown that such customary usages exist in South India.

Alexander Johnstone in his despatches has collected many customary usages of the Tamils of Ceylon which are based on the patrilineal pattern. For example, the customary usages of the Colombo Chettiars and the Vellalas of the Puttalam District.⁴ With indefatigable energy Le Sorge had collected the customary laws of the Pondicherry Tamils.⁵ In Indian and Ceylon customary laws both patrilineal and matrilineal systems of society can be found. Referring to Indian customary law Ganapathi Iyer (after referring to the Dravidian usages) says⁶ Mayne, expressed the same idea when he said⁷ "I think it impossible to imagine that any body of usage could have obtained gene-

³ See Britto, *Mukkuwa Law*, p. 571.

⁴ H. W. Tambiah, *Laws and Customs of the Tamils*.

⁵ Pondicherry decisions, by Le Sorge.

⁶ *Hindu Law* by Ganapathy Iyer, p. 36.

⁷ Mayne (9th Edition).

ral acceptance throughout India merely because it was included by Brahman writers or even because it was held by the Aryan tribes. In Southern India, at all events, it seems clear that neither Aryans or Brahmans ever settled in sufficient numbers to produce any such result." In support of his statement he takes three distinctive features of the Hindu Law, viz., the undivided family system, the law of inheritance and the practice of adoption, and shows how the early history of these branches of the law and their main features had nothing to do with Brahmanism.

Dr. Derrett, after referring to the *Dharmasastras*, says⁸ "it is one of India's chief heirlooms. But its historical development is still a matter largely of conjecture since the date of the 'mula' viz., the 'sutras' of Gautama, Apastamba and others, is far from being settled. Conjectures and cross conjectures are many, and ingenious arguments erect a structure of relative priority or even absolute *termini ante quos* and *termini post quos* which seem to be based upon insubstantial arguments.

Probability is not however helpful, and after the work of Buhler, Jolly, Kane, Varadachariar, Rangaswami Aiyangar and Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, a certain residuum of knowledge may be said to exist, which can safely be applied for our present purpose. The presence of a rule in a later source does not, of course, lead us to believe that it did not exist for a very long period before that time; nor is the absence of a rule in the earliest texts an indication necessarily that the rule was not perfectly well known, for the method of construction of the 'smrtis' did not require that every aspect of law should be dealt with, but only those aspects which might either be doubtful points of religious or moral law or be substantial difficulties in actual litigation. Topics which did not fall within these categories were thus omitted. Similarly in the

⁸ *Origin of the Laws of the Kandyans* by J. D. M. Derrett in the University of Ceylon Review, Vol. 14, p. 108.

course of their commentaries the jurists of the classical period and of later periods who sought to mitigate or to improve upon their great masters, seldom adverted to matters which were perfectly well known to the populace unless they were necessary for the explanation of a passage in the text, and that only where a number of different interpretations could be placed upon the text so as to render a choice inevitable".

Thus the existence of Indian customary law prior to the *Dharmasastras* and which practically influenced the latter has been recognised by scholars. Mayne has also shown that these Dravidian usages were not based on law but on the contrary many basic principles of Hindu Law as expounded in the *Dharmasastras* are based on these Dravidian usages. It is best to cite the words of Mayne on this matter.⁹ "On the other hand, while I think that Brahmanical Law had been principally founded on non-Brahmanical customs, so I have little doubt that those customs have largely modified and supplemented by that law". The study of these customary laws not only will be useful in constructing obscure passages in the *Dharmasastras* but also to fill in the gaps in 'smirithi law' for a better appreciation of the Hindu law as a whole.¹⁰

The origin of Thesawalamai could be traced to the admixture of Indian Customary Law brought by the two waves of settlers referred to earlier who made the Jaffna Peninsula their home. When the contents of Thesawalamai are developed, an attempt will be made to show the co-existence of rules peculiar to both matrilineal and patrilineal systems of society. The rules of patriliney, although it has an independent origin from the *Dharma-sastra*, received its blessings, but still did not succeed in ousting the rules of matriliney. As the late Mr. V. Coomara-

⁹ Mayne's *Hindu Law*, 7th Edition, p. 11.

¹⁰ See Dr. Derrett's Article in the *Ceylon University Review*, Vol. 14, p. 109.

swamy has shown in a series of learned articles¹¹ the two bands of colonists made co-existence possible by the adoption of the rules applicable to both matrilineal and patrilineal systems of society.

Influences of Foreign systems of law on Thesawalamai.

When different systems of law come in contact with any particular customary law, they leave their imprint. The Thesawalamai was no exception. The German Historical School said that Law is essentially the product of natural forces associated with the *geist* of each particular people, and nothing is more representative of these evolutionary forces than the customs which are found to exist in each community, and which are indigenous as its flora and fauna. Recent researches have shown that this contention put forward by the German Historical School who apparently try to create a feeling of pseudo-nationalism is without any foundation. Dr. Allen states,¹² "Law is seldom pure blooded and national is a dangerous word to use of almost any legal institution". It is well-known phenomena that customary laws change when they come in contact with foreign systems of law. The Thesawalamai has been modified from time to time as a result of the impact of Hindu Law, the Roman Dutch Law and even principles of English Law.

INFLUENCES OF HINDU LAW

The influence of Hindu Law as enunciated by the *Dharmasastras* has been very little in Thesawalamai. Sir Alexander Johnstone in his report to His Majesty's Government, referred to the Law of Thesawalamai and said as follows: "The Tamils—some of whom are Christians but most of them are worshippers of Vishnu or Siva—(independently of *Dharma Shashtra*, the source of all Hindu Law, the Viguyan Ishuar, a law tract of great authority in the south of India and Videyanugger's Commentary on the

¹¹ See *Genesis and Development of Thesawalamai* by V. Coomaraswamy, *Hindu Organ*, dated 19-6-33, 6-7-33, and 27-10-33.

¹² *Law in the Making*, 2nd Edition, p. 51.

text of Parasara, a work of equal authority in the Mysore country) have a customary code of their own called Thesawalamai which, though it provides for many castes, leaves others to be decided according to the general principles of Hindu Law, as evidenced in the work to which I have just alluded.¹³

When the Portuguese, Dutch and English held sway over the Jaffna peninsula many leading caste Hindus became Christians (see Cleghorn's *Minutes*). Hence it is not surprising that the Hindu Law treatises supplemented the meagre provisions of the Thesawalamai. Thus, during the early British period it was found that *Dharmasastras* were used to supplement Thesawalamai.

To one unacquainted with Indian Customary Law, the Thesawalamai will appear in Tennyson's words as:—

"The lawless science of the law
That codeless myriad precedent
That wilderness of single instances
Through which a few, by wit or fortune led
May beat the pathway out of wealth and fame"

But to those who have traced Thesawalamai to its original roots it appears as a coherent system of law.

We shall estimate the influence of the law of *Dharmasastras* when we deal with the contents of Thesawalamai. At this juncture it is sufficient to state that a few principles are set out by the institutional writers on Hindu Law and Brahmanical practices have crept in supplanting the ancient usages of the Tamils.

Although it is generally believed that the law of Pre-emption was brought in by the Mohamedans who settled down in the Southern parts of India, it is submitted with respect that the Tamil customary laws had recognised pre-emption long before the Mogul invasion of Southern India. It was known to be Marumakattayam Law.

¹³ *Katresan's Handbook on Thesawalamai*, pp. 1-4.

Following the decision of the Privy Council in an Indian case¹⁴ the view has been expressed by some writers that pre-emption as known to Thesawalamai was brought in by the Muslim settlers of Jaffna (see Balsingham's *Laws of Ceylon*, VII, 1). The collection of Mohamedan usages codified by the Dutch and later by British (as found in the Mohamedan Code of 1806) do not mention the law of pre-emption. If pre-emption was known to the Muslim settlers of Ceylon, these collections would have contained some references to it. It is more probable that the law of pre-emption was brought by the first band of settlers from the Western coast of India who brought with them Marumakattayam usages in its pristine purity.

CHANGES IN THE THESAWALAMAI DURING THE PORTUGUESE AND DUTCH REGIME.

The Portuguese appear to have effected many changes in the law of Thesawalamai. This is clear from a passage in the Thesawalamai Code which reads as follows.¹⁵ "But in process of time, and in consequence of several changes in Government, particularly those in the times of the Portuguese when the Government was placed by the order of the King of Portuguese in the hands of Don Philip Mascarenha several alterations were gradually made in the customs and usages according to the testimonials of the Modeliars. Thus, during the Portuguese time the rule was adopted that dowry can be given out of Mudusam (ancestral property) although under the original customary law dowry could not be given out of the ancestral property of the husband. The Dutch have brought several changes in the law of Thesawalamai by express legislation.

The Preamble to the 76 orders states that these Orders were necessary to settle many points in dispute in matters affecting sales, Otta mortgages, money, hoarding, marriages, dowries etc. Space does not permit to point in detail the

¹⁴ 13, *Allahabad Law Journal*, p. 236.

¹⁵ *Tes code Para 1.*

far-reaching changes affected by these orders.^{15a} As justification for the introduction of these orders the preamble states that these orders were framed in accordance with the customs of the Tamils. Despite this statement the Thesawalamai has been considerably changed by these orders. In this connection it is interesting to note that during the Dutch period that almost all the Tamils of Jaffna were forced to be Christians. This is evident from the writings of Baldeus. The Thesawalamai Code was mainly intended to apply to Christians with certain concessions to non-Christians. This is apparent from a perusal of paragraphs 1, 17, 18 of the Thesawalamai Code which gave certain rights to non-Christians who came over to Jaffna from India and married persons governed by Thesawalamai. These were not given equal rights as those governed by the Thesawalamai.

The Thesawalamai Code states that the Dutch legislated with the view of preventing parents from disposing of their property by sale or mortgage for the benefit of their married daughters or their children and to the detriment of their sons. The Dutch also laid down new rules pertaining to the giving of notice to persons who are entitled to the right of pre-emption. The Code says "Yet this mode of selling lands underwent an alteration afterwards in consequence of the good orders given on the subject given in the time of the old Commander Bloom (of blessed memory) as since those orders no sale of lands whatever has taken place until the intentions of such a sale have been published."

THE INFLUENCE OF DUTCH LAW

The Dutch Courts administered the Thesawalamai not only to the Tamils in the Jaffna Peninsula but also on the recommendation of Lt. Nagel to all the Tamils who were in

^{15a} For a fuller discussion on the 76 orders see Muthukrishna on *Thesawalamai*.

the Wanni District. If the Thesawalamai was silent on any matter they applied the Dutch Law. Thus Pavilojeon, Commander of Jaffna Patnam (1665)in his instructions stated "The natives are governed according to the customs of the country, if these are clear and reasonable, otherwise according to our laws" It is interesting to investigate what Pavilojeon meant by the terms 'our laws'. The Dutch applied what are known as the Statutes of Batavia which was a collection of all the statutes passed by the Governor-General in Batavia, to their colonies in the East. According to Dr. Bissehep these statutes of Batavia by modifying and enlarging the jurisprudence of Holland sought to reconcile the Roman Dutch Law "with the spirit and temper of the natives". On the orders of Vandiemann, Mr. Maetsuyekar collected these statutes under the designation of Old Statutes of Batavia. About a hundred years later, the Governor Vander Par instructed Jackraestein to make another collection known as the New Statute of Batavia. There is clear evidence that both the Old and New Statutes of Batavia were applied in Ceylon.¹⁶ There is a residuary provision in the Statutes that in the case of "casus omnis", the Roman Dutch Law should be applied. The Roman Dutch Law is an admixture of the Roman Law and the Germanic customs and were developed by medieval writers of eminence such as Grotius, Voet, Bynkershoek, Van Leeuwen, Vander Linden and others who flourished from the middle of the 15th upto the end of the 17th century. This system of law is the residuary law of Ceylon even in modern times, and applies to all persons in the absence of customary laws and statute law or case law.¹⁷

The British following the rule in *Compbell vs. Hall*¹⁸ adopted the policy of governing the people of Ceylon by their laws and customs. They set out their policy in the

¹⁶ See *Roman Dutch Law in Ceylon*, by H. W. Tambiah, *Law Students Magazine* (1951).

¹⁷ See Introduction to Roman-Dutch Law by R. W. Lee (5th Edition).

¹⁸ 1744 Com. p. 244.

proclamation of 1799 by stating that they will govern the people according to the law. Although the statutes of Batavia were applied by the early English Judges in deciding civil matters they adopted the Roman Dutch Law of the institutional writers by a selective process. Some rules of Roman Dutch Law are found in the Thesawalamai Code prepared by the Dutch. After it was codified, the Roman Dutch Law had considerable influence in developing it during the British regime. Dalton J., in the case of *Iya Mattayer vs. Kanapathipillai*¹⁹ said "having regard to the auspices under which the collection of laws and customs of Jaffna composed, and by whom it was composed, it is difficult to think that the provisions of Roman Dutch Law, did not exercise some influence, and that the idea of a partial community of goods as in the case of 'thediathettam' may not have been strengthened by, if not derived from, the common law of the Dutch Government.

In the Thesawalamai Code itself many rules of Roman Dutch Law masquerade as principles of Thesawalamai. Thus the rule that the husband who has improved the wife's dowry property is not entitled to claim any compensation from the wife's heirs and the corresponding rule that if the wife improved the hereditary property of the husband she is not entitled to claim compensation, are found in the Roman Dutch Law. The principle of Thesawalamai that though gifts between husband and wife are null and void yet to the wife such gifts, if not revoked at the time of the donor, should be given effect to, is traceable to a similar rule in Roman Dutch Law which treated such gifts as a *donatio mortis causa* (see Van Leeuwen 424). The servitude that a neighbour is entitled to the fruits of what grows by itself on his neighbour trees has its parallel in Roman Dutch Law.²⁰ The greatest influence of the Roman Dutch Law on Thesawalamai is during the British period. Being the residuary Law of the land our courts

¹⁹ (1928) 29 N.L.R. 301 at 307.

²⁰ See Grotius 224, 21; Herbert 209.

have not hesitated to apply principles of Roman Dutch Law whenever the provisions of the Thesawalamai are silent or obsolete.²¹ Reviewing the principles set out in the above cases Scheneider, J., said²² the principle deduced from the cases on these points may be summarised as follows: (1) the Roman Dutch Law, being the law generally applicable to the whole island, applied where the Thesawalamai is silent; (2) the Roman Dutch Law does not apply even where the Thesawalamai has no express provision if a question can be decided from general principles deduced from the Thesawalamai. From the Dutch period the Roman Dutch Law had been used to supplement the meagre provisions of the Thesawalamai.

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH LAW

English Judges, trained in the principles of English Common Law and Equity have often sought to apply these principles for the clarification of concepts obscure to the Thesawalamai. Thus to give one example Bertram, C.J., found it difficult to express in juristic language the interest a man had in the acquired property of his wife. Although the rules of joint family system found in Indian customary law regarded the husband as the manager of the acquired property and gave him powers of alienation, the adoption of such rules would lead to hardships when property passes into the hands of *bona fide* purchasers. Hence in *Sellachi vs. Visvanathan Chetty*,²³ Bertram, C.J., took the view that husband's interest in the wife's acquired property was in the nature of an equitable interest. After stating the principles of English Equity he said (at p. 99) "as I have said these principles *mutatis mutandis*, are capable of application to the conditions of the colony and to the circumstances of the present case."

²¹ The following cases *Poothathamby vs. Myilvaganam* (1897-8) 3 N.L.R. 42; *Thevar vs. Sivakamipillai* 1905, 1. Bal Reports 201; *Kuddiar vs. Sinnar* 1914, 17 N.L.R. 243; *Nagaratnam vs. Muthuthamby* 1915, 18 N.L.R. 257.

²² See *Chanmugam vs. Kandia*, 22 N.L.R., 221.

²³ 23 N.L.R. 97.

It is through statute law, many principles of common law found their way into the law of Thesawalamai. Thus, the marital rights between husband and wife, as contained in the Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance of Jaffna, (an ordinance specially applicable to persons governed by Thesawalamai) principles of English Law have been introduced to alleviate the rigours of Roman Dutch Law by adapting the more humane equitable principles of English Law on marital rights.

SOURCES OF THESAWALAMAI

The Thesawalamai Code.

The reference to the Law of Thesawalamai in the instructions of Pavilojeon has already been mentioned. A short historical account of its codification may not be out of place. Hendri Zwardcroon, a Commander of Jaffnapatnam and afterwards Governor-General of Netherlands, India in his memoirs written for the guidance of the Council of Jaffnapatnam during his absence from Jaffna, stressed the necessity to codify the Thesawalamai so that the Company's servants who are "poor lawyers" may be guided to administer the law. As a knowledge of these matters cannot be obtained without careful study and experience which everyone will not take the trouble to acquire, he suggested that "it will be well if a concise digest be compiled according to the information supplied by the Chiefs and most impartial slaves"²⁴. To accomplish this task he said that no one was better suited than Mr. Claaz Issaczs, Dissawe of Jaffna.²⁵ These suggestions were acted upon by the Governor Simons and Claaz Isaaczs completed the task of collecting these customs by the 30th of January 1707.

At the request of Claaz Isaacs, the Thesawalamai Code which was in the Dutch Language was translated into

²⁴ Memoirs of Hendri Zwardcroon, Ceylon Govt. Publication, pp. 40-50.

²⁵ An official similar to the Government Agent.

Tamil by Jan Pirus and three copies of the Tamil translation were sent to the twelve "leading Mudaliyars" who were selected for this purpose. The twelve "sensible Mudaliyars" affixed their signatures affirming the correctness of the translation subject to a dissent on one particular point. The Mudaliyars complained that it was customary for them to punish recalcitrant slaves but of late these slaves sought refuge under the Magistrate. "Such occurrences" said the Mudaliyars "cannot but injure the character of the masters but at the same time render the slaves audacious". They suggested therefore that the powers of punishment be given to them and further asked for a reduction of the amount which they had to pay when the slaves were conveyed to the fort to be put in chains for their misbehaviour. This unreasonable and undemocratic request was refused by Cornelius Joan Simons, Doctor of Laws and Governor of Ceylon, who confirmed the code of laws. On his directions, the Tamil translation of this Code was sent to the Land Court, (Land Road), which functioned in Jaffna for its guidance. In the musty records of the Ceylon Government Archives may be buried many decisions of the Dutch Courts embodying important principles of the Thesawalamai from the year 1707 to 1799.

THE THESAWALAMAI DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD

When Ceylon was ceded to the British by the Dutch, the British, by the proclamation of 1799, guaranteed the people of this country to rule them according to their laws and institutions which existed under the Dutch Government. By a regulation dated 9-12-1806 it was enacted that the "Thesawalamai or the customs of the Malabars of the Province of Jaffna, as collected by the order of Governor Simons should be considered to be in full force and all questions between Malabar inhabitants should be decided according to the said customs".

Reference has already been made to the discovery of Sir Alexander Johnstone that the people of Jaffna were

greatly attached to the Law of Thesawalamai, and treaties on Hindu Law were also used to supplement the provisions of Thesawalamai. Johnstone ordered a fresh translation of the Dutch Code to be made as he did not approve of the 'rude English' of the Dutch translator. The English translation was circulated to various Government officials in the Northern, Eastern and other provinces of Ceylon with the direction that they should report whether the customary usages of the Tamils in the areas in which they served were in accordance with the provisions of the Thesawalamai. In response to this request many replies were received which are of great interest to the legal historian. In these replies, the Agents of the Government set out categorically the customary usages of the Tamils in their respective districts indicating the points of difference whenever they differed from the provisions of the Thesawalamai Code. There was however a consensus of opinion that many of the Tamils of the Vellala caste in the Northern and Eastern Provinces were governed by this system of Law. Thereafter, the English translation was published as a statute and is found in the first edition of the Legislative Enactments in the unexpurgated form. Later editions of the Legislative Enactments have omitted the portions of the Thesawalamai Code which were abrogated in 1844. Many provisions of the Thesawalamai Code have become obsolete by disuse.

The Royal Commission appointed to suggest changes in the law of Thesawalamai recommended that the provisions of Thesawalamai governing adoption²⁶ should be repealed as they were obsolete. The Legal Draughtsman, Mr. Britto Mutunayagam sounded a note of caution and stated that it will be unsafe to state by legislative measures what portions of the Thesawalamai Code are obsolete and suggested that it will not be prudent to embark on a scheme of scientifically pruning the Code so as to leave it in hand

²⁶ Part 2 of Tes Code and Part 7 Tes Code Pre-emption and 7 (2) Tes Code, sales of cattle.

much of the law as today in force. Acting on the Roman Dutch Law that a legislative measure ceases to be law by disuse, our Courts have the power to declare any portion of the Thesawalamai Code obsolete. In order to obtain this declaration, the party who relies on it should lead evidence that any portion of the Code has fallen into disuse or that a contrary practice has developed which is in conflict with some provisions of the Thesawalamai Code.

SOURCES OF THE THESAWALAMAI

The principal source of Thesawalamai is the Dutch Code referred to earlier. The other sources are precedent, statute, law and custom.

Case Law :

Since 1799, Thesawalamai has been developed by case law. Mutukrishna has collected a valuable series of decisions on the Law of Thesawalamai. Some of these are decisions of the lower courts and other decisions of the Supreme Court. The former, although cannot be regarded as authoritative binding precedents, still help to discover some particular customary law which is not contained in the Thesawalamai Code. Some times they help in interpreting some obscure provision of the Thesawalamai Code.

Customary Law :

During the British regime and up to the present times, the Thesawalamai has been developed by precedents. The Supreme Court has laid down principles of Thesawalamai which are binding on the Courts. Some of their decisions have laid down new law, but custom has not ceased to be a source of law. Under the British regime evidence of experts was heard to settle a point of customary law, on which the Thesawalamai Code was either obscure or silent.²⁷ This practice led to abuses since an expert who

²⁷ The case of Vyrewendden vs. Vinassi ; Kander vs. Ramaswamy Mutukrishna p. 298.

is given a fee by a party often would distort the customary law to suit the interests of the party who had summoned him. Hence the Supreme Court discouraged the practice of sending the cases back for purposes of hearing expert evidence. (see *Kanapathipillai Theivar vs. Valliammai*, 4 Tambiah Reports 116). As stated earlier the tendency now is to apply the Roman Dutch Law whenever the Thesawalamai is silent. Still evidence of contrary usage could be led to show that a usage has sprung up which makes some particular provision of the Thesawalamai Code obsolete.²⁸

STATUTORY MODIFICATIONS

Three important statutes have greatly modified the old Thesawalamai. The Jaffna Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinances, Jaffna, not only brought about radical changes in the marital rights—regulating the relations between husband and wife but also contained rules governing intestate succession to suit the conditions of the disintegrating joint family system among the Tamils of Jaffna. It proceeded on the footing that ancestral property of the husband and the dowry of the wife belonged to each of them exclusively but the acquired property was vested equally in both spouses. It set out the rules of succession for these three types of property recognising the fundamental principles that property went to descendants, collaterals and descendants in order of priority. It also recognised the usufruct in favour of the surviving spouse over the properties of the minor children devolving from the deceased's father till they became majors or were given in marriage.

In agricultural society where the husband and wife laboured together in the garden or the fields a partnership in the acquired property was an equitable proposition. Due to the spread of education and the finding of avenues

²⁸ *Kander vs. Sinatchipillai* 36 N.L.R. 362.

of employment in various spheres of life many Jaffna Tamils ceased to follow the pursuits of their forefathers and launched on professional careers. Hence there was a growing agitation that the spouse who was not the bread winner should not have any interest in the acquired property of the other spouse. The Thesawalamai Commission was appointed to look into these grievances and in particular, to suggest ways and means of improving the law of Thesawalamai. After many years of deliberation, the Commission sent their report (see Sessional Paper 3 of 1930) and a supplementary report.²⁹ They suggested far-reaching changes. They set out the provisions of the Thesawalamai Code which in their views was obsolete, the law of acquired property was revolutionised and new provisions were suggested to govern the law of pre-emption.

Many of these suggestions were implemented by the Legislature by the passing of the Jaffna Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance (Amendment) Ordinance of 1947. This statute, though obscure in parts and difficult of interpretation³⁰ has laid down new rules governing the rules of pre-emption and has brought about fundamental changes in the concept of acquired property.

From what has been said the Thesawalamai is a blend of the customary laws of the Tamils who migrated from the Western and Eastern coast of India to the Jaffna peninsula. It became moulded and changed by the impact of Hindu Laws, Roman Dutch Law and the English Law, after it was modified by precedent and statute law.

To find the law governing Thesawalamai, one has to go through the tangled growth of precedent and enactment remembering the important principle that the Thesawalamai Code might have become obsolete through disuse or

²⁹ Sessional paper of Thesawalamai Commission of 1933.

³⁰ See changing concepts of Thediathettam, Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon by Dr. H. W. Tambiah, Q.C.

as a result of a later conflicting provision of some statute. The uncertainty of the law leads to many forsenic battles which enables the legal profession to reap a lucrative harvest. It is submitted that there should be a restatement of the Law of Thesawalamai in a statutory form made easily intelligible so that the layman may know his rights under this system of law.

APPLICABILITY OF THESAWALAMAI

In dealing with the applicability of Thesawalamai distinction should be made between the part of Thesawalamai which applies only to "Malabar inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna" and that part which applied to all lands situated in the Province of Jaffna whoever may be the owner of the land.³¹ It may be convenient to deal with the latter part first.

The form of usufructuary mortgage known as 'Otti', servitudes peculiar to Thesawalamai and pre-emption are matters which effect all lands situated in the "Provinces of Jaffna" creating *Jura in Re Aliena*. These rights, being attached to land, apply to all lands in this area, whether owned by a Tamil, Sinhalese or a foreigner and do not require further consideration.

The Law of Thesawalamai pertaining to subjects like the matrimonial rights of spouses, guardianship, inheritance are matters that apply only to that category of persons who come under the description of "Malabar Inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna" and to their wives during the period of coverture. The Thesawalamai Regulations stated that Thesawalamai applied between the Malabar Inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna or where the defendants answered this description.

The enigmatic phrase "Malabar Inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna" has been the subject matter of various decisions of our Courts. The ingenuity and the subtlety

³¹ Suppiah vs. Tambiah, 7 N.L.R., 15.

of the legal fraternity have suggested various interpretations, some fanciful, others attractive though not sound, and yet others which are sound.

It was contended that the word "Malabar" was used not only by the British but also by the Dutch to describe a close class Tamils, who were settled down in the Northern Province of Ceylon at the time Ceylon was ceded to Britain, and their descendants, and perhaps to immigrants from the Malabar district in India and not to others although they may be fully fledged Tamils who have made Jaffna their permanent home. This contention was rejected and it was held that the Thesawalamai applies to all Tamils who make the Province of Jaffna their home.

MEANING OF THE TERM 'INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCE OF JAFFNA'

As observed earlier, Thesawalamai does not apply to all persons who come under the ethnic group described as Jaffna Tamils but only to those who regarded the Province of Jaffna as their permanent home. The vexed question, what is meant by a permanent home, has been the bone of contention in many forsenic battles in the Courts of Ceylon. Many Jaffna Tamils have left their homeland and sought pastures anew to other parts of Ceylon outside the Northern Province and still others are settled down in distant lands like Malaya, India and other parts of the world. The question whether the Thesawalamai applies to them depends on whether they regard themselves as permanent inhabitants of the Province of Jaffna, a geographical unit which we shall discuss later. If this question is answered in the affirmative then they are governed by Thesawalamai. Since the Thesawalamai is a particular system of law the onus is on the party who asserts that this system of law applied to a particular person in derogation to the general law of the Island.³²

³² Somasundaram vs. Charawanamuttu 1942, 44 N.L.R., p. 1; (1951) Kandiah vs. Saraswathy 54 N.L.R. 137.

The Thesawalamai does not apply to Jaffna Tamils who had their permanent home outside Jaffna. Thus in *Spencer vs. Rajaratnam*³³ it was held that the Thesawalamai did not apply to a Jaffna Tamil who contracted an alliance with a Jaffna Tamil in Jaffna but who had his permanent home in Colombo at the time of his marriage. Sometimes it was held that it did not apply to a Jaffna Tamil who, at the time of his marriage had settled down at Chilaw³⁴ or Colombo.³⁵ The decision in the Savudra-nayagam's case³⁶ is difficult to understand. In this case, a Colombo Chetty who settled down in Jaffna before his marriage and who married a Jaffna Tamil lady was held not to be governed by Thesawalamai. Dr. Paul Pieris who heard this case in the District Court, held that Mr. Britto was not a Tamil. He said that Colombo Chetties had mingled themselves so much that it is difficult to say to which community they belong. The Supreme Court affirmed this finding of facts. It is submitted that this decision may be right so far as the facts go but it cannot be cited for the proposition that in a case where a Colombo Chetty has made the Northern Province of Ceylon as his permanent home he is not governed by Thesawalamai.

The Thesawalamai does not apply to Jaffna Tamils who had their permanent home outside the Province of Jaffna. Thus in *Spencer vs. Rajaratnam*³⁷ it was held that the Thesawalamai does not apply to a Jaffna Tamil who had settled down at Chilaw and in *Somasunderampillai vs. Charavanamuttu*³⁸ the view was taken that it did not apply to a Jaffna Tamil who contracted an alliance with a Jaffna Tamil in Jaffna but who had his permanent home in Colombo at the time of his marriage.

In considering the question whether the Thesawalamai applies to a married man, the crucial question is to deter-

³³ *Spencer vs. Rajaratnam*, 16 N.L.R. 321.

³⁴ *Fernando vs. Proctor*, 12 N.L.R. or

³⁵ *Colombo Spencer vs. Rajaratnam*, 16 N.L.R. 321.

³⁶ 1913, 20 N.L.R. 274.

³⁷ 16 N.L.R. 321.

³⁸ 1942, 44 N.L.R. 1.

mine whether the permanent home was the Northern Province of Ceylon at the time of marriage.³⁹ If a husband had his permanent home outside the Province of Jaffna at the time of marriage the Thesawalamai does not apply to him.

THE PROVINCE OF JAFFNA

The precise geographical limits of the Province of Jaffna, an expression used in the Regulation that declared Thesawalamai to be in force to the Malabar Inhabitants of the said area, was at one time a matter of conjecture. As stated earlier, the Thesawalamai was only applied to Tamils who lived in the Province of Jaffna and its neighbouring islands. On Lt. Commander Nagel's suggestions it was applied to the Wannai Districts. Before the Thesawalamai was applied to this area of the Vannias (a warrior caste among the Tamils, see Raghavan) the laws and customs of the Vannias were applied to this area.⁴⁰

Once the Dutch applied the Thesawalamai to the Wannai Districts, its application spread to the Vellala Tamils of the Eastern Province. From the despatches of Sir Alexander Johnstone it is clear that it applied with slight modifications to all Tamils (other than the Mukkuwas, Colombo Chettis and the Parawas) who lived in the North, Eastern and North Western Provinces of Ceylon.

Although the Supreme Court decided that the Thesawalamai applied to the Tamils of the Wannar Districts⁴¹ the view was taken that it does not apply to the Tamils of the Eastern Province. In taking the view that the Thesawalamai does not apply to the Tamils of the Eastern Province, the Supreme Court relied on the Report of Grenier who equated the term 'the Province of Jaffna' to the

³⁹ See *Velupillai vs. Sivakamipillai* (1910) 13 N.L.R. 74 and *Somasunderam Pillai vs. V. Charavanamuttu* (1942) 44 N.L.R. 1.

⁴⁰ For this collection see *The Laws and Customs of Ceylon* by Dr. H. W. Tambiah.

⁴¹ *Wellapulla vs. Sitampalam* 1872-76 Ram Rep. p. 114.

'Northern Provinces of Ceylon', a premise which is not warranted and not supported by the despatches of Sir Alexander Johnstone. The Royal Commission appointed to report on Thesawalamai, on incorrect premises stated that the Province of Jaffna comprised more or less of the present Northern Province. The Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance and the Married Women's Properties Ordinance, by enacting that these ordinances do not apply to Tamils of the Northern Province by necessary implications, made it applicable to Tamils of other parts of Ceylon. Hence any doubts and conjectures are now settled by statute and the personal part of Thesawalamai applies, only to the Tamils of the Northern Province of Jaffna.

To sum up, the personal part of Thesawalamai applies to all Tamils having Ceylon domicile whose permanent home is in the Northern Province of Ceylon.

News and Notes

SIR JOHN MARSHALL DEAD

The death was announced at London on 18th August, 1958 of Sir John Hubert Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology in India from 1902 to 1931. He was 82.

Born on 19th March, 1876 in Chester, Sir John Hubert Marshall had a brilliant academic career. He had his education at Dulwich and King's College, Cambridge. As a Cambridge scholar, he secured a first class in Classical Tripos. He was also a Birdwood Memorial Gold Medallist of the Royal Society of Arts as well as a Triennial Gold Medallist of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. His publications include "A Guide to Sanchi", "A Guide to Taxila", "Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation" and the "Buddhist Art of Gandhara". He was also editor and part author of "Annual Reports of Archaeological Survey of India".

—The Hindu.

RESEARCH IN TAMIL

Inaugurating the Mylai Tamil Sangham on 17th August, 1958 Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar pleaded for giving active encouragement to research in Tamil. He expressed the hope that the starting of the Sangham would not only result in an active pursuit of literary and artistic glories of the South, but would also lead to archaeological and literary research to rediscover their ancient glory.

Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar formally released on the occasion the popular editions of *Ahananooru* and *Purananooru* and *Pattum Thogaiyum* (a glossary and index) published

by Mr. S. Rajam of the Murray and Company. These three publications complete a series of ten volumes of Sangham literature, the publication of which began in 1955.

Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, who participated in the function, referred to the greatness of the ancient Tamil classics and said that the main duty of the Sangham and other similar organisations should be the publication of popular editions of some of these classics in order to bring out the beauty of the language for the benefit of the masses.

The Srinivasa Sastri Hall in Mylapore, where the function was held, was packed with Tamil scholars and lovers of Tamil. The proceedings commenced with a prayer song from *Purananooru* by Mr. D. Pasupathi.

Mr. T. M. Krishnaswami Aiyar, President of the Sangham at the outset, welcomed the gathering.

Inaugurating the Sangham, Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar said that Mylapore had been associated with culture for many centuries and the function marked only the revival or renaissance of a Tamil Sangham in that place. He explained the cultural importance of Tamil Nad and the greatness of Tamil literature, and said that he could say that, for expression and for complete merger of the individual with the Supreme Soul there were no poems in the world, which could equal Tamil lyrics. Especially in the matter of Saiva Siddhanta one found a clarity of thought and a directness of approach, which probably transcended many parallel works in Sanskrit literature. But, he remarked, it was futile and idle to contrast one Indian language with another, particularly two ancient languages like Sanskrit and Tamil. He said that these controversies were dangerous and pernicious and added that these sister languages had helped each other and there had been no jealousy between them from the beginning. But there had been one matter in which the Tamil genius

and Tamil literature had been perhaps unique in Eastern life and that was the fullness of existence which Tamil literature had envisaged and encouraged, he observed.

ANTHOLOGIES OF VERSES

Referring to *Ahananooru* and *Purananooru*, the publications of which were released on the occasion, Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar said that it would be useful to note that the earliest books they had were anthologies of previous verses, which meant that many generations should have elapsed before these anthologies could be compiled. It showed that the original Sangham literature was really anterior to these works (the publications of which were released today) and these might be said to be modern reductions of ancient poems. The Tamil poet did not turn his face away from the facts, the necessities and the irreplaceable demands of human nature and these poems dealt with all aspects of human life, he said. They also related to the active love and encouragement of literature by the various kingdoms and patrons, which showed that in the past there was a recognition of the value of literature in the sum total of human happiness. The glossary and index volume that was being released contained a list of important words and authors of Sangham literature, quotable passages from that literature and also a kind of an extract of customs and manners of those days. He thought that the book of research was only a symbol of the things that should have to come. What was needed was not mere talking of the greatness of Tamil, but active encouragement of research, he said.

Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar, in conclusion, said that the South had an ancient, hoary and worthwhile civilisation and that culture was part of the life of the country here at times, when culture was not very much in vogue elsewhere. Even now there were places like Kancheepuram, where excavations by the Archaeological Department, if

carried out, would probably bring to light most wonderful specimens of their culture. He hoped that the Tamil Sangham would take steps to impress upon the Government the need for rediscovering the glory and monuments of the past, for preserving the literary monuments of the present and to work for the rehabilitation and regeneration of the Tamil literature and culture of the future.

Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar then presented to Mr. Rajamannar the volumes of *Ahananooru*, *Purananooru* and *Pattum Thogaiyum* to mark the release of the publications.

Addressing the gathering, Mr. Rajamannar said that the more one came to know of a literature, particularly an ancient literature like Tamil, the more the extent of one's ignorance became manifest. The ancient Tamil classics, he said, contained marvellous specimens of Indian poetry. The great poets of the past had realised the fullness of life and that was why they found in their ancient classics of any language the poets dealing with even subjects like sex. However, the way in which they dealt with sex was different from what was found in the journals, which had rapid sales now. Apart from their cultural value, their ancient classics had even a lesson to the modern Government. These poems brought home to them that the monarchs and noblemen of the past had always taken pride in extending their patronage to poets. They reminded the Governments, whether it be a monarchy or a republican form of Government—of their duty in regard to poets, he said.

Mr. T. P. Meenakshisundaram said that the ancient Tamil classics dealt with all aspects of human life and they belonged not only to the people of Tamil Nad, but to the entire humanity. It was their duty to make them known to the people outside and he commended the efforts made in this direction. He, however, pointed out that in the matter of preparing an exhaustive index of all ancient works in Tamil, there was duplication of effort by a number

of agencies, and suggested that steps should be taken to co-ordinate their work.

Mr. M. P. Sivagnana Gramani said that revival of culture should naturally follow political independence and emphasised that steps should be taken in that direction. He spoke of the valuable information contained in the Tamil classics and requested the people of Tamil Nad to translate into practice the high ideals contained in them, particularly in *Purananooru*.

Srimathi Soundaram Kailasam proposed a vote of thanks.

—*The Hindu*, August 19, 1958.

KATTABOMMAN DAY CELEBRATED

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari stated here that the main object in observing the days of national heroes like Kattabomman was to preserve the hard-won freedom and appealed to the people of Tamil Nad not to indulge in controversy as to whether Kattabomman was a Tamilian or an Andhra, but get inspiration from his struggle against foreign rule.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, who addressed a meeting organised by the Madras District Tamil Arasu Kazhagam on 16th October, 1958 to celebrate the Kattabomman Day at St. Mary's Hall, George Town, spoke in Tamil. He said that, though he was not well, he had decided to participate in the meeting and pay his homage to Kattabomman, who raised a revolt against British rule in Tamil Nad. Before him, Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan had also fought the British. It was their duty to pay their homage to all those who had contributed so much to the freedom struggle and the main object in celebrating the anniversaries of those patriots was to pay the respect and homage due to those who fought and died for freedom in the early days.

In this connection, Mr. Rajagopalachari touched on the controversy in Tamil Nad referred to by previous speakers as to whether Kattabomman was a Tamilian or an Andhra. He pointed out that many Andhras had migrated to Tamil Nad and settled in this part of the country. They had not only made Tamil their mother-tongue, but had contributed a great share to the enrichment of that language. So, could they say that because those people came from Andhra, they were not Tamilians? He also deprecated the tendency to decry the achievements of one patriot by extolling another. He advised admiration of both or as many as came up for notice.

The life of Kattabomman, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, had been popularised among the villagers after his death through folk songs during the past 150 years or so. It was because they were under foreign domination, that they were not able to celebrate their martyrdom more elaborately. But now that they had become independent, they were justly paying their homage by celebrating his day and he expressed the hope that people would pay their homage to the departed patriots without indulging in controversies.

COURSES IN TAMIL AND TELUGU IN ALIGARH

Courses of instruction in Tamil and Telugu will be started at the Aligarh University from the next academic year, Col. B. H. Zaidi, Vice-Chancellor of the University told P.T.I. on 27th October, 1958.

He said that the Government of India and the University Grants Commission had approved of the proposal and sanctioned an initial grant.

"I am hoping for a good response from North Indian students to these courses," Col. Zaidi said.

Col. Zaidi said that India's emotional integration could be brought about only when the people of the North also learned South Indian languages which possessed a glorious heritage. The Aligarh University proposed to invite top Tamil and Telugu scholars to lecture to North Indian students about the linguistic culture of the South.

A large number of students from South India were now joining the Aligarh University, the largest contingent being from Kerala. There was a growing demand for teaching Southern languages from those students too.

—*The Hindu.*

NEW FINDS CONFIRM EXTENSIVE AREA COVERED BY THE INDUS VALLEY CULTURE

A small mound in obscure Lothal, a village in Ahmedabad District, is today attracting the attention of archaeologists as the only site in India revealing the mature, urban civilisation which flourished in the Indus Valley, more than 4,000 years ago.

Besides the usual types of Harappa antiquities, such as seals, earthen and bronze vessels and stone blades and weights, excavations have yielded terracotta seal impressions and a distinct ceramic ware known as Black and Red ware. An important structure unearthed was a large kiln built on a platform. A hoard of seventy-five terracotta seal impressions bore images of the Indus script and animal figures. Seal impressions have not been found either at Harappa or Mohenjo-Daro and their occurrence at Lothal is attributed to their probable use on packages of merchandise exported thence. Lothal is believed to have been a flourishing port 4,000 years ago and probably had maritime contacts with Egypt, Mesopotamia, Crete and Sumer.

The arts of painting, clay-modelling, etching, engraving, and metal-casting were highly developed, while the exquisite filigree work of jewellers 4,000 years ago still

commands attention. A necklace of microscopic gold and steatite beads has been found. Lothal has revealed, further, beautifully finished beads of topaz, agate, cornelian, jasper, sell, ivory and faience. The art of painting earthen vessels was also highly developed, with ingenious motifs. The colour scheme was usually black over red, or chocolate over buff. As at Mohenjo-Daro, the entire vessel surface was often painted and the designs repeated. The peacock, deer, stag, snake, sparrow, pipal leaf and palm tree are some of the naturalistic designs painted on Lothal vessels.

—*Illustrated Weekly of India*, September 14, 1958.

ANNUAL GENERAL BODY MEETING OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE, MADRAS

The fourth Annual General Body Meeting of the Academy of Tamil Culture was held at the Teachers' College Lecture Hall, Saidapet on the 31st August, 1958 and the following office-bearers were elected for the year 1958-1959.

President :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. Somasundaram.

Vice-Presidents :

Mr. Karumuthu Thiagarajan Chettiar,
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice V. Subramaniam,
Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, and
Mr. A. Subbiah.

Hony. Secretaries :

Mr. K. Kodandapani Pillai, and
Mr. C. Amritaganesan.

Hony. Treasurers :

Mr. V. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar, and
Prof. V. Shanmugasundaram.

Following the business meeting there was a public meeting attended by several Tamil scholars, Professors and students of B.T. College. Dr. M. Varadarajan, Head of the Department of Tamil, Pachaiyappa's College, presided over the meeting. In his introductory remarks Dr. Varadarajan said that 'the greatness of Tamil language and literature was recognised by many foreign research scholars. While the Tamils did not want to boast themselves as the inheritors of a language superior to others, an enquiring mind would not raise the controversy of a language being high or low, but would let the truth speak for itself. Pleading for the promotion of research in the Tamil language and literature, he urged that lovers of the language should also help the growth of that language by translating the ancient works therein in other languages, especially in English.'

Mr. K. Ramalingam, Special Officer for the Implementation of the Madras State Official Language (Tamil) Act, said that 'the strength of a language did not depend upon absorption of words from other languages but on making the language itself easily understood by the people. In this context he felt the need for maintaining a certain amount of uniformity in the use of words which were differently spoken in different regions. If instead they allowed the use of Tamil words as used in different regions of Tamilnad itself for purposes of official use, it would lead to a division of Tamilnad into three different regions if not more, and it would be difficult to carry on the administration in the Tamil language.'

Mr. P. Thirugnanasambandam, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College who then addressed the gathering stressing on the need for a study of the Tamil language from the comparative and historical point of view observed as follows :

A study of the Tamil language from the comparative angle would mean a study of Tamil of a particular

era with the corresponding cognate languages of the Dravidian family and Sanskrit. The other approach would be historical in character whereby we study the development of Tamil from one era to another, to wit, the language of the Sangham epoch may be compared with the language of the period of Kambar and again with the language of the modern era. This approach would enable us to understand how the language has progressed, how certain forms and expressions have either changed in their complexion and content or disappeared and how certain others have come into being, what influences were at work in bringing about these changes, etc. He made reference to the pioneering efforts made by savants like Dr. Caldwell in the past and Dr. Kamil Zvelebil in the present day in this direction and stressed the need for scholars in the language to break new ground in this field on the scientific lines developed in the West by adopting objective methods and tests. He also referred to the vast strides made in this direction in regard to Sanskrit which attracted the attention of a host of philologists all over Europe for nearly two centuries as Sanskrit happened to be an Indo-European language and stressed the need for collaboration among the linguists of Dravidian languages if a comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages is to be attempted as it ought to be on similar lines.

He also pointed out the plausibility of the theory held by Mr. T. Burrow, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford and others regarding the existence of the Dravidian and Austric languages prior to the advent of the Aryans and the possible interchange of ideas and expressions between that old Dravidian language then in vogue in North India and Sanskrit even during the Vedic period. In this connection, he observed that borrowing from one language to another can never be an one-way traffic so long as people speaking two different languages have got to live together and that in the same manner as Tamil has borrowed several expressions, ideas and forms from

Sanskrit in some measure at one period or another, so in Sanskrit several ideas, expressions and forms must have crept in from the Dravidian and other languages spoken in the North before the former was pushed down south. In this connection he cited certain words like 'elam' in Tamil and Sanskrit meaning 'cardamom', 'kalam' in Tamil and 'khala' in Sanskrit meaning 'threshing floor', 'pandu' meaning 'ripen' in Telugu and 'Pandita' in Sanskrit meaning 'ripe in wisdom', etc. given by Prof. Burrow in his book "The Sanskrit Language".

Mr. M. R. Perumal who spoke next said :

Tamilians are bound to be happy when they review the huge strides that have been made in the development of Tamil as a modern language. It has become the first language for study in the Secondary schools. Time was when a student could pass the S.S.L.C. examination without studying Tamil as a language in the six years of the Secondary school course. But today, the study of Tamil has been made compulsory in the Secondary school curriculum. Consequent on the importance given to Tamil in the Secondary school, the teachers of Tamil also have risen in status and their emoluments too have been increased. Tamil has become the medium of instruction in the Secondary schools replacing English. The above changes have inevitably led to the adoption of Tamil as the official language of the State. This is a very important and very significant change. India cannot be said to have achieved complete independence from foreign rule unless and until the language of administration in every State of the Union is the same as the language of the people of that State.

The above developments have taken place as a result of Governmental action. Let us now see what have been the achievements in the private sector, if I may divide the achievements as those of the public sector and those of the private sector. Recent years have seen the establishment of a large number of newspapers and periodicals in

Tamil and some of them enjoy a very large circulation. There are a number of writers in Tamil whose essays, short stories, novels and poems are really good and can stand comparison with those of writers in other modern languages. This should not however blind us to the defects found in the language written by some of the so-called renaissance writers. They have had no grounding in the grammar and idiom of the language with the result that they write a sort of language which is completely alien to the genius of Tamil which has had a continuous and continuing tradition for about three thousand years. The newspapers and magazines are the greatest offenders in this respect. It is to be hoped however that the journalists will, in the not distant future, realise the need for a thorough grounding in the grammar and idiom of the language and will also have the necessary attachment to the purity and chastity of the language so that they will desist from consciously or unconsciously debasing the language by the use of words, phrases and turns of expression which are either incorrect or belong to other languages.

It is no doubt necessary to introduce Tamil classics to world audiences by translating Tamil works into English and other modern languages. But even this is not half as important as the urgent need to adopt Tamil as the medium of instruction in the University classes. I do realise that there are certain difficulties which have to be overcome before Tamil can take the place of English as the medium of education in the University. But, to my mind, difficulties are there only to be overcome and it is absolutely necessary to take immediate steps to develop Tamil to suit the needs of higher education. Tamil cannot be said to have attained its full stature unless and until it becomes the medium of education in colleges.

The first step in this direction is to adopt Tamil as the medium of instruction in Training Colleges which prepare teachers for Secondary schools. I am proud to say that the Teachers' College, Saidapet has taken the lead

in the matter and is teaching the optional subjects of the B.T. course in Tamil. Half a dozen other colleges in the State have followed this example of the Saidapet college. The necessary technical terms have been prepared and some books are also being written to facilitate the early adoption of the Tamil medium for teaching the general subjects of the B.T. course also.

The Chairman, in his concluding remarks, urged the need for unity and sustained effort on the part of the Tamils to preserve and propagate the language which had stood the test of time. The decadence of Tamil in the recent past, he said, was due to the fact that writers in the language did not devote thought and attention to production of books imparting knowledge to the readers but were content to produce books appealing to the emotions. He felt that the replacement of English by Hindi would lead to the extinction of the place for Tamil. The "Quit India" movement, he said, referred to the quitting of the English people and not of their language which had a special place in the development of cultural unity and should be encouraged by the establishment of separate colleges while making Tamil the medium of instruction in this region.

The meeting ended with a vote of thanks proposed by Mr. K. Kodandapani Pillai.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS

AN APPRECIATION OF OUR JOURNAL— "TAMIL CULTURE"

"The articles are at once scholarly and well informed, and make satisfying reading. The Rev. Dr. Thani Nayagam may well be proud of having brought into being so worthy a journal to serve so worthy a cause. May long life and prosperity attend it."

M. S. H. THOMPSON,
14, Norman Avenue, Twickenham, Middlesex, England.

WHAT A PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT IN A WESTERN UNIVERSITY THINKS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF TAMIL LITERATURE:

Writing to the Chief Editor, *Tamil Culture*, on September 8, 1958, Mr. F. B. J. Kuiper, Professor of Sanskrit in the Leiden University, says:

"Since many years I am trying to introduce the study of Tamil besides that of Sanskrit in the Leiden University, because I am convinced that a knowledge of Tamil literature is indispensable for a right evaluation of the Indian civilisation."

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

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

CONSONANTS

Hints re: articulation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

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

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

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

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

THE TAMIL SCRIPT

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

Vowels	Vowel symbols attached to preceding consonant.	Hard consonants						Soft consonants						Medium consonants					
		k	c	t:	th	p	t	ng	nj	n:	nh	m	n	y	r	l	v	l-	l:
அ a	nil	க	ச	ட	த	ப	த	ங	ஞ	ண	ந	ம	ன	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஊ a:	ஊ to the right of the consonant	கா					சூ			ணூ			னூ						
இ i	இ to be joined at the top—right of consonant	கி																	
ஈ i:	ஈ to be joined at the top—right of consonant	கி																	
உ u	a semi-circle (), a vertical stroke or a loop ௐ to be joined to the bottom	கு	சு	டு	து	பு	து	ஙு	ஞு	ணு	நு	மு	னு	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழு	ளு
ஊ u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	சூ	டூ	தூ	பூ	தூ	கூ	ஞூ	ணூ	நூ	மூ	னூ	யூ	ரூ	லூ	வூ	ழூ	ளூ
ஏ e	ஏ to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஈ e:	ஈ to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	ஐ to the left of the consonant	கை								கை			கை			கை			கை
ஓ o	ஓ to the left & ஊ to the right of the consonant	கொ					சூ			கொ			கொ						
ஔ o:	ஔ to the left & ஊ to the right	கொ					சூ			கொ			கொ						
ஔ au	ஔ to the left & ஊ to the right	கொ																	
மெய் pure consonants	A dot on the top of the consonant	க																	

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

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

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

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

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

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அ a	nil	க	ச	ட	த	ப	ஹ	ங	ஞ	ன	ந	ம	ந	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஆ a:	ஈ to the right of the consonant	கா					ஹ		ஞ				ன						
இ i	ி to be joined at the top—right of consonant	கி																	
ஈ i:	ி to be joined at the top—right of consonant	கீ																	
உ u	a semi-circle (◌), a vertical stroke (◌) or a loop (◌) to be joined to the bottom	கு	சு	டு	து	பு	ஹு	ங்	ஞ்	ன்	ந்	ம்	ந்	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழ்	ள்
ஊ u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	சூ	டூ	தூ	பூ	ஹூ	ங்	ஞ்	ன்	ந்	ம்	ந்	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழ்	ள்
எ e	஌ to the left of the consonant	கெ																	
ஏ e:	஌ to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	஌ to the left of the consonant	கை								கை			கை			கை			கை
ஓ o	஌ to the left & ஈ to the right of the consonant	கொ					ஹெ		ஞெ				னெ						
ஔ o:	஌ to the left & ஈ to the right	கோ					ஹே		ஞே				னே						
ஐ au	஌ to the left & ஈ to the right	கௌ																	
மெய் pure consonants	A dot on the top of the consonant	க்																	

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