

TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. U. R. Ehrenfels is Professor and Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Madras.

Prof. K. Seshadri is Professor of Philosophy, Women's College, Trivandrum.

Dr. Kamil Zvelebil is the Head of the Department of Dravidiology, University of Prague.

Mr. M. Andronov, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Science, U.S.S.R. (Moscow.)

Rao Sahib K. Kothandapani Pillai, retired Controller of Emigration, Madras, is a scholar who has made a critical study of Sangam works. He has written and published literary criticism of some of the poems of the Sangam period.

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 research periodicals.

Rev. Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, founder and Chief Editor of this journal, is a member of the Department of Education, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, Ceylon.



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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. M. Andronov is of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Science, U.S.S.R. (Moscow).

Dr. M. Rajamanikkam is Reader in Tamil, University of Madras, Madras.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji is the Chairman of the Legislative Council, West Bengal.

Mr. G. Ethirajulu Naidu is a retired Deputy Collector, and well-versed in Tamil religious literature.

Rev. Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Founder and Chief Editor of this journal is a member of the Department of Education, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, Ceylon.

Mr. S. Natesan is a Tamil Scholar and Educationist of Jaffna, Ceylon.



North - Up, South - Down

U. R. EHRENFELS

I

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

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

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

II

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

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

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

III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These observations go to show that a reversal of the north: south situation on the northern hemisphere into a congruent south: north situation on the southern hemisphere is here in the process of formation. The linkage is thus suggested, between cultural polarisation and climate which has been presented by the author of this paper, in the paras III, IV as well as elsewhere.

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Saiva Siddhanta as Religion and Philosophy *

K. SESHADRI

"A little philosophy inclineth men's minds to atheism," wrote Bacon, the British philosopher. He also added that depth in philosophy brings back our minds to religion, which suggests that in a sense philosophy fulfils itself in religion. Philosophy is mainly the fruit of intellectual effort. Religion is rooted in experience of the heart. Each supplements the other. This is clearly demonstrated in systems of Indian thought, in Vedānta particularly, where philosophy is largely the deepest spiritual experience discussed in retrospect. In India, philosophy never really dissociated itself from religion in the essential sense. This ought to be deemed its special strength, rather than any sign of weakness.

Saiva Siddhānta is an excellent example of what religion can do to preserve the freshness of philosophy, and of what philosophy can do to make religion universal. Saiva Siddhānta is both Samaya and Siddhānta. It is a profoundly religious approach to the fundamental problems of 'perennial philosophy'. The religion of Saiva Siddhānta is a religion of Love. Its philosophy is a philosophy of Realism. If there is to be a religion for the future it must be a religion of Love; and if there is to be a philosophy, it must be a philosophy which accepts the world of everyday experience as real, without abandoning the pursuit of the highest ideals. It must be a philosophy, which accepts the diversities of the world of Becoming as real, without losing sight of the essential and ultimate unity of Being—a philosophy in which Realism and Idealism, Monism and

Pluralism are all aspects of Truth. Saiva Siddhānta is not only a blend of religion and philosophy, but a synthesis of a variety of philosophical conceptions on the one hand and a harmonization of fundamental religious beliefs on the other. It is Vedānta, but it is also Siddhānta. It recognises Veda as Pramāṇa, but seeks to establish its conclusions in the light of Āgama as well. That its conclusions claim to be beyond doubt, that they rest on the foundations of direct, personal experience, is brought out by the word 'Siddhānta' (Siddha plus Anta). If, as philosophy, it is a synthesis of various points of view, as religion, it is a practical and progressive system of spiritual discipline, which begins with the simplest rituals of worship and prayer, and without rejecting them, discovers a deeper meaning in them, and leads to the highest yoga securing the most immediate and intimate union between soul and God.

The religion of Saiva Siddhānta is universal in that it provides for the emancipation of all souls, at all stages of progress, by means of appropriate Dikshas, into which the Ācāryas initiate the aspirants. The Ācāryas are spiritual preceptors, illumined souls, who have dedicated their lives for the uplift of the others. By virtue of the purity of their love and wisdom, the Ācāryas are themselves regarded as Siva in a diversity of manifestations, and revered as God. Having attained spiritual realization, they continue to work in the material world of men and things, guiding those that are on the path of spiritual progress. The guidance is given in appropriate measure and manner, to each according to his capacity and need. There is a gradation of aspirants, who have reached different mile-stones, as there is a gradation of mukta-śivas. The highest alone are one with Siva, the supreme. Yet, even they are not absolutely identical with Him. The state of Mokṣa is not one of identity. It is a state, in which 'Similar' that are distinct unite without annihilation. 'Paramam Sāmyam upaiti', says the Upanishad. The released soul attains the highest degree of parity with the Lord.

* The article is a summary of a lecture delivered at the Saiva Siddhanta Conference, Trivandrum, 1959.

The four familiar kinds of Mukti are all recognised in Saiva Siddhānta, including Sāyujya, which is the highest and most intimate kind of experience. Kaivalya is not countenanced, for Mokṣa is bliss of union, and not of isolation. It is a union in whose ecstasy soul and God become indistinguishable. But it does not mean the extinction of either. They are one, and yet not absolutely one, in the union of “தாள்” and “தலை” we have the compound “தாடலை” which is neither a simple, single word nor two distinct words. This illustration is particularly apt, for it pointedly suggests that there can be no Mukti without total surrender of the self, and the act of surrender is symbolised by placing one’s head (தலை) at the blessed feet (தாள்) of the Supreme Lord. It further suggests that the grace of God is indispensable for the redemption of the soul. Surrender presupposes devotion, and releases the flood-gates of grace. This sums up the substance of Saiva Siddhānta as religion. It is a religion of love, through and through. If the soul’s love of God expresses itself as deep, selfless devotion, God’s limitless love for man descends on the soul as the unique redemptive power of grace. The Sivajñāna Bodham says that just as the eye cured of its blindness still needs the light of the sun to see, the soul freed from the ego-sense still needs the grace of God to consummate the act of redemption. The Siddhiyār says that the soul does not become omniscient or independent, even in release. It does acquire several powers and perfections, but it can never assume the five unique functions of the Supreme Lord, which are the special unshared prerogative of Siva.

The Supreme Lord is Siva,—Siva not in the sense that He is one of the traditional Trinity, but Sivam who is described in the Upanishads as the “Chaturtham”. God is person. Indeed He is *the Person* in the fullest and truest sense of the term. His personality is not a limitation or a condition of bondage, as it is in the case of man. God’s personality is a manifestation, not a mask. Through His

personality God’s unique excellences shine forth. Man’s personality is adventitious to him, and it is both a condition and a consequence of his Karma. Man enveloped in “malas”, of which the “Ānava-mala” is the strongest, acquires an individuality, which reflects his personality. This is something, which he should get rid of, for association with it implies perpetuation of bondage. Divine personality is sat-cit-ānanda. It is neither Saguna nor Nirguna, which does not mean that it is contentless. God is reality, the plenitude of Being and Perfection, not a category or a mere substance with attributes.

Saivism as religion is far from anthropomorphic. Its conceptions and delineations are richly symbolic, and have a direct, personal appeal to man. They cannot be put down either as naïve pantheism or obscure transcendentalism. The fundamental categories of Saiva Siddhānta are philosophically sound, and they are developed in such a way that they provide a secure basis for a practical and popular religion. The philosophy carries conviction, while the faith is profoundly satisfying.

The attainment of God-head, which is the goal of religion, is also the realization of the Ātman, which is the essence of reality. The Ātman is the soul of souls and the self of all. It is the soul, for whom the entire universe is body, on whom the entire universe is dependent, by whom it is animated, controlled and directed from within. The Ātman is the inner principle of integration, which preserves the integrity or one-ness of the universe. This is very much like Viśiṣṭādvaita, but Saiva Siddhānta claims to go beyond all classification, and would reject all nomenclature. It would accept the description ‘Advaita’, provided Advaita carried with it no liability on account of its cognate conception of ‘Māyā’. Advaita here does not imply either the unreality of the world, or the absolute, relationless nature of the ultimate. Advaita, for the Siddhāntin, stands for that unique, unparalleled relation, not only between man and God, but also between God and the entire world.

Advaita supplies the key to the mystery in the Mahāvākyas like “Tattvamasi” and “aham brahmāsmi”. This does not, however, imply the denial of the reality of the world or of the soul. What is related, in an intimate and irrevocable manner, to the supremely Real can never cease to be. “The light of the stars is invisible in the radiance of the sun, but on that account the existence of the stars is not denied”, argues the Siddhāntin. The Soul is “hidden” in the body; so is God immanent in the universe and in every particle of the universe. “பொன்னை மறைத்தது பொன்னணி பூஷணம்” sings Tirumular. “The Gold is hidden in the golden ornament”. “Hidden” does not imply any unreality. The ornament is not unreal, just because its substance is different. God is like the fragrance in the flower or the brilliance in the gem. The flower and the gem are not any the less real, although their value depends on what lies hidden in them. The world of matter and form needs to be sustained by the power of the immanent spirit. Its life flows from the Ātman within, and the Ātman is at once the source and the consummation of all life. The ultimate is the Supreme, and it is the origin as well as the goal of all Creation. Here, as in Viśiṣṭādvaita, philosophy merges into religion. The metaphysical Absolute of the philosopher becomes the personal God of theism. Thereby philosophy is rescued from unintelligible abstractions, and religion is saved from dogma. To love God or to be devoted to Him is to love and serve humanity. Through love of humanity one attains the love of God. This is the meaning of the symbolism of Dāsa, Satputra, Sakha etc. Through love and self-surrender is the soul purified, cleansed of all its malas. The Āṇava-mala, the dross of ego-sense, is the most difficult to shed. But it *must* be shed, if the soul is to be saved. The narrow, little, decrepit self must die in order that the divine self may be realised. “நான் கெட்டு சிவமானவா” declares the Saint. This is the meaning of “dying to live” in Saiva Siddhānta. The rooting out of all sense of ego is the alpha and the omega of spiritual evolution. When Āṇava is got rid of,

the bonds of Pāśa snap, the little self rises, to its full stature, and the soul emerges from Paśutvam to that state of blissful consummation described as “S’antam śivam - advaitam chaturtham - ātmā”.

Mokṣa is both self-realisation and God-realisation. It is a positive state of Jñāna-Ānanda, in which Pati-jñāna brought about by Pāśa-Kṣaya is a unique experience of awakening into an illimitable life of all-enveloping bliss.

In this scheme of religious philosophy, moral discipline is not divorced from spiritual progress. The lower values are not liquidated or annulled, but sublimated into the highest. The good life is inspired and informed by the highest Puruṣārtha. Morality gets enriched by relating itself to spirituality. All values are transvalued in the light of the universal immanence of God. Dharma is re-interpreted as the will of God. The whole world of sense and desire wears a new aspect. Every desire appears as an aspiration for the highest. All love is love of God. This transformation can take place only with the grace of God. அருள் and அன்பு are inseparable. அன்பு does not bear fruit without அருள். By God’s grace is God-head attained. Hence the necessity for self-surrender. It is to the surrendered soul that God grants grace. The unsundered cling to the vain-glorious, little ego, and bar the doors and windows of the soul against the free inflow of grace.

Participial and Verbal Nouns as Predicates in Early Old Tamil

KAMIL ZVELEBIL.

§ 1. The scholars, working in Tamil and Dravidian philology, have so far rather indicated than explained the use of participial and verbal nouns in predicative function. This use has been found especially in Old Tamil. J. Bloch, in his *Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes*, p. 45, says: "Il semble donc finalement que le système flexionnel de type pronominal se soit développé secondairement. Il succède à l'usage de noms verbaux capables de sujet pronominal au nominatif. On en trouve d'assez nombreux exemples dans la vieille poésie tamoule." True to this historical and comparative observation, he states, that the use of verbal nouns in predicative function had been once predominating in the ancient stages of evolution of all Dravidian languages. Beytham (*Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache*, p. 114) quotes examples showing that this use is still alive in Modern Tamil. However, none of the authors has, so far, described this use systematically, and various questions, arising in connection with this use, have still to be answered. Are the forms in question really verbal nouns or participial nouns? Are these verbal nouns true predicates capable of subjects, or are they determinate members, determined by the so-called subjects? Are the constructions in question actor-action constructions, or nominal sentences in the form of determinative compounds? What is the state of affairs in Modern Tamil?

In the following remarks I try to elucidate some of these questions upon the basis of syntactic investigation of the Early Old Tamil text *Narriṇai*.¹

¹ *Narriṇai* is a poetic text of 400 stanzas, one of the anthologies of *Ettuttokai* ("Eight anthologies"), written in Early Old Tamil (approximately 1.—3. Cent. A. D.).

§ 2. Let us say at the very beginning that the right interpretation of such constructions is of utmost importance for the analysis of the very nature of Tamil (and Dravidian) sentential structure. According to the answers on some of the questions arising in connection with the use of verbal nouns as predicates, the Tamil sentence may be regarded either as a Subject-Predicate construction, or as a cluster of determinants, or attributes, determining the verbal forms in predicative use. Let us consider a typical instance from *Narriṇai* (further abbrev. NT, 53, 3):

1. *evan̄kol tōli yannai kanniyatu?* "What, o friend, did the mother think?"

Fundamentally, this construction may be analysed in two ways:

1. As a nominal (or better non-verbal) sentence, where the predicate, expressed by verbal noun (*kanniyatu*) is, in ultimate analysis, the subject and the original subject (*annai*) is attributive agent: What (*evan̄ kol*), o friend (*tōli*), thinking in past (*kanniyatu*) by (of) the mother (*annai*)? When analysed in this way, the construction would of course not be that of Subject-Predicate, but of a determinative compound: *annai* (determinant) *kanniyatu* (determined member) "mother—of thinking in past"; "of the mother (Attr.)—thought (S)—what? (P.)."

2. As a Subject-Predicate construction, where the verbal noun in predicative use is capable of substantival subject in the nominative; according to this interpretation, *annai* is not an attribute, but Subject in the subject-case, the whole sentence is not a non-verbal sentence, but a verbal sentence, where *kanniyatu* is a verbal predicate: What, o friend, the mother thinking in past? *annai*-Subject, *kanniyatu*-Predicate, expressed by verbal noun, capable of nominative Subject; "what (O) the mother (S) thought (P)?"

3. Which interpretation is right? Can we find, in the textual material, examples, which would speak in favour of one or the other interpretation? The whole matter is even more complicated, since the form *kanniyatu* may be understood as a participial noun: the mother (is) that which thought.

The first interpretation is rather tempting. It is in accord with the "attributive" character of Dravidian languages. It indicates certain syntactic relations between the Dravidian and Altaic languages (cf. Valter Tauli, *Uralaltaische Jahrbücher* XXVIII, 3—4, 142: "predicate is the determinatum and the subject the determinate", and, ib. 144: "nominal determinant of the predicate in the function of agent became the so-called subject"). It is rather original. Upon the basis of such interpretation it might be possible to found a theory that the Dravidian sentence is actually a determinative compound, where the Predicate (at the end of the sentence) is the determinatum, and all that which precedes, including the Subject, are determinates of the Predicate. We might even write an equation

S : P = determinans : determinatum.

However, it is not right.

We may come across a number of examples in the ancient texts, where the Subject is expressed by a pronoun, showing easily, whether it stands in casus rectus, in the nominative case or in casus obliquus, in the attributive case. And we find, that the pronoun is in nominative, in the subjective case, which shows that it is real Subject, and not determinant of the Predicate expressed by verbal noun:

2. *ninakku¹ yān² maraittal³ yāvatu⁴*? NT 72,4 "What⁴ do I² hide³ from thee¹? "*"

* Var. transl. "Why did I hide from thee?"

3. *nām¹ ceytato² nrillai³* (NT 27,5) "We¹ did² nothing³."

The subject, expressed by *yān* and *nām* respectively is in a true subject-case (in the nominative). It is not an attribute. Thus we see, that the relation between the noun (*annai* in NT 53, 3) or pronouns (in NT 72 and 27) and the verbal nouns (*kanniyatu*, *maraittal*, *ceytatu*) is not a determinative relation, but the predication. Thus we may agree fully with Bloch's statement, that the verbal nouns in predicative use are capable of nominal (substantival or pronominal) Subjects in the nominatives. Cf. also Bloch's instance *yān pirakku* "I shall be born", or our examples *vinavuval yānē* (NT 173, 10) "I shall ask", *iṇi¹ yevan² moikō³ yān⁴* (NT 224, 8) "what³ I⁴ say³ now¹?" This interpretation is also confirmed by Modern Tamil examples given by Beythan (op. cit. l. c.) and by our examples *antak¹ kataiyai²... eḷutiyatu³ nān⁴ tānē⁵* "I myself ... wrote that story" (*Ānantavikaṭaṇ*, 23, 9, 1956, p. 80), lit. "That¹ story² (object in accus.)—past writing³—I⁴ myself⁵ (Subject)", and *atai¹ yum² nān³ colla⁴ ppōkīra⁵ tilla⁶* "And² I³ am not⁶ going⁵ to say⁴ that¹ either²" (ib. p. 76), lit. "That¹ (object in accus.)—and² I³ to say⁴ going⁵ (Predicate, verbal noun)—is not⁶". The verbal forms in question are verbal nouns, not participial nouns, as will be shown later.²

§ 4. After these preliminary remarks we may say that the Predicate in Early Old Tamil was expressed—along with predicates in finite verbal forms and nominal predicates—by verbal and participial nouns.

a. *finite verbal forms*:

1. *yām...varukam* (88, 3) "We ... shall come".

2. *mīn keṭuva* (NT 16, 6) "Fish perish".

3. *varuvar¹ ... iranṭōrē²* (ib. 18, 2 ... 10) "He that went away² ... will come¹". These verbal forms are

² Very important is also the absence of syntactic sandhi: were *annai* attribute, the initial plosive of the following word would be most probably geminated **annaik kanniyatu*, cf. *kutiraikkal* "the leg of the horse".

capable of expressing the categories of person, number, aspect and tense. The construction is that of Subject-Predicate, of actor-action.

b. *participial nouns*.

1. *annai*¹ ... *celk²enrōlē*³ (NT 53, 11) "The mother ... said: Let (ye) go. Liter. "The mother¹ ... Let(ye) go²—she who said³". We see: a nominal sentence.

2. *en*¹ *mukam*² *nōkkiyōlē*³ (NT 55, 9) "She looked at my face", lit. "(At) my face²—she who looked³", again: a nominal sentence.

3. *āyilai*¹ *varuvōl*² (NT 308, 3) "The woman with fair jewels will come", lit. "(The one who has) fair jewels¹—she who will come²". Again a nominal sentence.

Thus we see that, analysed ultimately, this Subject-Predicate construction may be regarded as a nominal sentence, not as an actor-action construction, where A (the Subject) (is) the one who acts (Predicate, expressed by participial noun). There is, therefore, a fundamental difference between this type of construction and that one, in which the Predicate is expressed by verbal noun. It is also seen from this analysis, that forms like *kanniyatu* or *eytatu* are not participial, but verbal nouns; were they participial nouns, they would be in agreement with the Subject (*annai kanniyaval*, *kanniyōl* "the mother [is] she who thought", just like *annai*... *enrōlē* in NT 53, 11).

c. *verbal nouns*:

The verbal nouns, used in EOT in predicative function, are formed by the suffixes *-tu*, *-al*, *-vu*, *-ku*. Examples:

1. *Viyanpunattu*... *varukō*? (NT 204, 2) "Shall (I) come to the large field?"

2. *nin kūreyirunḱu* (ib. 204, 6) "(I) shall eat thy sharp teeth."

3. *yān ancuvālē* (ib. 229, 2) "I fear".

4. *pularvatu kol avan naṭpu*? (ib. 72, 10) "Is perhaps his love fading away?"

5. *anc¹il² ōti³ arum⁴paṭar⁵ uravē⁶* (ib. 105, 10) "(The lady with) beautiful¹ fine² hair³ is full of desire⁶, (having) difficult⁴ distress⁵".

6. *enru*¹ .. *ulakaṇ² kūruvatu³ uṇṭu⁴* (ib. 327, 6) "thus ... the world says", lit. "thus¹ ... the world²-saying³-exists⁴", cf. Beythan, op. cit. l. c. *ikaravikuti ānpālaiyum kātṭuvatu uṇṭu* "i-Suffix zeigt auch männliches Geschlecht", lit. "the suffix i also masculine gender (Object in accus.) indicating-exists". Cf. also our example *kōpālan¹ āccariya²ppaṭṭatu³ uṇṭu⁴* (*Ānantavikatan*, 26. 8. 1956, p.104) "Gopalan was surprised", lit. "Gopalan (S)¹ surprised-being², ³-exists⁴ (passive)".

I am well aware of the problems—especially those of terminological nature—arising in connection with this conception. It seems that we have, on the one hand, forms, formed by morphemes *-ku*, *-tal*, *-al*, *-kai*, *-mai* etc., and their allomorphs, which are not capable to express the tense-categories; these forms may be called true verbal nouns (in the narrower sense of the term); on the other hand, there are forms ending in *-tu*, formed from stems expressing tense-categories; we may call these forms "conjugated nouns"; however, syntactically, they have the same characteristics as verbal nouns; thus, for the sake of our investigation, they may also be called verbal nouns (in the broad sense). Important is that these forms in *-tu* are found as predicates having subjects in the *casus energēticus*.

It seems highly probable that previous to the origin and development of the verbal flexion of the pronominal type there existed a more ancient stage characterized by the use of verbal and "conjugated" nouns, and perhaps stems and roots as well, in predicate; it must have been a

system (if it was a system at all) of rather indeterminate forms, compound of bases plus different morphemes of verbal and conjugated nouns, only partly capable of expressing tense and person. Whether it was, in the proto-Tamil stage, a system, which later broke down, the fragments of which we may find still in Early Old Tamil texts side by side with the new developments of the regular verbal flexion, or whether it had never been a real system in full development, we are at present unable to determine.

The use of verbal nouns as predicates has many drawbacks: they are incapable of expressing the categories of person, number, tense and aspect. Thus they show a *primitive*³ stage of linguistic development, and that obviously has been the reason why they became largely non-productive in later evolution of Tamil. There was, however, one exception: the verbal noun in *-tu* (Old Tamil *kaṇ-ṇiyatu*, Modern Tamil examples *eḷutiyatu*, *pōkiratu*), which was capable at least to express tense. Therefore only this verbal noun is still used in predicative function in Modern Tamil. It seems that in the course of evolution the verbal nouns in *-ku*, *-al*, *-vu* etc., have been suppressed, in predicates, by the secondary flexional system of the pro-nominal type.

CONCLUSION

Verbal nouns (and "conjugated nouns" as well as perhaps stems) and participial nouns are used, in Old Tamil, to express Predicate. Predicative participial nouns are in formal agreement with their Subjects, and such constructions may be ultimately analysed as nominal sentences.

³ The absence of indicators of tense, person and number seems to be, in this case, truly a feature of a more rudimental development. We must not forget the later development of highly complicated though highly regular conjugation of Middle Tamil and New Tamil verb. The case of Malayalam dropping the personal terminations of the verb and systematically simplifying the conjugation is something entirely different. It may be rather compared to the analytic tendency found even in standard Tamil speech of the modern period e.g. in the negative of verbs, and also to the developments of verbal flexion in most of the Tamil local dialects.

Predicative verbal nouns are true Predicates, capable of nominal Subjects in the subject-case, in casus rectus, in the nominative. Such constructions are not to be analysed as nominal sentences, they are not to be analysed as determinative compounds, but as Subject-Predicate constructions, as predications. The use of predicative verbal nouns reflects most probably an ancient and primitive stage of language-development. The first historical stage of the evolution of Tamil (Early Old Tamil Period) shows a fundamental difference between the determinative and predicative relations. This period shows a transitional stage, when the use of predicative verbal and participial nouns begins to be suppressed by a more developed and expressive use of flexional system of the pronominal type.⁴ In Modern Tamil this development has been fully accomplished, and the use of predicative verbal nouns has been limited to a single form (in *-tu*) more or less in colloquial language, whereas the use of participial nouns as Predicates has been fully dropped in contemporary common speech.⁵

⁴ According to the statistical investigation of *Narrinai*, the relation between Predicates expressed by finite verbal forms of pronominal type and those expressed by the infinite forms (i.e. verbal nouns, and participial nouns) is circa 5:2.

⁵ According to a personal information of a well-educated speaker of Tamil, a form like *ninkal enke utkaruvatu*? "Where will you sit?" is felt to be rather a finite verbal form, and is regarded as very colloquial. Participial nouns in predicative use may be still found in some very high modern prose in imitation of classical style of the Middle Ages.

On the Future Tense Base in Tamil

M. ANDRONOV.

Dr. R. Caldwell maintains that "most of the Dravidian tenses are formed from the participial forms of the verb".¹ Further he makes it clear that he means here the verbal participles but not the relative participles. It is true that in the next pages after a detailed study he is compelled to admit that there is a number of exceptions in which this forms are undoubtedly formed from the relative participle (e.g. *natantanēn* *naṭantavaṇ* etc.)

In regard of the future tense Dr. Caldwell has to make one more reservation stating that "the future is generally formed not from a future (verbal) participle, but by suffixing to the verbal theme some particle which is regarded, whatever its origin may have been, as a sign of future time, and adding to that particle the pronominal terminations".² On the next page Dr. Caldwell definitely says that "he is inclined to consider these signs of the future as originally nothing more than the formatives of verbal nouns"³ (of the type of *aṛivu*, *paṭippu*, etc.). This explanation of the suffix of the future tense, as well as the explanation of the structure of the whole form, has survived till the present day at the tacit consent of the majority of students of the Tamil language. This is proved by the fact of the publication by Dr. K. Zvelebil of an article, in which this formula of Dr. Caldwell's is repeated, and the forms like *aṛivēn* "I shall know", *paṭippen* "I shall learn" are analysed as *aṛivu* "knowledge" + *ēn*, *paṭippu* "learning" + *ēn*, etc.⁴

¹ R. CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, 3rd edn., London, 1913, p. 486.

² *Ibid.*, p. 513.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

⁴ K. ZVELEBIL, *A Note on Tamil Syntax*, "Tamil Culture", Vol. V, 1956, N. I., p. 72.

Meanwhile, there are some reasons to think that this finite forms of the future tense could not have been formed in this way by affixing pronominal terminations to verbal derivatives. Thus, Dr. Caldwell himself states that "verbal nouns are carefully to be distinguished from verbal derivatives or substantives derived from verbs. The latter, though derived from verbs, are used merely as nouns".⁵ Verbal derivatives formed from the verbal roots with the help of the suffix -vu, -pu, -ppu are nouns by their nature.⁶ The only feature, they have in common with verbs, is the root from which they are derived. But this fact of derivation from the verbal roots does not impart any verbal characteristics to these words, as it does not in many other languages, e.g. in Sanskrit. These derivatives have no verbal nature, e.g., they cannot have a direct object or a subject in the nominative case. In this respect the words as *aṛivu*, *paṭippu* do not differ from other nouns.

On the contrary, in the forms *aṛiven*, *paṭippēn*, etc., such verbal features as capability of having a subject in the nominative case or a direct object (for the transitive verbs) are expressed very definitely (cf. *ēn aṛivu*, *ataṇ aṛivu* and *nān aṛivēn*, *atai aṛivēn*).

According to Dr. Caldwell's scheme, a noun destitute of any verbal features receives them together with the pronominal suffixes. Numerous examples show, however, that it does not take place in reality. The words *aṭi* "foot", *tēvar* "god", *ūr* "village" and many others do not receive any characteristics when pronominal terminations are suffixed to them: *aṭiyēn*, *tēvarīr*, *ūrār*, etc.

But it is clear even without such a comparison that the verbal nature of a word cannot arise as a result of juxtaposition of two nominal elements void of any verbal traits. Affixation of some pronominal suffix cannot turn a noun into a verb, cannot impart verbal nature to a noun.

⁵ R. CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar*, p. 542.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 546.

It is evident that in such forms as *aṛivēn* "I shall know" or *paṭippēn* "I shall learn" the nature of the verb is connected not with the pronominal terminations, but with the bases of the verbs. These bases cannot coincide, however, with the nouns *aṛivu* "knowledge", *paṭippu* "learning" since the latter, in contradistinction to the verbal bases, have no verbal value.

II

Participial nouns of the past and present tenses are formed from the corresponding relative participles with the help of pronominal suffixes -aṇ, aḷ, -tu, -ar, -ai. In order to prevent the hiatus between the -a of the participle and the vowel of the pronominal suffix, the consonant -v- is incorporated between them. Thus, from the root *cey-* "to do" the following participial nouns are formed in the past and present tenses :—

<i>ceytavaṇ</i> "he who did"	<i>ceykiravaṇ</i> "he who does"
<i>ceytavaḷ</i> "she who did"	<i>ceykiravaḷ</i> "she who does"
<i>ceytatu</i> "that which did"	<i>ceykiratu</i> "that which does"
<i>ceytavar</i> "they (masc. and fem.) who did"	<i>ceykiravar</i> "they (masc. and fem.) who do"
<i>ceytavai</i> "they (neut.) who did"	<i>ceykiravai</i> "they (neut.) who do"

In the future tense the participial nouns are formed not from the relative participle of the future tense in -um, but from the same base as the finite forms. The only difference here is that in the weak verbs the tense-marker is not -v-, but -p-, as in the middle verbs. Cf.

<i>ceypavaṇ</i> "he who will do"	<i>ceyvān</i> "he will do"
<i>ceypavaḷ</i> "she who will do"	<i>ceyvāḷ</i> "she will do"

(exception :

<i>ceyvatu</i> "that which will do"	<i>ceyyum</i> "it will do"
<i>ceypavar</i> "they who will do"	<i>ceyvār</i> "they will do"
<i>ceypavai</i> "they which will do"	<i>ceyyum</i> "they will do"

It is clear that the participial nouns of the future tense are formed from the base which has little in common with the future relative participle in -um (e.g., *ceyyum*). But outside the Tamil language—in Malayalam and Kannaḍa—the relative participles of the future tense (correspondingly *ceyva* and *geyva*⁷) look just like the form from which the Tamil participial nouns are formed, except the fact that their -v- of the future tense does not turn into -p-.

The same form (i.e., *ceyva*) is to be found in Old Tamil, where it is used as the 3rd person plural in the neutral gender.⁸

The comparison of the Tamil relative participle of the future tense *ceyyum* "which will do" and the 3rd person (neut.) *ceyyum* "it (they) will do" proves that in the modern language the relative participle is used in the sense of a finite form (a similar phenomenon can be found in some cognate languages).

On the other hand, the comparison of the Tamil *ceyva* "they (neut.) will do" with the relative participles of the future tense in Malayalam (*ceyva*) and in Kannaḍa (*geyva*) points to the possibility of the origin of the Tamil *ceyva* in the same way (i.e., from the relative participle).

In other words, it is possible to assume that at the period when Tamil and Kannaḍa existed as a single lan-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 559.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 558.

guage there should be a relative participle of the future tense (e.g., *keyva*⁹) which survived in Malayalam (*ceyva*) and Kannaḍa (*geyva*) and could be traced in Tamil *ceyva* "they will do" (by analogy with *ceyyum* "it (they) will do" from *ceyyum* "which will do").

Tamil participial nouns of the future tense are now formed from the base which once had been a participle of the future tense.

Conversion of -v- into -p- in the sign of the future tense of the weak verbs is caused by dissimilation of two v's, i.e., the future tense marker v and v which serves to prevent the hiatus between the vowel of the relative participle and that of the pronominal suffix, as in *ceypavan* > *ceypa-v-an* > **ceypa-v-an*.

The fact that this -p- is brought into being by the process of dissimilation is proved by the forms of the neutral gender (like *ceyvatu* "that which will do") where there is no dissimilation, since the suffix -tu begins with a consonant (*ceyvatu* > *ceyva-tu*), and no hiatus can arise.

In some instances the suffixes -an and -ar in the participial nouns are replaced by the suffixes -ōn and -ōr. For instance, *paṭittōn* "he who read" instead of *paṭittavan*, *paṭittōr* "they who read" instead of *paṭittavar*, *perrōr* "parents" ("those who received a child") instead of *perravar*, and so on.

Here -ava- becomes -ō- as in the words *katiravan* > *katirōn* "the sun", *takappan* > *tavappan* (colloq.) *tōppan* (brahm.) "father", or *makan* > *mavan* (colloq.) *mō* (Jaffna dialect)¹⁰ "son".

⁹ For Tamil *cey*- "to do" from *key*- see L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar's "Ancient Dravidic surd k- and its modern derivatives", *The Educational Review*, Vol. XXXVII, Madras, 1931 and "Initial fricatives and affricates in Dravidian", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXII, 1933. Cf. also *key*- "to do" in Kodagu with a future-present participle *keyuva*.

¹⁰ *Sarasvati*, 1959, No. 6, p. 48.

In those cases when -ava- in the participial nouns of the future tense formed from the weak roots, turns into -ō- and one -v- disappears, dissimilation does not occur, and -v- in the historical relative participle does not change into -p-; e.g., *ceyvōn* "he who will do" from * *ceyva-v-an*, where -ava- changed into -ō-.

III

Tamil finite forms are constructed on the same pattern. The only difference is that the final -a of the relative participle is dropped before the vowel of the pronominal suffix, or the both vowels merge together. This structure is particularly evident in Kannaḍa, where

māḍuvenu "I shall make" from *māḍuva* + *enu*,
māḍuve "thou wilt make" from *māḍuva* + *e*,
māḍuvanu "he will make" from *māḍuva* + *anu*,¹¹ etc.,
 are formed in complete accordance with the Sandhi rules.¹²

The difficulty of the explanation of the analagous Tamil forms lies in the fact that the Tamil grammars do not describe elision of vowels similar to that of Kannaḍa. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar points out, however, that this elision is not completely unknown in Tamil:

"A few cases of optional elision of the first of the meeting vowels are met with in literary usage, though not provided for by the grammars:—

...Final -a of optatives...:

śelg-eṇa — PN, 83; PP, II, 177.

olig-eṇa — 'S., Nād., 164.

kaḷaig-eṇa — M., Aḍ., 67."¹³

¹¹ Cf. H. SPENCER, *A Kanarese Grammar*, Mysore, 1950, p. 47.

¹² "...A final a, i, e, or a euphonic u suffers elision when it is followed by a vowel..." F. KITTEL, *A Grammar of the Kannada Language*, Mangalore, 1903, p. 171.

¹³ L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, "Dravidic Sandhi", *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. 26, Bangalore, 1935-36, pp. 94-95.

And further he definitely writes that in "colloquial Tamil -a of the relative participle is lost in the familiar compounds *pirand-ām*, *pukk-ām*..."¹⁴ But it is the relative participle with the pronominal suffix that must have been among the most familiar of all possible compounds.¹⁵

Long vowels in the personal terminations could develop as compensation for elision of -a, by analogy with the forms of the past tense :

naṭanta-en < naṭantanen
naṭanten,
naṭanta-am < naṭantanam
naṭantōm (through * natanta-v-am
where -ava- became -ō-), etc.

Influence of emphasis could lead to the difference in quantity of the vowel in such forms like *ceyvār* "they will do" and *ceyvar*.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁵ In modern Tamil such instances are met with every now and then; e.g., *ennappa* from *enna appa*, *mutincappuram* from *mutinta appuram*, *enkappa* from *enka appa*, *ennatappa* from *enna ata appa*, *periyappa* from *periya appa*, *cinnanna* from *cinna anna*, *antantai* from *anta antai*, *antam* from *anta am*, *ententa* from *enta enta*.

¹⁶ Cf. *marumakan* "son-in-law." > **maruma-an* > *maruman* (colloq.) and *periya appa* > *periyappa*.

Ancient Tamil Music

K. KOTHANDAPANI PILLAI

The pioneer who searched for ancient Tamil music in the dark corridors of antiquity was Rao Sahib M. Abraham Pandithar of K. M. Hall, Tanjore. He is no longer with us, but the torch he held up in those regions still shines and guides many a seeker after the truth. His work *Karnamritha Sagaram* stands as a monument of indefatigable work, unique in the array of materials he has culled out and the profusion of arguments he has advanced to substantiate his theory of 24 *srutis*. He has established a reputation as great as that of Bharatha Muni, and his *Karnamritha Sagaram* is as important as the *Nattya Sastra* of the Northern Sage. *Nattya Sastra* deals with music, dance and language and so does *Karnamritha Sagaram*.

Research in Music has made great progress from where Abraham Pandithar left it and it tends to prove and confirm most of the theories which Abraham Pandithar formulated. In the First Book of *Karnamritha Sagaram*, part I, chapter IV he states :—

"Noble readers! If we want to understand clearly the subtlety and antiquity of Indian Music, we would do well to make a few observations on the Tamil language which includes within itself poetry, music and drama. The period of the origin of Indian Music is as ancient as the period of the Tamil language and the sweetness of Indian Music is the sweetness of the language itself. Just as the language is unmixed and unaffected by other languages, so also the music of South India is perfect in itself having special rules of its own without seeking the aid of other music."

Here he has stressed with an intuitive insight the inter-relation between language and music, which modern research has taken up for investigation.

In 1953, in his work, 'The psycho-analysis of Artistic vision and hearing: An introduction to the theory of unconscious perception' Anton Ehrenzweig observed, "It is not unreasonable to speculate that speech and music have descended from a common origin in a primitive language, which was neither speaking nor singing, but something of both. Later, this primeval language would have split into different branches; music would have retained the articulation mainly by pitch (scale) and duration (rhythm), while language chose the articulation mainly by tone colour, vowels and consonants."¹ The learned author would seem to be still in the region of surmises as his phrase 'would have' would indicate. But Dr. C. R. Sankaran and Dr. Chaitanya Deva, of Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, who carried on their further investigation into this inter-relationship, stress the fundamental identity of speech with music. This will be referred to in detail later.

To understand this inter-relationship between language and music, it is necessary to know what modern research has to say about the Tamil language. Regarding the phonetic or, more correctly, the phonemic analysis of the sounds of the Tamil language, in his monograph 'Phonemics of old Tamil', this is what Dr. C. R. Sankaran of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, says:—

"Phonemes are significant classes of speech sounds in terms of which alone an organization of the descriptive study of speech sounds of any language is possible. We meet with the accurate description of phonemes of the old Tamil language, built apparently on the results of phonetic study in *Tolkappiam* which is the oldest descriptive Tamil

¹ Quoted by Dr. C. R. Sankaran and B. Chaitanya Deva in their article on Studies in Indian Music Scales 1—page 192 Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute Vol. 18.

grammar. Such an emphasis on the pattern inherent in the sounds of the language of study, and to attempt to establish, on the basis of their occurrence and distribution the types of sounds which must have been significant in distinguishing the meaning of words is not met with even in the *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini."

This will indicate that Tamil is a scientific language and it has been built up as a result of scientific study of the sounds of the language by the ancient Tamilians, independent of any other language. There are thirty sound-classes (phonemes) in Tamil, 12 vowels and 18 consonants. The twelve vowels represent the utmost limit to which the vowel sounds in any language can be divided as separate sounds, each having a separate existence of its own, in space and time. That this is the most accurate division of the vowel sounds has been confirmed by the investigations of W. N. Loche and R. M. S. Heffner² and referring to this Dr. C. R. Sankaran observes:—

"It is significant to find a striking agreement in this between Tolkappiar and the empirical findings of the modern investigator revealing thereby Tolkappiar's very rare insight."³

On these 12 vowel sounds depends the life of the language and they are called the 'life sounds' (உயிர்). Of them, seven,—அ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஐ, ஒ, ஓ are long vowels. Five out of the seven—அ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஒ—have their corresponding short vowels அ, இ, உ, எ, ஓ and the rest two ஐ, (Ai), and ஓ (au), are changeless or indivisible. These five long vowels corresponding to these five short ones are not merely the elongated sounds in point of time but are separate sounds each having a separate existence. Thus according to modern research there are 12 primary or life sounds, each of which can be identified as having an existence separate from the other.

² Notes on the length of vowels (II) American Speech Vol. 15-1940—quoted by Dr. C. R. Sankaran, P. 79, Phonemics of old Tamil.

³ Phonemics of old Tamil, p. 12.

Let us now turn to the sounds in music. The primary musical sound rising up from the basic tone and ending in the highest pitch in an octave, from குரல் to தாரம் i.e., from Sa to Ni or C to B, has also been divided into 12 as in the case of the primary sounds of the language. There are seven swarams corresponding to the seven long vowels. Two of them, குரல் Kural, (Sa or C) and இளி Ili (Pa or G) are changeless and indivisible. They correspond to ஐ (ai) and ஒள (au) of the vowels. Each of the remaining five is divided into two and are called சுத்தம், பிரதி, sharp and flat, making up ten divisions which together with the two indivisible ones amount to the 12 divisions of the octave.

This remarkable coincidence not only in their number but also in their very nature which exists between sounds in the language and the sounds in the music is the special feature of the Tamil language. That this is not an accidental coincidence and that the inter-relationship between the sounds in the language and the sounds in music was well perceived, and that the division of the octave was based on this perception will be apparent from the following:—

Divakaram defines these seven long vowels as belonging to the seven swarams or notes of the music.

“அ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஐ, ஒ, ஓ எனும்
இவ்வேழ் எழுத்தும் ஏழிசைக் குரிய”

Adiyarku Nallar, in his commentary on *Silappadigaram* when explaining the ancient Tamil modes, gives the following quotation which goes to prove that the ancient Tamil Music was actually based on the sounds of the language,

“உயிர், உயிர்மெய்யள வுரைத்த ஐம்பாலினும்
உடல் தமிழ் இயல் இசை யேழுடன் பகுத்து
.....தொண்டு மீண்ட பன்னிராயிங்
கொண்டனர் இயற்றல் கொளவல்லோர் கடனே.”⁴

⁴ Commentary relating to line 45—*Aranketru Kathai, Silappadikaram*.

All the old books on Tamil music are lost and it is not possible to find from which of the books this quotation was taken. Anyhow this goes a long way to prove that the sounds of the language formed the basis for music.

Tolkappiar, the great grammarian, refers to this inter-relationship when he says,

“அளபிறந் துயிர்த்தலும் ஒற்றிசை நீடலும்
உளவென மொழிப இசையொடு சிவணிய
நரம்பின் மறைய என்மனார் புலவர்.”⁵

This means that the vowels and consonants exceed the limits of sound prescribed for them in his grammar and the particulars regarding them are found in the Book of Secrets of the Strings tuned to music. According to Tolkappiar, the book relating to music referred to by him dealt with sounds of vowels and consonants. There is no reason why a book on music should deal with the sounds of the alphabet at all, unless it was perceived that there existed an inherent and substantial relationship between the sounds of the alphabet and they formed the basis of the music. *Tholkappiam* is a grammar of the language. There would have been no need for the grammar to mention this migration of the language sounds to music, unless these sounds were actually taken over and adopted by music.

It was referred to previously that this aspect of identity of speech with music was investigated in recent years in the Deccan College Research Institute and the following quotation from one of their bulletins deserves to be taken note of in this connection:—

“It is necessary to stress the fundamental and primitive identity of speech with music. This basic identity is marked in all our investigations from diverse points of view. (c.f. the unpublished Ph.D. thesis of B. Chaitanya Deva on the psychophysics of speech melody in Dravi-

⁵ தொல் : எழுத்து ; 33.

dian) like the octave relationship for instance where considerations revealed by wave form analysis of speech point towards the deep sometimes hidden (as it were) identity of speech with music.”⁶

Twentieth century thus stands at the threshold and has just gained a glimpse of the fundamental truth stated above. That, in those ancient times, this fundamental relationship was perceived in all its implications, that the region of surmises, inferences and experiments was left far behind and that a system of Tamil music was built up on the basis of this fundamental truth, are really marvellous.

The zodiac had 12 divisions which corresponded to the 12 divisions of the octave, and astronomy and astrology came in handy to explain the intervals in the octave and the effect which the swarams or the notes produced. The seven planets (excepting Ragu and Kethu) represented the seven swarams, and the 12 divisions were distributed among the seven planets which corresponded to the distribution of the 12 divisions of the octave among the seven swarams. Of the seven planets the Sun and Moon had each one of the divisions out of the 12, exactly as in the case of Sa(c) and Pa(g) in the musical octave and as in the case of the alphabet ஐ (ai) and ஔ (au). The remaining five planets had each two divisions as in the case of the remaining five swarams in music and the five long vowels of the language. In astrology these divisions were called houses belonging to the planets. Abraham Pandithar has explained this connection between music and astrology in detail in his book by means of charts and diagrams so well that it needs no further elucidation.

This coincidence between the divisions of the zodiac and the divisions of the octave served as the best medium to explain the musical scales which were placed on a geometrical and mathematical basis. The people could appre-

⁶ Foot note on p. 192 Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, Vol. 18—Studies in Indian Musical Scales I: A. Vedic chant.

ciate these especially when astrology was much in vogue and well understood by the people. The earliest mention of the connection between astronomy and music is found in the Achiar Kuravai of *Silappadikaram*. No work of the Sangam period which refers to music refers to this connection. It is found that the Greek and the Chinese had also used astronomy to explain the attributes of music.

The division of the octave into 12 in Tamil Music should have been made long prior to the use of astronomy to explain the basis of musical divisions and scales. As stated by Abraham Pandithar, Tamil Music is as ancient as the language itself. To put it more correctly the division of its octave is as old as the division of the alphabet. This division of the octave into 12 was used by all the ancient nations of the world and is called the primordial division of the octave. Ilangovalar had based the pentatone mode described by him in Achiar Kuravai on these 12 divisions of the octave and called it தொன்றுபடுமுறை, the primordial division.

Of all the existing books in Sanskrit the *Natya Sastra* of Bharata Muni is considered by scholars as the earliest. Some assign this to the 4th century A.D., some to the 2nd century B.C. and some others to the 5th century B.C. His work is based on the 22 divisions of the octave which came into use long after the use of the 12 divisions and not on those primordial divisions of 12. Nor was astrology used to explain the scales or attributes of music as the ancient nations have done. In fact in no Sanskrit book about music this connection between astronomy and music is traceable.

To whatever century Bharata Muni may belong, there is ample internal evidence in his *Natya Sastra* that the music of South India was of a very high order even before the time of Bharata Muni. The following lines in the slokas 31 and 32 of chapter V of *Natya Sastra* speak to the highly developed nature of South Indian music :—

ape. According to Schroeder, *kepos* was a later importation into classical Greek, while the word in earlier usage was *pithakoi*, which had existed in one of the old dialects. This gives added point to the surmise that the appearance in the west of the Hebrew *koph* and allied words in the other languages was the result of commerce.

The writer of the Jewish sacred book, the Talmud, in an endeavour to trace the origin of the word *koph* linked it with the Hebrew *kaf*, meaning the palm of the hand, the hand. *Koph*, hence, was supposed to signify the animal that moves on its hand. *Koph* would literally mean one with a hand and from this meaning it is not easy to get to that of animal that moves on its hand without unduly stretching the interpretation, if not the imagination. The Talmudic writer's explanation, the suspicion arises, was in consequence of his previous knowledge of the derivation of the Greek word *pithakoi*, meaning an animal that walks on its hand (*koi* = hand). He was, no doubt, assisted in his liberal interpretation of *koph* by the fortuitous circumstance that *kaf* in Hebrew meant a hand. *Kaf*, however, and the Greek, *koi*, were not indigenous. They had apparently been borrowed from the Dravidian *kai* (hand), a root with any number of derivatives in the different Dravidian languages. Anyway, the real significance of *koph*, it seems, has to be sought for in a way other than the one tried by the Jewish writer.

The protagonists of a Sanscrit origin have connected *koph* with *kapi*,³ which in Sanscrit is supposed to come from *kamp* (tremble). The reasoning is hardly sound. To see a monkey in something that trembles needs quite an extension of fancy. The inadequacy of the Sanscrit derivation can be realised from another example. The word *kapitha* (wood-apple) is derived from *kapi* + *stha* (the tree on which monkeys stand). Unconvincing indeed! *Kapitha* evidently has a connection with the Dravidian

³ MAX MULLER, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I. p. 233.

kavitta or *kavinda* (to be bent, to be round), which originally comes from *kavi* (to bend). The tree, therefore, gets its name from the fruit that is round. This meaning of *kapi* is confirmed by that given to another Sanscrit word *kapithasya*⁴ (having a face like a wood-apple, i.e. a roundish face). These instances clearly show that the original meaning of *kapi* has been lost in Sanscrit; no wonder, since it was foreign to the language.

And so we arrive at a Dravidian explanation for *koph*. The monkey in Tamil and other Dravidian languages is called *kurangu* and *kapi*. They are derived from *kuru* and *kavi* respectively, which mean to bend. The monkey is the bent animal. *Kavi* is a prolific root in Tamil with a host of derivatives,—a fact that confirms its indigenous nature. The Tamil *kapi* has, no doubt, gone into the Hebrew as *koph*. The soundness of this explanation is highlighted by the non-cogency of the Talmudic and the highly imaginative character of the Sanscrit derivations.

As the word could never have gone to the west without the animal that bore the name, we may safely assume that monkeys were originally exported from India. But could the Hebrews not have got the word and the animal from Egypt? Though not impossible, it is not probable, since, for reasons which are beyond the scope of this paper, Africa's claim to having received the Ophir expedition is rather thin.

That the peacock is indigenous to India need not be argued at length. The bird, seen in large numbers in the dry tracts, abounds particularly in Gujerat, Cutch and Rajputana.⁵ Cuvier says, "It has long since been decided that India was the cradle of the peacock. It is in the countries of southern Asia and the vast archipelago of the eastern ocean that this bird appears to have fixed its dwelling and to live in a state of freedom. All travellers who

⁴ cf. MONIER-WILLIAMS, *Sanscrit—English Dictionary*, s.v.

⁵ WATT, *The Commercial Products of India*, p. 141.

have visited these countries make mention of these birds. Thevenot encountered great numbers of them in the province of Gujerat; Tavernier throughout all India; and Payrard in the neighbourhood of Calcutta."⁶ Sir William Jardine has it that, of the only two species of peacocks known, both of them inhabit the continent and the island of India.⁷

Indian peacocks were known to western nations from very ancient times. As commemorated in the Baveru Jataka,⁸ which embodies evidence of one of the earliest Indian commercial enterprises, the peacock was taken by Indian merchants to Sumer. While Baveru is equated with Babylon, several scholars think that the incident narrated refers to a trading transaction of a time much older than the days of the Babylonian empire, in fact of the time of its ancient compeer, Sumer.⁹ Later evidence can be gathered from the classical writers. While narrating the invasion of India by Alexander, Quintus Curtius mentions a dense forest, skirting the banks of the Ravi and abounding with trees, which were full of wild peacocks.¹⁰ Aelian has several notices of peacocks and describes the Indian variety with a wealth of detail and colour,¹¹ emphasising its beauty, its great price, its arrival in Greece, and the wonder it aroused owing to its strangeness.¹²

If we compare the story contained in the Baveru Jataka with the description of Aelian, we can clearly see the close parallel. The Jataka speaks of a delighted crowd gathering round the new arrival and contrasts the excitement with that occasioned previously, when a crow had been taken to Sumer. The story also refers to the big

⁶ CUVIER, *Animal Kingdom*, VIII, p. 136.

⁷ JARDINE, *Naturalists' Library*, XX, p. 147.

⁸ COWELL, *The Jataka or Stories of the Buddha's former Births*, Bk. IV, No. 339.

⁹ cf. FRANKE, *Jataka Mahabharata Parallelen*, WZKM, XX, pp. 317 ff.

¹⁰ McCRINDLE, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 217.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 139, 141, 146.

¹² *Ibid.*, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 362, 363.

price paid for the novel bird, namely, a thousand pieces.¹³ Aelian, who lays special stress on the introduction of the peacock into Greece, says that the bird owned by Demos excited so much attention that people came even from Lacedaemon and Thessaly to see it. He mentions too that a special exhibition was arranged at the beginning of every month, when quite a high rate of admission was charged. He further adds that Alexander was so struck with admiration of the bird that he decreed the severest penalties to those who should kill it. Finally the narrator gives an idea of what the people paid for the bird; a pair cost a thousand drachmas (about 40 pounds).

The way the Sumerians and the Greeks behaved when they first saw the peacock was quite in keeping with its outlandish character. The awe-struck Sumerians asked the Indian merchants to give them the bird and get for themselves another on their return home. Aelian avers that the strange bird was introduced into Greece from Samos, where it was brought by the barbarians. To the ancient Greeks all who were beyond the pale of their heritage were barbarians, in much the same way as the Dravidians were to the Aryans in India.

The foreign nature of the peacock, evident in these descriptions, is confirmed by the name given to it in the western countries,—a name evidently borrowed from the land which was its original habitat. The peacock was called *tukki* in Hebrew,—in the Biblical passages which refer to the Ophir expedition,—*taus* in Armenian, *taus* in Persian, *tawas* in Arabic, *taos* in Greek, *pavo* in Latin and *phawo*¹⁴ in old High German. In Latin and High German the initial *t* of the Greek has been changed to *p* and the final *s* dropped, while the euphonic *v* has been brought in to bridge the gulf between two vowels. The Greek and Latin forms, it would appear, were taken from the Hebrew, *tukki*, whose origin can be sought for only in India. Two

¹³ COWELL, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ SCHROEDER-JEVONS, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

possible derivations have been given. According to Lassen, it comes from the Sanscrit *sikhi*, meaning one with a *sikhi* (tuft).¹⁵ The Sanscrit word denotes the *avis cristata*, a bird with a tuft. Another and a more plausible derivation has been suggested by Dr. Caldwell.¹⁶ *Tukki* is connected with *tokai*, signifying a tail. *Tokai* itself is derived from *tongu*, which means to hang like a tail, plumage, particularly a peacock's tail. *Tongu* in its turn comes from *toku* (to assemble, to aggregate, to come together); and in the case of a bird's tail the feathers come together to form it. *Tokai*, therefore, from meaning a tail has come to signify the tailed bird *par excellence*, viz., the *avis caudata*. This is a very natural explanation. It is true that the word *tokai*, although used especially for the tail of the peacock, does not stand in modern parlance for the peacock itself. But in the classics it did, and in times gone by it seems to have obtained in that sense even in ordinary conversation.

Max Muller saw the cogency of the derivation and yet at first thought that the word *tokai* itself was taken by the Tamils from the Sanscrit *sikhi* by changing *s* into *t* and the first *i* into *o*. This explanation is far-fetched in view of the thoroughly indigenous nature of the Tamil root *toku*, which is highly prolific. Finally Max Muller himself was convinced of Caldwell's view point.¹⁷ Even the word *mayura*, it is interesting to note, has not in Sanscrit a compelling derivation, which perhaps has to be sought for in the Tamil *mayil* (*mai* + *il* = the blue house), the blue bird. It may even be from *mayir* (feathers, tail); then the bird would get the name for the same reason as it got the name *tokai*. *Mayura* does not occur in the Rig Veda and this would clearly show that the Aryans got the word from their predecessors in the Punjab, since to the former it was the name of a foreign bird.¹⁸

¹⁵ LASSEN, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I, p. 651.

¹⁶ CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, p. 66.

¹⁷ MAX MULLER, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

¹⁸ cf. SCHROEDER-JEVONS, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

The Hebrew word *tukki*,—it can confidently be concluded,—was carried with the bird by Solomon's mariners to Judaea. The Bible is not a descriptive narrative like the Jataka or the work of Aelian. If it were, we could certainly have read of the raptures of the Jews, when they first laid their eyes on the strange bird. And the narration would have run on lines parallel to those of the Jataka writer and Aelian; all the more so, for the peacock is mentioned in the whole Bible only once, that is, in connection with the celebrated Ophir voyage.

The Sumerian contact was probably around 2500 B.C. After a lapse of almost as many years came the classical evidence. About half way, namely, in the 10th cen. B.C. stood the Biblical mention. The intervals of silence are indeed long; but there may be other references, which have not yet come to light. Anyway, an item like the peacock was not likely to figure regularly in ancient lists of merchandise, since it was meant mainly to slake foreigners' curiosity. That curiosity led to their giving the rare import a peculiar name which had no logical explanation in any of their languages but only in that of the land of export.

The Vocabulary and Content of Tamil Primers and First Readers

XAVIER S. THIANY NAYAGAM.

An examination of a sampling of Tamil primers and first readers approved by Text-Book Committees and Departments of Education for use in Madras State, Ceylon and Malaya, showed the need which exists for scientific study and basic research concerning the compilation of Tamil Readers and Children's books.¹ The method employed by the primers which were examined is an adaptation of the "phonic" and "alphabetic" methods which were popular with English primers twenty-five to thirty years ago.² The primers which were studied as well as other primers and Infant books which the writer has had occasion to examine reveal little acquaintance with recent developments in the techniques of teaching reading, and this brief preliminary survey is intended to encourage students interested in educational research to pay attention to the problems of reading-readiness, and to the principles underlying compilation of primers and Children's books. The use of better methods and more suitable text-books will ensure a greater success in Tamil teaching and greater proficiency in the Language Arts so that the Tamil lesson in the Primary and post-Primary Classes becomes more rewarding both for the child and the teacher.

It is not possible to state in the absence of basic research concerning Tamil as to which of the methods prevalent in teaching reading in the West is the most suitable for teaching Tamil reading and constructing Tamil

¹ Two sets of Tamil primers have been examined. Six different primers by six different publishers are designated A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and another five different primers by different publishers are numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

² See SCHONELL, FRED. J., *The Psychology and Teaching of Reading*, 3rd Ed., p. 44 ff., Oliver and Boyd, London, 1952.

Primers.³ The number of letters in the Tamil alphabet and the syllabic nature of the characters representing vowel-consonants may or may not render the "global" or "ideo-visual" method based on Gestalt psychology and the logical demands of Linguistics as successful for Tamil as it has been with European languages in which syllabic characters are not involved. It may be that the child if taught only the "global" method might be led to read from memory or by guess work than by the recognition of the visual patterns.⁴ But it does not require much experiment to prove that it is injurious to children's interests to teach the auditory and visual patterns of all the 247 Tamil characters in isolation to children before they may begin recognising them in words. Hence it is very doubtful if the direction in the *Madras Revised*

³ On different methods of Teaching Reading see the following :—

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION, *The Teaching of Reading*, Publication No. 113, Geneva ;

BROOM, M. E., et al., *Effective Reading Instruction in the Elementary School*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1942 ;

MENZEL, EMIL. W., *Suggestions for the Teaching of Reading in India*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1944 ;

ZARRILI HUMBERTO and ABADIE SORIANO, *Metodologia de la lectura : su evolucion desde el deletreo hasta la globalizacion*, Montevideo, 1946 ;

GRAY, WILLIAM. S., *The Teaching of Reading and Writing*, Paris, 1956.

⁴ MENZEL, EMIL. W., *Suggestions for the Teaching of Reading in India*, op. cit., p. 27.

" Since the letter is not the unit of vision and is no easier to recognize than an entire word of several letters, the teaching of reading in its first lessons should deal with words instead of letters. The sentence method, the word method, the story method, the Beacon method, all are built up on this assumption and have proved themselves vastly superior to the strictly phonetic method. Deciphering a word according to its sound symbols is a very complicated process which children learn only very slowly. The newer methods aim at making a certain number of word-pictures familiar to the beginner "

p. 28—

" Moreover, by emphasizing the individual letter, faulty habits of reading are inculcated. For fluent reading one needs a long eye-span ; that is, one must see entire words and phrases at once. Close attention to letters not only discourages this but builds up wrong habits which make the development of proper eye habits difficult "

Syllabus for the first standard is according to the latest and best results of reading research :

"The letters of the alphabet may be taught to pupils in the old traditional method beginning with "அ". The pupils may be expected to read and write all the letters of the alphabet in the alphabetical order by the end of the year".⁵

The results of recent reading research has not proved the unconditional superiority of any particular method used in European and American schools. The "phonic" and "alphabetic" methods proceed on the basis that the analytic study of words and their sounds confer mastery of the mechanics of reading. Applied to Tamil these methods would concentrate on "letter" or "character" recognition. The "word" and "sentence" methods in employing larger units of language than the letter and the syllable lay initial emphasis on meaning and meaningful understanding of what is read. Studies made of children learning by the two groups of methods show that the first group of methods develops attitudes and skills different from those developed by the second set of methods. Children taught by the "phonic" and "alphabetic" methods show ability in following the printed lines and recognising new words, but show no vital concern for the content, whereas those taught by the "word" and "sentence" methods show greater interest in content but develop more slowly word recognition. Where one group of methods was adhered to the exclusion of others, children have developed one group of attitudes and skills and often failed to develop others of equal importance. Hence it has been recommended that equal emphasis be placed from the beginning on both meaning and word-recognition, remembering that in the selection of methods consideration

⁵ Revised Syllabus for Standards I to VII, Government of Madras, 1957. See criticism of the directive in DANIEL, J., *Teaching Reading to Beginners* in the *Hindu*, Madras, of 9 February, 1958.

should be given to the special characteristics of the language concerned.⁶

The Tamil primers do not have the support of pre-reading books, supplementary readers or illustrated and graded readers and dictionaries like those provided, for example, in the complete *Pilot Reading Scheme* by Pat Davenport (E. J. Arnold & Son, Ltd., London). The first of a series of pre-reading books published in Tamil by E. Sendall (Associated Printers, Madras, no date) introduces letters in association with words familiar to children and is delightfully illustrated in colour but is defective for the same reason that these primers under examination are defective. E. Sendall's first series do not appear to have been continued.

⁶ See GRAY, WILLIAM, S., *The Teaching of Reading and Writing*, op. cit., p. 75 ff; MENZEL, EMIL, W., *Suggestions for the Teaching of Reading in India*, op. cit., p. 41 :

"Which method is best? As has been repeated several times, a good practical teaching method will utilize all of the more scientific approaches. The best practical method is a combination method.

Some people get their most vivid impressions through the eye, others through the ear, and some through the sense of touch or even through smell. Some are predominantly eye-minded, or ear-minded, and any generally-used method of teaching reading must be prepared to assist children in the way in which they can learn best. In the argument as to which method is best we must always remember that no method is 'best' for all. Some children learn much better through one method than another. For this reason also a combination of methods may be better fitted for general use than a method emphasizing more exclusively any one of the various psychological approaches just described".

p. 52 :—

"I would advocate for small children a method using phonics (most certainly) but predominantly the sentence and story method. But let it remain a debatable, or rather experimental, point as to how much of both methods should be introduced in the beginning stages. Let there be a great deal of careful experiment under expert scientific supervision before we try to settle that point. The fact remains that the teaching of reading in India suffers very severely from a lack of (i) attention to understanding of content, and (ii) the fostering of independent reading habits both for pleasure and for assignment reading in the class-room. For both purposes the 'larger unit' methods can help a great deal."

DEFECTIVE PRIMERS

The preoccupation of wanting to teach during the first twelve months of school both in isolation and in combination all the twelve vowels, the eighteen consonants, the 216 vowel consonants and the āyutam (ஃ) in all 247 symbols, dominates the methodology of these Tamil primers. The letters and characters are taught in the primers in alphabetic sequence, and words are progressively introduced in which the 247 symbols occur as initials, medials or finals according to the rules of Tamil phonetics. While the letters are introduced in alphabetic sequence, the words in which the letters occur are chosen almost solely for the purpose of introducing the letters and not for the easy recognition of their auditory and visual patterns or for their meaningful associations. Thus a great many words occur in the primers which generally do not occur in the hearing and speaking vocabulary of a child of 5+ or even 6+, and which are too abstruse and recondite for the child, and far removed from its interests, activities and experiences.

The preoccupation with letter or symbol recognition is again evident in the manner in which the letter to be learnt is printed in a different colour from the rest of the word or printed in a larger type-face than the rest of the word. Thus a dissimilarity of colour or type-face might occur at the beginning or in the middle or at the end of a word making the visual *gestalt* of the whole word very confusing to the child, but emphasising nevertheless recognition of a particular letter or syllable.

அணில் மரம்

THE VOWELS

The following table of words with vowel initials occurring in the first pages of the primers shows that in introducing the child immediately to the visual and auditory

Primers	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
அ	அணில்	அன்னம்	அணில்	அணில்	அம்மா	அம்மா	அணில்
ஆ	ஆடு	ஆலமரம்	ஆடு	ஆடு	ஆடு	ஆடு	ஆடு
இ	இலை	இரதம்	இலை	இலை	இலை	இலை	இலை
ஈ	ஈட்டி	ஈச்சமரம்	ஈ	ஈ	ஈ	ஈசன்	ஈ
உ	உறி	உரல்	உறி	உரல்	உரல்	உரல்	உரல்
ஊ	ஊசி	ஊஞ்சல்	ஊசி	ஊதல்	ஊஞ்சல்	ஊசி	ஊசி
எ	எலி	எள்	எலி	எலி	எலி	எருது	எலி
ஏ	ஏணி	ஏற்றம்	ஏணி	ஏணி	ஏணி	ஏணி	ஏணி
ஐ	ஐயா	ஐவர்	ஐயா	ஐவர்	ஐந்து	ஐயா	ஐயர்
ஒ	ஒன்று	ஒப்பந்தம்	ஒட்டகம்	ஒட்டகம்	ஒன்று	ஒன்று	ஒட்டகம்
ஓ	ஓலை	ஓடம்	ஓலை	ஓணன்	ஓலை	ஓணன்	ஓணன்
ஔ	ஔவை	ஔடதம்	ஔவை	ஔவை	ஔவை	ஔவை	ஔவை
ஃ	ஃ	ஃ	ஃ	ஃ	எஃகு	அஃது	—

patterns of *all* the vowels with no consideration as to their frequency in the spoken vocabulary of the pre-school child, the compilers have had to include words outside the range of children's interests, experiences and needs, and introduce symbols like ஓ and ஔ which are unnecessary at this stage of the child's language development.

It will be granted that these readers intended as they are for rural as well as urban children of different economic and cultural levels should use a vocabulary common at these levels. The words ஐய் and ஒப்பந்தம் represent concepts beyond the primary class and the words ஈசன், ஓடம், ஒளவை, ஒளடகம், எடுத, ஆதூ, are unusual words, all of which should be reserved for post-primary grades. It might be argued too that the above selections of words place the town child at a disadvantage since உறி, எடுத, ஏற்றம், இடம், சிவமயம், may be removed from its experiences, just as ஒப்பந்தம், and அன்னம் may be unfamiliar to the rural child who has not seen them in a zoo. Thus it will be found that of a total of 91 words the inclusion of 24 of them is very much to be questioned. Other words in the primers which begin with vowels and which are beyond the experience and interests of most children are ஈக்க, ஆழம், இவ்வம், ஒற்றர், ஒலம், கௌதாரி, யௌவனம், யௌந்திர, யௌக்கம், சௌக்கியம். In the selection of words there is an exclusive use of nouns and an omission of verbs and verbal nouns expressing activities of childhood, e.g., words like இடு, ஒடு, ஆடு, ஏறி, ஏறு, should be used much more frequently.

Having introduced words in which vowels are initials, only some of the primers repeat in later pages the words introduced in the first pages. The repetition is again made for the purposes of letter recognition and not for word recognition. Thus

Primer A : அணில், அம்மி ; ஆடு, ஆணி; இலை, இறகு.

Primer F : அம்மா, அப்பா, அண்ணா; ஆடு, ஆமை, ஆணி; இலை, இறகு, இறல், இடையன்.

Repetition of words is very uncommon in the primers. They are far from the recommendation that a new useful word intended to broaden experience should be repeated at least fifteen or twenty times in a primer to provide adequate training in word recognition and prepare for mature reading.⁷ The following table shows the number of times words with vowel initials which have the highest frequency in children's oral vocabularies occur in some primers.⁸

Primers	1	2	3	4	5
அம்மா	3	2	4	1	0
அப்பா	2	1	3	1	0
அண்ணா	2	0	2	0	2
அக்கா	4	0	3	1	1
இலை	4	1	4	0	1
ஈ	3	1	1	0	0
உப்பு	2	0	0	0	0
ஊசி	4	1	3	0	1
ஊஞ்சல்	0	0	2	1	2
எடு	3	1	2	0	0
ஏறி	2	0	0	0	0

⁷ GRAY, WILLIAM, S., *The Teaching of Reading and Writing*, op. cit., p. 134 :

"Each new word should be used at least 15 times soon after it is introduced, and repeated more or less frequently throughout the primer to ensure its recognition at sight." See also WATTS, A. F., *The Language and Mental Development of Children*, p. 97 ff., George G. Harrap, London, 1950.

⁸ Word lists and vocabulary studies in other languages help to note the concepts with which children are familiar, in general e.g. SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH IN EDUCATION, *Studies in Reading*, 2 vols., University of London Press, London, 1950; EATON, HELEN S., *Semantic Frequency List for English, French, German and Spanish*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1940; DOTRENS ROBERT-NASSARENTI DINO, *Vocabulaire fondamental du français*, 2^e éd., Delauchaux et Niestle, Neuchatel (Switzerland), 1952.

In the choice of words beginning with vowels or consonants, the compilers appear to be concerned only with the first letters of words but not with the remaining elements of the words, nor to what extent the remaining combinations of vowels and vowel-consonants are familiar to the child. Each vowel consonant in Tamil, as in other languages of Indian origin, is rendered by a sign different from the pure vowel sign. Thus the "இ" value in "கி" is expressed by the sign "ி". Hence an eclectic approach seems necessary for Tamil teaching. Both the synthetic and analytic methods whereby the *gestalt* and the meaningful unit is taught together with the letter and syllabic components of the meaningful unit should be used. In the selection of words for primers one has not only to see that the words occur in the spoken vocabulary of the child and have meaningful association with its interests but also provide for the progressive introduction in the visual patterns of consonants and vowel-consonants so that the child will gradually pass from known symbols to unknown symbols. Thus the child who can read "அம்மா" may find it easier to learn to read "அப்பா" and "மாமா" as the next words, than "ஒற்றி" or "உழவன்" which contain no letters contained in "அம்மா". A further point to be noted in the selection of words for reading is that the visual pattern of a word is made more distinct and distinguishable by using dissimilar components than similar components, that is, the words should differ in length and in the number and position of projecting letters. Thus a page of Primer 4:

படம்
மடம்
வடம்
பட்டம்
வட்டம்

is likely to be more confusing to the child than a page with words of dissimilar components like

படம்
பூ
கத்தி
தட்டம்
பதக்கம்
பழம்
நாய்
நாடு
தமிழ்நாடு

These recommendations made on the basis of experimental studies done for English should serve as a guide in devising the permutations and combinations of visual patterns of letters constituting the words of pre-readers, primers and other reading material for children.

The vocabulary burden in the primers of words beginning with vowels is extremely high. On an average each primer uses in all only about sixteen words for the study of the twelve vowels diphthongs and the āyutam. Two primers (A and F) which while introducing the vowels print ஒளவை with ஒள have printed the same name as அவ்வை when the consonant வ் is introduced in the primers. This inconsistency in the primers themselves is a warning regarding the inopportuneness of introducing characters like ஒள and ஃ in a primary reader.

THE VOWEL-CONSONANTS

After the vowels, the vowel-consonants are introduced in order as the first letters of words. The choice of the words, as will be seen from the examples which follow, has not been made from any principle of children's learning but merely for the convenience of the traditional consonantal order and letter-recognition. Most of the words

are without any emotional content for the child and are beyond the child's experiences and outside its spoken vocabulary. Some of them are words which are not common even in adult usage and a few of them are even obsolete. Thus

Primer A : படல், நீதி, பிட்டி, தீரன், தூது, நாகம், நெட்டி, கௌரி, கௌளி, சோழன்

Primer B : சரம், ரம்பம், கமலம், கம்மல், கட்டம், கன்னடம், தனம், மரகதம், இல்லம், வனம், சமயம், உப்பளம், பவளம், ஊக்கம், சங்கம், நகல், மங்களம், கழகம், அச்சம், நன்னூல், கூத்தர், கண்ணெளி, யௌவனம், லௌகீகம்.

Primer C : சைனியம், செளரம், குண்டு, பெவத்தர், மௌலி, வெங்கை.

Primer D : சாதம், கௌதாரி, ஓஷா நம், பெளர்ணமி, மௌலி.

Primer E : இதழ், பெளர்ணமி, சேடி, தாழ், நெறி, நேமி, அஃது, எஃகு, அறம், தபசி, பதன், பரம், பரிதம், பதிதன்.

Primer F : வாச்சி, எஃபு, ஊண், ஐது, மௌலி, கௌலி, விழுது, முத்தி, கந்து, கப்பு, தொடி.

Primer G : படல், மடல், மேளதாளம், வஞ்சம், பண், கார்.

Rhyming pairs of words have been also introduced without regard to their appropriateness for children's interests and experiences, and often with little or no meaningful association.

Primer A : பாடம், மாடம்; காகம், நாகம்; கத்தி, சக்தி; சிரி, விரி, திரி; ஈட்டி, பிட்டி; ஊது, தூது; ஆச்சி, பூச்சி; செட்டி, நெட்டி; தேய், மேய்; பொரி, சொறி.

Primer B : சரம், மரம், அரம், ரசம்; கலம், பலம்; கட்டம், சட்டம்; தரம், தனம்; தளம், களம், வளம், பவளம், உப்பளம்; தணல், மணல், சணல்; மண், எண், உண்; கால், சால், பால்; கோழி, சோழி.

Primer C : In pages 37 to 43, Primer C gives catalogues of words of one letter (பூ), two letters (சோறு), three letters (தம்பி), four letters (அண்ணன்). The size of the word cannot be correlated with interest and experience e.g. ஆ, கா, மோ, வீ.

Primer D : In pages 25 to 31, Primer D gives lists of words associated with such titles as குடும்பம், வீடு, உறுப்புக்கள், வகுப்பு, மரங்கள், பூக்கள், காய்கள், பழங்கள், பறவைகள், மிருகங்கள், ஊர்வன, வாகனங்கள், செய்கைகள்.

The influence of phonetic readers in English and of "the cat sat on a mat" pattern account for a great number of words used together in rhyming pairs without any other basis for their association in pairs than the rhyme. Thus :

Primer E : பஞ்சு, குஞ்சு; சட்டி, பெட்டி; நண்டு, சொண்டு; நாய், பாய்; தேர், வேர்; கொவ்வை, அவ்வை; கெடு, கேடு, கை; செடி, சேடி, சை; தெள், தேன், தை; நெறி, நேசி, நை; மெலி, மேடு, மை; பெண், பேறு, பை.

Primer F : சாக்கு, முக்கு; சங்கு, அங்கு, இங்கு, உங்கு; ஆச்சி, பூச்சி, வாச்சி; சட்டி, தட்டி, முட்டி; சொத்தி, பக்தி, முத்தி; கப்பு, அப்பு, ஆப்பு, உப்பு; வாய், காய், பாய், தாய்; கவ்வு, சவ்வு, தவ்வு; ஆள், வாள், தாள், நாள்; கொடி, நொடி, பொடி; ஒளவை, கௌவை; கௌரி, மௌலி etc.

Primer G : பலர், மலர்; மடம், படம்; படல், மடல்; பண், மண்; பணம், மணம்; பார், கார்; நட, கட; நரி, கரி; பட்டி, கட்டி; ஆடி, தாடி; தூண், பூண்; ஆச்சி, பூச்சி; பாய், வாய்; தேய், மேய்.

These words are catalogued in the primers in such a manner that the child is compelled to learn them not in association but in isolation. These words and jingles have been chosen for their consonantal composition, their

brevity and their phonic similarity. These pages are so much inert and dead material for the child. The listing of words according to their length and the number of letters of which they are composed shows again the pre-occupation with recognition of word-elements irrespective of the frequency of the given words in children's usage and their creative interest. The method is faulty in that it does not develop the eye-span, the area of visual focus demanded being too small for the development of a larger eye-span for regular reading.

The introduction of single words as the unit of reading practice in primary schools contributes more for meaningful reading than the alphabet, syllabic or phonic methods. Word recognition and study of the synthetic pattern should precede the break-up or analysis into the component syllabic or alphabetical patterns. This analytic process need not be undertaken by the primer. It should be left to the teacher to introduce gradually the break-up of the word into letters, and build new words out of the elements with which the children are familiar.

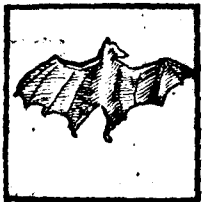
The pages which are reproduced here from two primers, one in use in India and another in use in Ceylon will show the practice of an inopportune analytic method and an overloading of letter recognition which find no justification in scientific reading methodology.

The artificiality and unrelatedness of the letters taught in isolation to the actual language needs of the child is again seen in the manner in which vowel consonants of the 'ங' series which never occur in words are introduced in the primers.

THE SENTENCES

From single words as the means of letter and word recognition exercises, the readers proceed to sentences. The sentences are brief and in order to be as brief as pos-

A page from Primer 'X' approved for use in Ceylon.

	ஒள	
வால்		டதம்
வால்		டதம்
வை		ர்ணமி
தாரி		லி
வெளி நிரப்பல்		சொல் ஆக்கல்
பூனை		வ
யா —		உ
பா —		கு
பே —		க
		டை
ஒளவைப் பாட்டி		காடை, கௌதாரி
ஒளடதம் சாப்பிடு		பௌர்ணமி தினம்

எழுத்து :

கௌ, சௌ, மௌ, யௌ, பௌ, வெள

Note the use of colour, the type of illustrations, the crowded page, the heavy vocabulary burden and the letter emphasis.

A page from Primer 'Y' approved in Madras State.



வெளவால்

கௌதாரி யௌவனம்
சௌக்கியம் ரௌத்திரி
பௌர்ணமி லௌகீகம்
மௌனம் ஓளவை

ஓளவையார் நிரம்பப் படித்தவர்.

மௌனம் மிகவும் நல்லது.

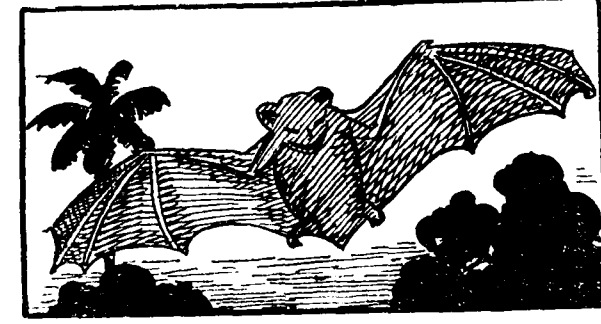
கௌதாரி ஒரு பறவை.

வெளவால் பறக்கும் பிராணி.

கௌ

கௌ
நௌ
சௌ
ஞௌ
டௌ
ணௌ
தௌ
நௌ
பௌ
மௌ
யௌ
ரௌ
லௌ
வௌ
ழௌ
ளௌ
னௌ

Another page from a Primer approved in the Madras State.



வெளவால்

ஓள = டௌ : க் + ஓள = கௌ

கௌளி	வெளவால்
மௌனம்	ஓளவை

வெளவால் மரத்தில் தொங்கும்.

வெளவால் பகலில் தூங்கும்.

வெளவால் பழம் தின்னும்.

மௌனச் சுவாமியார் நல்லவர்.

ஓளவை நீதி நூல்கள் எழுதினார்.

காலால் நடந்தே அவர் எங்கும் சுற்றினார்.

சிறுவர்க்குச் செந்தமிழ்ப் பாடல்களைப் பாடினார்.

ஓள

கௌ	ஞௌ	தௌ	மௌ	லௌ	ளௌ
நௌ	டௌ	நௌ	யௌ	வௌ	றௌ
சௌ	ணௌ	பௌ	ரௌ	ழௌ	னௌ

sible, in the first sentence lessons the readers use the second-person singular imperative which in Tamil is the shortest verbal form. Often the imperatives are not closely related to the life of the child and sometimes are far-fetched, abstruse, meaningless or pedantic. e.g. :—

Primer A : மீன்பிடி, தீனிதின்; பாக்குவெட்டு.

Primer B : நன்னூல் படி! (This at 4+!)

Primer C : ஆதி; ஓ கோ; கை நோ; பூ மோ; ஈ நீ; ஆகா (unalloyed gibberish); மிருது மயிர்; குழும் மூக்கு, பிளவு உதடு.

Primer D : ஒளடதம் சாப்பிடு.

Primer E : உண்டு வளர்; கல்வி கல், பதவி பெறு; பணம் தேடு; வீடு கட்டு; அறம் செய்; முத்தி பெறு; and later on மலம் கழி.

Primer F : கற்றோரை நாடு.

These orders are generally followed by bare statements of fact or moral and ethical maxims which again are not woven in with child interest and contain no story or personal element.

A	பூ மணம் தரும்	ஒட்டகம் பெரிய மிருகம்
	பசு பால் தரும்	ஒளவை படித்த கிழவி
	நாய் வீடு காக்கும்	கௌளி வீட்டில் இருக்கும்

B குறித்த வேளையில் சாப்பிடு
காலம் தவறுமை சால நன்று
சோம்பர் என்பவர் தேம்பித் திரிவர்
மூத்தோர் சொல் வார்த்தை அமிர்தம்
தந்தையும் தாயும் பெற்றோர் ஆவர்
கௌதாரி ஒரு பறவை
வெளவால் பறக்கும் பிராணி
வெய்யில் வெப்பம் உள்ளது
வெட்டி வேர் மணம் உள்ளது

C அவன் வரான்; ஐயர் வரார் (verbal form above standard)

F மாடு புல் மேயும் கால்களால் நடக்கிறோம்

G கொம்பு குதிரைக்கு இல்லை பசு பால் தரும்
ஒளவை படித்த கிழவி

The teaching of morals and good clean habits, through abstract instruction and an anxiety to inculcate ethical terms and norms is almost overdone in the primers. The compilers have not realised that at the age children use these primers, they learn ethical norms and ideas through concrete situations and through identifying them with particular actions and persons.

Primer B : In one single lesson on Mahatma Gandhi occur the following terms : பெரியார், உலகப் பெரியார்; நன்மை; துன்பம், உபதேசம், உண்மை, கட்டளை.

Out of thirty-seven words in the lesson thirty are words which are introduced in the primer for the first time.

Primer C : Contains lessons on the *Elephant, Coconut Tree, Peacock, Monkey, Parrot, Bear* which are factual data more pertinent to Nature study. If instead of bare uninteresting statements on the bear such as கரடி காட்டு மிருகம். உடம்பு முழுதும் மயிர்ச் சடை. நீண்ட முகம். வட்ட அடி. கொடிய நகங்கள். கோபம் கொள்ளும். If the bear had been related in a few sentences with a child's visit to the Zoo, the lesson would have answered better the test of suitability for children. In each of these later lessons, more than 70% of the words are new words, and hardly repeated during the lesson. The vocabulary burden in each lesson is excessively heavy.

The personal and story elements are essential to successful lessons in primers and should replace the arid and inert statements of natural and biological phenomena which most of the lessons supply. Here is a lesson on "Our House" which may serve as an illustration of some of the norms to be observed in the compilation of lessons for primers.

எங்கள் வீடு

இது எங்கள் வீடு. இங்கே
அப்பா இருக்கிறார். நானும்
அப்பாவும் அம்மாவும்
இங்கே இருக்கிறோம்.
எங்கள் வீடு இது. எங்கள்
வீட்டில் ஒரு நாய் இருக்
கிறது. அது நல்ல நாய்.
எங்கள் நாய் கடிக்காது.
“வள்” “வள்” என்று குலைக்
கும்.

In this short lesson which may be introduced with an illustration among the lessons of the latter half of a primer, the words used have a high frequency in the spoken vocabulary of a child. They are not two-syllable and three-syllable words strung together for similarity of sound. They are sufficiently of different visual pattern, and contain greater interest for the child than a mere catalogue of parts of a house. There is a personal and narrative element giving unity to the short lesson.

POETRY

Children have a keen sense of rhyme and of the magic and music of words, and hence every effort should be made to introduce them to simple and melodious poetry. The primers vary in the number of poems which they include and in the total number of lines.

Primer	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
No. of Poems	8	1	3	3	5	4	9

Some of the poems are popular nursery rhymes and action-songs and easy children's poetry from Barathi and Desigavinayagam Pillai. Some of the poems have been selected by two or more Readers as may be seen from the table on page 228. The nursery rhymes and action songs (அம்பலிமான், நிலா, கைவீச்சம்மா) are popularly recited to children, and hence, are suitable for inclusion in all primers. The Kazhagam poems என் தாய் and மழை have the moralising tone predominant in them, but I have heard young children reciting them to their parents, especially to their mothers who encourage their repetition. They may be included even if their vocabulary burden is high. The verses on the Dog, on the Cock, on the Cow and Calf by Desigavinayagam Pillai and the Child's song by Barathi are very apt

has been included in these three primers, probably as a homage to past conventions of Tamil teaching which commenced with this acrostic didactic verse. The Madras syllabus prescribes 50 verses of the ஆத்திசூடி and 50 lines of songs, rhymes and lullabies for the first standard. This inclusion of ஆத்திசூடி is often defended on the ground that these children comprehend later as adults what they have learned in the first standard. No educational or psychological principle justifies inflicting so many verses of didactic poetry unintelligible to the child so that it may discover their meaning with relish about ten years later.⁹

Another acrostic found in Primer E contains words and concepts beyond the interests of the child.

எண்ணும் எழுத்தும் படித்திடுவோம்
ஏவாமற் பணி செய்திடுவோம்
ஐந்தும் இரண்டும் கற்றிடுவோம்
அன்பாய்க் கூடி நடித்திடுவோம்
ஒற்றுமையாக வாழ்ந்திடுவோம்
ஒடிப் பாடி நடித்திடுவோம்
ஒளவை பாடல் படித்திடுவோம்

The chief test to be used in the selection of poetry for children is the capacity of the poem to be used for pure enjoyment. On the other hand, the compilers of most Tamil readers seem to utilise poetry merely as a literary medium through which religion, morals, ethics, good manners, biography and vocabulary may be taught. This is a perversion of the poetry lesson.¹⁰

⁹ *Revised Syllabus*, op. cit., p. 5. The didactic burden is evident again in the poetry prescribed for Standard II: "Ulaganeethi"—10 stanzas of four lines each suitable for children; "Konrai-Vendan"—40 lines suitable to children; nursery rhymes and action songs—about sixty lines. The didactic verses form the major part of prescribed poetry.

¹⁰ See CUTFORTH, JOHN A., *English in the Primary School*, 2nd ed., Blackwells, Oxford, 1954; HERRICH, VIRGIL E. and JACOBS, IELAND B., *Children and the Language Arts*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1955.

News and Notes

TAMIL MEDIUM IN COLLEGES

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Education, stated that the threat of financial sanction did not enter into the proposal the Madras Government had made for the switch-over from English to Tamil as medium of instruction at college and university levels.

The Minister, while talking to Pressmen, explained the recent decision of the Government about the medium of instruction at the college level. He said that the scheme had the approval of both the Vice-Chancellors in this State. There was no question of any threat of financial sanctions for preventing the English medium being used. Even at present there were, he said, many recognised educational institutions which were not in receipt of financial aid. If it was the general policy that the Tamil medium should be adopted for the Bachelor of Arts degree courses, then those who wanted Government aid would have to fall in line with the general policy, he added.

The Minister observed that even now secondary schools had to follow a certain pattern in regard to the syllabus and curriculum. This did not mean that there was no other syllabus or curriculum equally effective. The fact that the Government did not give any grant to such institutions should not be regarded as threat of financial sanctions. The Minister pointed out that the policy already pursued in regard to secondary schools was at present being extended to college and university levels.

—The Hindu

COMMITTEE MEETS IN COIMBATORE

The College Tamil Committee, constituted to advise the Government on the implementation of the introduction of the Tamil medium in the Pilot College (Government Arts College, Coimbatore) from June, 1960, and to plan the various preparatory measures to be undertaken, met in the P. S. G. College of Technology, Peelamedu. Mr. G. R. Damodaran, M.L.C., Principal, P. S. G. College of Technology, Chairman of the Committee, presided.

On the first day, the Chairman explained the Terms of Reference and the issues to be discussed in the G.O. relating to the adoption of Tamil medium. The problems to be tackled were pointed out by the Chairman.

On the second day, he submitted a draft report outlining the policy and the measures to be taken. The members of the Committee adopted the report.

The report suggested the procedures to be adopted in the collection of technical terminology, preparation of text books, selection of authors for writing those text books, appointment of suitable qualified staff for the Pilot College and the selection of the students.

As regards the technical terms, the Committee has decided to confine themselves, for the present, to those needed for covering the subjects proposed to be taught in Humanities for the B.A. degree course, namely, History, Economics, Politics, Geography and Psychology. The Tamil equivalents or transliterations adopted in the school text books, standard dictionaries, glossaries published by Government of Madras, and the terms used by *Kalaikathir*, the scientific journal of Coimbatore, and by *Kalaikalanjiam* of Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam, will be accepted with suitable modifications, wherever necessary. In the absence of acceptable Tamil equivalents in these sources, the Committee would explore the possibility of discovering new terms. Wherever proper Tamil equivalents are not avail-

able, transliteration of the International terminology, as suggested in the G.O. will be attempted and no adaptation will be made which will transform the original beyond recognition.

Each member of the College Tamil Committee has been assigned a subject for the preparation of such terms and he has been authorised to employ qualified persons for carrying out this preparation.

A Publication Committee is to be constituted with a nominee of the University, a Professor of Tamil and a Professor teaching the subject to select the text books and to decide the author for the preparation of the text books. It was proposed by the Committee to invite talented authors through notification in the Press, inviting specimen translations or adaptations. To encourage the publication of original works, the Committee has recommended to Government to draw up a prize scheme and to award coveted prizes to the authors for their best books in the various subjects.

A time-schedule has been drawn up by the Committee to implement the policy of Tamil medium at various stages. The Committee has decided that the text books should be ready by April 15, 1960, and has recommended to Government to organise orientation courses for the teachers who are to be engaged in the Pilot College for instruction.

The Chairman of the Committee would be interviewing a few selected educationists for their suggestions to implement the Tamil medium. The Principal of the Government Arts College, Coimbatore, has been requested by the Committee to take necessary steps for the construction of buildings required for additional accommodation, to purchase necessary furniture, library, etc.

The Committee has co-opted Messrs. B. R. Krishnamurthi, Principal, P. S. G. Arts College, Peelamedu, and

M. Aramvalathan, Principal, Rural Institute of Higher Education, S. R. K. Vidyalaya, Perianaickenpalayam.

—*The Hindu*

TAMIL RESEARCH COUNCIL'S ADVICE

In reply to a question asked by Mr. K. Vinayakam in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance and Education, said that the Tamil Development and Research Council had been constituted for the development of Tamil language in all its aspects. The Council would function continuously.

Answering supplementaries, Mr. Subramaniam explained that the first suggestion of the Council was that Tamil be introduced as the medium of instruction in the reorganised B.A. course and the Government had taken a decision to introduce it as a pilot project in one college from 1960-61. The Vice-Chancellors of the Madras and Annamalai Universities, who were members of the Council, had also been consulted and they had given their consent to the proposal.

—*The Hindu*

TAMIL AS STATE LANGUAGE

The introduction of Tamil as the official language of the State was bound to work satisfactorily and it was proposed to be introduced in the Government offices gradually and in stages, said Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance, replying to questions in the Legislative Council.

Mr. Subramaniam, answering two interpellations tabled by Messrs. T. Purushotham and V. V. Ramaswami, said that Tamil had been introduced as the language of correspondence with effect from January 14, 1958, in about 1,925 Government offices in the State. Regarding the other offices, it was proposed to take up the various Government departments in convenient batches, the order of prefer-

ence being based on the extent to which the general public, particularly the ryots in the villages, had to deal with these offices.

The Official Language Act Implementation Committee, the Minister said, had been asked to submit to Government, every quarter, reviews furnished by heads of departments on the working of the scheme, together with its comments and suggestions. Two of these quarterly reports had been received so far. From these reports, it was seen that the glossaries of administrative terms distributed to offices had reached them only a few months ago, and that, therefore, a detailed review was not possible till the glossaries had been put to use for some more time.

Answering a supplementary whether the actual working of the scheme (introduction of Tamil as the language of correspondence) had proved to be satisfactory so far, Mr. Subramaniam said that his own view was that it was bound to be satisfactory. The glossaries had just been distributed and the Government's intention was to extend it to other offices gradually.

In reply to criticisms that Tamil equivalents given in the glossary to certain English terms like the Collector, lorry, etc., were not easily understandable, Mr. Subramaniam said that certain English terms had become very familiar to them and it was the intention of the Government that they should be retained.

Replying to another interpellation tabled by Mr. V. V. Ramaswami, Mr. Subramaniam said that there was at present no proposal before the Government to encourage the translation of Tamil works into other languages and works in other languages into Tamil. But if specific requests for assistance for translations were received, the Government considered each such request on its merits.

—*The Hindu*

CHILDREN'S BOOKS IN TAMIL

The Madras Government have appointed a committee to be known as the "Committee for research and production of literature on adult and children's education" with Rev. Xavier S. Thaninayagam, Department of Education, University of Ceylon, as chairman to conduct research and to produce children's books and books for neo-literates in Tamil.

The other members of the committee are: Messrs. M. R. Perumal Mudaliar, Principal, Government Teachers' College Saidapet; Aramvalarthan, Principal, Rural Higher Education Institute, Perianaickenpalayam, Coimbatore; B. R. Krishnamurthy, Principal, P. S. G. Arts College, Peelamedu; S. Vadivelu, Special Officer for Text Books and Personal Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction; and Al. Valliappa, author of children's books, Madras. The committee has been authorised to co-opt three additional members, if found necessary.

Mr. V. Kannaiyan, Secretary of the Tamil Development and Research Council, will be the Secretary of the committee.

The Government Order announcing the constitution of the committee says that the question of co-ordinating and developing the activities of all agencies at present engaged in the production and publication of books for adults and children had been under the consideration of Government for some time. The matter came up before the Tamil Development and Research Council at its meeting held on April 8, 1959. It was agreed that there should be detailed research in adult and child psychology, taste, vocabulary, the subjects in which they are much interested, etc.

The Government Order adds that the committee mentioned above has been appointed "to advise the Govern-

ment on the implementation of this policy to conduct research and to plan various preparatory measures to be undertaken in order to produce children's books and books for neo-literates in Tamil".

The committee will be free to consult all persons whose advice and opinion in the matter will, in its opinion, be useful.

—*The Hindu*

SOUTHERN LANGUAGES TRUST

35 TAMIL BOOKS PUBLISHED

The Southern Languages Book Trust, Madras, celebrated the release of the 100th book to be published under its auspices—"A Day At The Beach", a work in Telugu for young children, at a pleasant function held at Woodlands, Mylapore.

Dr. S. Govindarajulu Naidu, Chairman of the Trust, and Vice-Chancellor of the Sri Venkateswara University, announcing future plans, said they aimed at publishing children's books, as also books for neo-literates, special books for villagers, and a series of books expounding modern science in a simple way.

Dr. Govindarajulu Naidu said that the books brought out by the Trust were not so many independent works, but actually comprised of 45 separate titles, some of which were published in all the languages, while others were published in one or two or three languages. He mentioned that Rajaji's fables or short stories in all the languages was a best-seller. Another good-seller were books of selections from Tamil classics. The Trust took pride in having brought together so many people, like authors, publishers, artists, and the like, into the business of turning out good books. Yet, in one direction, namely, the art of selling books, much leeway had to be made.

The Trust had received financial assistance from the Ford Foundation, which had also given it from time to time the assistance of several technical consultants. They now hoped to receive the assistance of the four State Governments in the South. The Trust was also seeking the assistance of the Union Government, the Chairman said.

The note issued by the Trust said that the first books appeared in 1957, and the books so far published were made up of 35 books in Tamil, 25 in Telugu, 19 in Kannada and 21 in Malayalam. The Trust had arranged for the publication of three books in Tamil with the assistance of UNESCO, and planned to arrange for the publication of another eight books in collaboration with the same organisation during the remaining part of this year.

—*The Hindu*

TAMIL-RUSSIAN DICTIONARY

A Tamil-Russian dictionary is being prepared by the U.S.S.R. Publishing House of foreign and Soviet national dictionaries and will be published before the World Congress of Orientalists meets in the Soviet Union next year, according to a Tass release in New Delhi.

The dictionary would be followed by a Russian-Tamil dictionary, work on which has already begun in the editorial office of dictionaries of South-East Asian Languages, the Tass release said.

—*The Hindu*

SPEED DEMONSTRATION IN TAMIL TYPING

There was a High Speed Test Demonstration in Tamil Typewriting at the Government Central Tamil Typewriting Institute at Old Assembly Buildings, Government Estate, Madras. Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister, presided over the function.

Mr. M. Anantanarayanan, I.C.S., who is the Member in charge of the Government Typists' Training Scheme, welcomed the Minister. Mr. V. Subramaniam, Chief Instructor of the Institute, said that a good number of the trainees had recorded a speed of over 50 words within three months and that of all the regional languages it would be possible to attain in Tamil typing a speed equivalent to that in English typewriting in course of time.

About 30 Government typists drawn from all the districts participated in the High Speed Test Demonstration including two lady typists.

The Minister appreciated the progress made by the trainees in a short time in Tamil typing. It was really an achievement, he said, that many of the trainees excelled the All-India record within three months.

—*The Hindu*

THE CENTENARY OF ABRAHAM PANDITHER OF TANJORE

The above centenary was celebrated at Tanjore on the 22nd and 23rd of August, 1959 with great enthusiasm by a committee headed by Dr. A. S. Thava Pandyan, the senior grandson of Pandither. On the 22nd of August there was a memorial service at St. Peter's Church at Tanjore. It was a choral service throughout in which the lyrics composed by Pandither were rendered to Carnatic music of a high order. It was impressive and inspiring. The sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hezekaiel who dealt with Pandither's career as a physician, agriculturalist and musical scholar and said that he used the fortune he acquired by medicine for the good of the humanity and for the welfare of the Indian church.

On the 23rd of August a public meeting was held in the morning as well as in the evening. In the morning session the honourable Mr. Justice V. Subrahmanyam of

the Madras High Court presided. He paid an eloquent tribute to the glorious achievement of Pandither rising from a humble position to one of name and fame. He said that he was an example of inspiration to the young generation of modern India. He emphasized how his faith in God supported him in all his difficulties and how God's grace blessed him.

The first speaker in the morning was Mr. R. Lakshmanan, the District Judge of Tanjore. He made a humorous speech and kept the audience rocking with laughter throughout. He spoke of Pandither as an example of industry in working his way up and of service of humanity irrespective of caste and creed. The next speaker was Venuganam Venugopal Naidu garu of Coimbatore, a great musical scholar in possession of many Tamil musical works alleged to be lost. He explained that originally the Sanskrit works expounded the theory of twenty-four 'Suruthies' based as they were on the twenty-four letters of 'Gayatrimantram', but subsequently the 'Bhakthas' dropped out two 'Suruthies' calculated to inspire feelings of 'Kama' namely, 'Antra Gantharam' and 'Nishadam' and confined themselves to twenty-two 'Suruthies'. On the other hand the secularists stuck to the original twenty-four Suruthies for a time until the practise and authority of Bhakthas prevailed over them too. That is how twenty-two Suruthies came to be mentioned in well known Sanskrit books. The last item in the morning was a paper on Abraham Pandither as a theologian and religious thinker by the Rev. A. Arul Thangiah of Madras who was unavoidably absent. It was read by a proxy. He expounded Pandither's views on the approach to Christianity from an Indian point of view so eloquently pleaded by him in his work called "Nan Marai Kattum Nanneri".

In the evening Mr. A. C. Paul Nadar presided. The first speaker was Mr. Devaneyya Pavanar of Annamalai University. He dealt at length on the service rendered by Pandither for the understanding of Tamil language bound

up with the origin of Carnatic music and the elucidation of music in the famous Tamil work, "Silappadikaram". The second item was a brilliant musical performance on Veena by Mrs. Gnana Selvam Thava Pandyan, a grand-daughter of Pandither. The next item was a charming and eloquent speech by Miss Tilakavathi Paul whose reminiscences of Pandither and character study of each and everyone of Pandither's ten children with their achievements thrilled the audience and kept it in spell-bound silence. It was followed by a short speech by Mr. Duraiappa Bagavather, a renowned musical scholar and son of the celebrated Panchapigesa Bagavather who taught fiddle to the daughters of Pandither namely Maragathavalli and Kanagavalli. He dwelt on Pandither as a conversationalist surrounded by a circle of learned men. He cited some of the profound sayings of Pandither to illustrate his wisdom.

The last but not the least item in the programme was a 'musical Kalakshebbham' by Mr. Thana Pandyan, a son of Maragathavalli, on the glorious achievement of Pandither in the field of music. It was a deep biographical study in the light of his original compositions of lyrics and his contribution to the study of the origin and development of Carnatic music. The technique of his performance was highly appreciated by the professionals. The audience was kept spell-bound for nearly two hours. At the request of the audience after meals he entertained them to a fine flute kacheri lasting till late in the mid-night.

The celebration was brought to a close by a magnificent display of fireworks.

Messages of good wishes were received from more than three hundred persons including Mr. Bishnuram Medhi, the Governor of Madras, Bishop Jebaraj of Tirunelveli and Mr. T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai, the Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University and many other scholars and musicians. The well known journals like *The Hindu* and *Kalki* paid well deserved tributes to Pandither.

Extracts from Letter

A British subscriber writes :—

I have been wanting to write to you for some time to thank you for TAMIL CULTURE, VII, 4, but have been prevented from doing so by one thing after another, the latest of them being a paper that can be read in ten minutes at our next Conference to be held at University College, Bangar.

As Dravidian Studies have received little or no consideration latterly, I thought I would do something about it on the principle “சிறு துரும்பும் பல்லுக்குத்த உதவும்” and wrote a simple paper on the *Mahabharata* in Tamil (tracing the history from the earliest times). *Villi Bharam* fascinates me more and more; also the sequel by Aranganatha Kavirayar, of which one hears so little nowadays.

But to revert to TAMIL CULTURE, VII, 4, Fr. David has, as usual, tackled his subject with much vigour, and I read his article with great interest. He will, I am sure, prove a worthy successor to Rev. Fr. Gnanaprakasam. “News and Notes” were, as usual, interesting, but I was sorry to find no mention made of Sivaji Ganesan under the Kattabomman celebration, for I am sure he has done as much, if not more, than Rajaji to arouse indignation in the people.

Volume VIII, No. 1 has now arrived, and it is by far the best number I have perused so far, every article being well worth publishing. Rev. Dr. Thani Nayagam has indeed good news to give us, and the Hon’ble the Minister is to be congratulated on the very strong Council he has brought into being. P. Joseph writes really beautifully about the “Dravidian of Spain”, whose portrait I am so glad to have.

The linguistic discussions I am not in a position to discuss the merits of, for I was brought up on our own grammarians, who supply us—at least so I feel—with all that we need to know of the structure of Tamil to interpret the classics, and that is our only concern and the concern of the vast majority of those who read and learn Tamil. As I view the scene from this great distance, I grieve to find the intrusion of Western ways into the printing of Tamil, with its gratuitous insult to the teachers of Tamil up and down the country, that boys of even Form VI cannot break up the simplest of *sandhis*. Is there no power in the land to arrest this dry rot? Surely in speech we do not stop to break up *sandhis*; and we of a former generation got on very well without the spoon-feeding that seems to be the order of the day, as though it represented the high watermark of sound pedagogy.

List of Books Received

ON COMPLIMENTARY AND EXCHANGE BASIS
during July/September 1959.

- ANNALS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH : Vol. XV, 1958-'59, Part II.
ARCHIV ORIENTALNI : No. 27/1, 1959.
ARCHIVUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU : Anno XXVIII,
Jan.-June, 1959.
DIALECTS OF TAMIL I (Dr. Kamil Zvelebil).
JOURNAL ASIATIQUE : Tome CCXLVI, 1958 Fasc. Nos. 2 & 3.
L'ARCHEOLOGIE DU DELTA DU MEKONG : Vol. XLII.
ORIENT OCCIDENT : Vol. II, No. 4, August 1959.
PHILOSOPHY EAST AND WEST : Vol. VII, Nos. 3 & 4.
QUEST : July/September and October/December 1959.
RUMANIA REVIEW : No. 2/1959.
THE ARYAN PATH : Vol. XXX, Nos. 8-10, 1959.
THE INDIAN P.E.N. : Vol. XXV, Nos. 8-10, 1959.
THE INDO-ASIAN CULTURE : Vol. VII, No. 4, 1959.
THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS CITY REVIEW : Vol. XXV,
No. 4.
VALUES : July, 1959.
ZEMA POSVATNYCH REK : (Kr. Ivo Fiser & Dr. Kamil
Zvelebil).

தமிழ்ப் பொழில் - மலர் 7

BOOK RECEIVED

நவமணிநகர் - (திருவாவடுதுறை ஆதீனம்)

—T. S. வைத்தியநாதன். பக்கங்கள் 304.

NOTICE

A RARE OPPORTUNITY FOR RESEARCH SCHOLARS AND LIBRARIES

A few copies of the following back numbers of *Tamil Culture* are available for sale :—

1954 Vol. III, Nos. 1-4 (one set) Rs. 8 per set of un-
bound copies and Rs. 10 for bound volumes.

1955 Vol. IV, No. 2 only Rs. 2 per copy.

1956 Vol. V, No. 1 only Rs. 2.50 per copy.

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Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(„ calm)
இ	—	i	(„ sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(„ machine)
உ	—	u	(„ full)
ஊ	—	u:	(„ rule)
எ	—	e	(„ fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(„ able)
ஐ	—	ai	(„ aisle)
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)
	த	—	t: („ card?).... Retroflex - articulate with blade of tongue.
Soft (Nasal)	த	—	th („ threat, this, thick).... dental,
	ப	—	p („ pipe, amber)
	ஹ	—	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.
Auxiliary ² (-ஆய்தம்)	ஃ	—	x („ ahead)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

e.g., பங்கலை 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., எஃஹ 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, Thamih, 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	ன	ந	ம	ன	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஊ a:	ஊ to the right of the consonant	கா					கூ			கூ			கூ						
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	ன்	ந்	மு	ன்	ய்	ர்	ல்	வ்	ழ்	ள்
ஊ u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	சூ	டூ	தூ	பூ	தூ	ங்	ஞ்	ன்	ந்	மு	ன்	ய்	ர்	ல்	வ்	ழ்	ள்
எ e	எ to the left of the consonant	கெ																	
ஏ e:	ஏ to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	ஐ to the left of the consonant	கை								கினை			கினை			கிலை		கிலை	
ஓ o	ஓ to the left & ஊ to the right of the consonant	கொ					கொ			கொ			கொ						
ஔ o:	ஔ to the left & ஊ to the right	கொ					கொ			கொ			கொ						
ஔ au	ஔ to the left & ஊ to the right	கொ																	
மேய் 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.

On the Uses of Participles and Participial Nouns in Tamil

M. ANDRONOV

The syntax of the Dravidian languages is not elaborately described, and various ways, in which participles and participial nouns are generally used, have not been hitherto classified. Thus, for instance, J. Bloch in the paragraph devoted to participles, is compelled simply to state that "les rapports entre ce participe et le nom sur lequel il s'appuie d'une part, et les termes de la proposition établie sur ce participe d'autre part, sont indéterminés dans la forme et doivent se traduire de façon variée".¹

But formal indeterminateness of these relations between the participle and the noun on which it depends does not deny the fact of existence of some models which regulate and determine the uses of participles and participial nouns in this language.

I

Participles, as other verbal forms in Tamil, have no voice characteristics.² This leads to the fact that the same participle can be used in active sense in one context and in passive sense in another. Everything depends here on the order of words and on their lexical meaning. Thus, for instance, the past participle of the verb *paṭi*- "to read" *paṭitta* can be used in active sense as well as in passive. This distinction depends, in this example, on the meaning of the word, determined by the participle: *paṭitta paiaṇ* means "the boy who read", while *paṭitta pāṭam* means

¹ J. Bloch, *Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes*, Paris, 1946, p. 65.

² Cf.: "Rien dans le verbe ne signale voix, mode ou aspect." *Ibid.*, p. 100.

“the lesson which was read”. These compounds can be understood only in this way because of the lexical meaning of the nouns, that is because by their nature the boy cannot be read and the lesson cannot read.

In a number of cases, however, the meaning of the word is not sufficient to determine the character of the action, expressed by the participle. Thus, in *pārtta paiyan* the participle *pārtta* (from *pār-* “to see”) can be interpreted in both the ways: “the boy who saw” and “the boy who was seen”. In such cases an indication should be given to the subject of the action, expressed by the participle: the participle has an active character when its subject coincides with the word determined by the participle; the participle has a passive character when the subject of the action does not coincide with the word determined by the participle. E.g.,

ennaip pārtta paiyan “the boy who saw me”, and
nān pārtta paiyan “the boy who was seen by me”.

Peculiarity of the Tamil verb is that in the latter instance the subject of the action, expressed by the participle, is put, as a rule, in the nominative case.³ E.g.,

Tāy conna collait taṭṭātē Do not disobey the
pāppā! (P., K., 174) words spoken by your
 mother, child!

This peculiarity (the subject in the nominative case) is characteristic of participles, derived from intransitive verbs, too. Like participles of transitive verbs, these participles are used as an attribute to some other word. E.g.,

1. *Tān ninra iṭattiliruntu* She stayed at the place,
koṇṭē takarak kuva- where she stood, and
laiyai niṭṭināl. (A., 8) held out her tin.

³ Some expressions of physical possibility to perform an action make an exception to this rule:

Avar tammāl ceyyakkūṭiya He helped as he could.
utaviyaic ceytār
Atu tannāl ānavarai It (a fox) tried to jump
kutittuppārttatu. as high as it could.

2. *Viṣam kalanta pālait* She prepares some milk
tayārittuk koṭukkīrāl. mixed with poison.
 (C-2, 44) (Or: milk with
 which poison has
 mixed.)

So, every participle in Tamil, irrespective of transitivity or intransitivity of the verb from which it is derived, has a subject in the nominative case, unless this subject coincides with a word, determined by the participle.

In some of such cases, the subject of the action, expressed by the participle, can be omitted and he understood only with the help of the context. For instance,

1. *Eṅkaḷ viṭṭukku vanta-* I called her when
vuṭaṇ avalaik kūp- she was passing our
piṭṭē. (Ki. Vā. Ja., house.
 Pū., 2)
 2. *Ennaik katalitta ku-* May God forgive her
rattirkāka kaṭavuḷ for having loved me!
avalai mannikkavē-
ṭum! (P., P., 6)

(The subject of both the participles — *aval* — is omitted here to avoid repetition.)

Cf. also *piranta tiṇam* “birthday” (but not “the day which was born”!) and *iṇanta tiṇam*.

These features of Tamil participles underlie their use with postpositions, which for the most part are or have been nouns. Such a noun-postposition is determined by a participle, the subject of which is expressed by another noun. E.g.,

1. *Nān varum pōtellām...* Every time when I
 (Lā. Ca. Rā., Ja., 83) came...

2. Paiyan nīnkaḷ nīnkaik-
kirapaṭi illai. (Ki. Vā.
Ja., Pa. Ma., 6) The boy is not what you
think of him.

(Here the nouns-postpositions paṭi and pōtu are determined by the participles nīnakkira and varum, which have subjects of their own — nīnkaḷ and nān.)

II

Participial nouns have both the nominal and verbal characteristics. As nouns, they can be declined, act as a subject or predicate in the sentence. E.g.,

1. Inimēl naṭappataip-
parittānē yōcikka-
vēṇṭum. (K., C.C.,
378) It is of the things which
are going to happen
that we must think.
2. ...Kālaiyilēyē pōṇa-
vaninnum ēn tirum-
pivaravillai...? (*Ibid.*,
405) Why hasn't he returned
who had gone in the
morning?
3. Avar Tamiḷ eluttā-
ḷarkaḷin naṇmaiya
virumpupavar. (Ki.
Va. Ja., Pū., 141) He is a well-wisher of
Tamil writers.

As verbs, participial nouns

(a) can be conjugated by tenses;

(b) can govern a noun in the same case as all the other forms of the verb; e.g.,

- Tantaiyaik konravanaip
paḷi vāṅkuvēn! (K,
2-9-56, 37) I shall revenge upon
him who has killed
my father!

(c) can be determined by verbal participles, adverbial and infinitives; e.g.,

1. Kukaiyai mūṭic cenra-
varkal . . . (P., Ka.,
256) Those who were going,
closing (the entrance
of) the cave . . .
2. Appaṭip pārttavar-
kaḷukku oru kāṭci
marakkāmal irukka-
lām. (C-2, 7) Those who have seen
(this film) under
such circumstances
may have not forgot-
ten one scene.
3. Avarkaḷ kavanikka
vēṇṭupavai evai? (V.,
IV, 54) Which are those that
demand their atten-
tion?

(d) can have a subject of their own in the nominative case. E.g.,

- Avarkaḷ enniṭam conna-
varrai yellām unniṭam
collip payanillai. (Ki.
Vā. Ja., Pū., 121) There is no use telling
you all the things
which they told me.

Participial nouns, derived from intransitive verbs, can also have a subject in the nominative case. In such cases a participial noun denotes a person which suffers an action, expressed by this participial noun and performed by its subject. E.g.,

- Āvēcam vantavaḷaippōla
...ōṭiṇēn. (Ki. Vā.
Ja., Pa. Ma., 13) I ran like a woman pos-
sessed by fury. (Or:
a woman to which
fury came.)

Like all the other verbal forms in Tamil, participial nouns have no voice differentiation. Therefore, participial

nouns, derived from transitive verbs, can be passive as well as active in their meaning. E.g., *irāyaṇ enpavaṇuṭaiya tāyār* (T.R., 26) means "the mother of a man who is called a king" (but not "a man who says: a king" from the root *en-* "to say, to call").

Of all the participial nouns those of the neutral gender singular are the most widely used and most peculiar ones.

In a number of cases they are used as other participial nouns and denote that which performs an action. E.g.,

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Cenratai eppaṭik koṇ-
ṭuvara muṭiyum?</i> (P.,
P., 9) | How to bring back that
which has already
passed? |
| 2. <i>Avaḷ kavaṇattai iḷut-
tatu, antak kural puti-
tāka iruntatu tāṇ.</i>
(Ti. Jā., Ko. Mē., 66) | Which drew her atten-
tion was that she
didn't know the
voice. |

Participial nouns of the neutral gender singular, derived from transitive verbs, can have passive meaning and denote that which was, is, or will be performed. E.g.,

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Cūtāṭi iḷantataip pera-
lām.</i> (P., P., 7) | It will be possible to
return what was lost
in the game. |
|--|--|

(*Iḷantatu* here means "that which was lost" from the root *iḷa-* "to lose".)

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 2. <i>Enna ceyvatu?</i> (P.,
K., 256) | What is that which will
be done? |
|--|-------------------------------------|

(*Ceyvatu* "that which will be done" from the root *cey-* "to do".)

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|
| 3. <i>Aḷakāṇa kaṭikāram;</i> | A nice watch; it was |
| <i>camīpattil vāṅkinatu</i> | bought recently. |
| ... (P. Tū., U.P., 78) | |

(*Vāṅkinatu* "that which was bought" from *vāṅku-* "to buy".)

As other participial nouns, the participial nouns of the neutral gender singular can have a subject in the nominative case, irrespective of transitiveness or intransitiveness of the verb from which they are derived. In such cases the character of the participial noun is slightly modified, and it comes to denote an action, performed by the subject of this participial noun (but not the thing which performs an action). E.g.,

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Nīr colvatu uṇmaittāṇ.</i> | That, which you say, is |
| (P., P., 3) | true. |

This peculiarity is common for participial nouns and participles. It is the result of the absence of voice differentiation in Tamil and leads to the fact that the same construction is characteristic of transitive and intransitive verbs. E.g.,

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Oru nāl, oru cēvakaṇ</i> | One day, seeing that a |
| <i>varukirataik kaṇṭu...</i> | servant is coming... |
| (T.R., 25) | |

Like participles, participial nouns may have no subject. In some of such cases the subject is simply omitted and can be easily understood from the context. E.g.,

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. <i>Jannaliliruntu veku-
tūrattil iruntatāl,</i> | Since it (a statuette) |
| <i>ataip pārkkā muṭiya</i> | was very far from the |
| <i>villai.</i> (P., P., 10) | window, I could not |
| | see it. |

(The subject of the participial noun *atu* is dropped to avoid repetition.)

2. Vicāraṇaiyīṇ pōtu, pūṭṭuc carippaṭuttu-pavan māṭiri anta araikkul vanta tu, aṭikkaṭi viṭṭiṇ pakkat-til kāṇappaṭṭatu nāṇ piccaikkāraṇ, pūṭṭai uṭaikkak kūṭiyavaṇ enpatellām nirūpik-kap paṭṭaṇa. (P., P., 10)

It was proved at the court that (I) came into the room as a locksmith, that they often saw (me) near the house, that I was a beggar, that (I) could break the lock.

(The subject nāṇ is omitted by all the participial nouns in this sentence.)

Very often, however, this participial noun has no subject and it cannot be learnt from the context. In such cases the participial noun of the neutral gender singular assumes a different meaning and denotes not the thing, which performs an action, and not the action, performed by the subject of this participial noun, but an action, performed by an indeterminate subject, or an action which is going on by itself. Every one or people in general can be understood as a subject of this action. Owing to such semantics, it makes no difference for the speaker, who exactly is the performer of the action of the participial noun, the speaker, so to say, abstracts himself from the subject of the action, which seems now to be going on independently and to have no need in any subject whatever. As a result of it, the participial noun, which now has no connection with any subject, assumes the meaning of nomen actionis. E.g.,

1. ...Nirmalā poṇṇa penkalai nampuvatu kaṭiṇam. (K., 2-9-56, 22)
- Believing in women like Nirmala is difficult.

2. Ivvaḷavu avamariyā-taikkuppiṇ mukattaik kāṭṭuvatu eppaṭi ? (A., 4)
- How can showing one's face be after such disgrace ?

To sum up, a participial noun of the neutral gender singular can have following meanings :—

1. That which performs an action (ceyvatu "that which will do").
2. That which is being performed (Enna ceyvatu ? "What is that which will be done ?").
3. That which is performed by the subject of the participial noun (nīr ceyvatu "that which you will do").
4. Nomen actionis (ceyvatu "doing").

- A. — Ampikai, Cennai, 1946
- C-2 — Citrā, Cennai, 1955, No. 2
- K. — Kalki, Cennai, 1956
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- Ki.Vā.Ja., Pa.M. — Ki. Vā. Jakannātaṇ, Pavaḷa mallikai Cennai, 1954
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Oxford, 1906
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Growth of Temples Under the Cōḷas

(A. D. 880—1280)

M. RAJAMANIKKAM

Āditya Cōḷa and his successors turned their attention to converting the earlier temples of bricks into those of stone. If it is borne in mind that many of the temples sung by the Nāyaṇmārs were situated in the districts of Tanjore and Tiruccirāppaḷḷi—the delta area of the Kāviri, where granite was so scarce to get, their great efforts at reconstruction will be better appreciated. It was almost impossible to transport large granite pieces and slabs of stones from the neighbouring hilly districts, so as to reconstruct, within a specified time, all the brick temples into stone. If every part of the temple was to be reconstructed with stone, a still larger quantity of granite would be required. Hence the Cōḷa Kings, their feudatories and others began to reconstruct at first the Mūlasthāna (கருவறை) and the Vimāna of the older temples in stone.

Their first attention was also centred mostly on such of those temples as had been celebrated in the hymns of the Nāyaṇmārs. Those existed at Tiruviḍaimarudūr, Āmāttūr, S'endurāi, Āvaḍuturāi, Visayamangai, Ālandurāi, Ariśīrkaraipputtūr, Maḷapāḍi, Oṟṟiyūr, Vaigāvūr, Niḍūr, Paḷuvūr, Perundurāi, Aṟaiyaṇinallūr, Vakkarai, Tiruppālavāṇam, Mākarai and Vēlvikkuḍi.¹

One inscription (Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1931-32) "commences with the introduction Puyalvāyppa etc. of Kulōthunga Choḷa III. Damaged and incomplete. Purports to be

¹ 199 of 1907, 413 of 1903, 316 of 1903, 126 & 143 of 1925, 165 of 1929, 338 of 1903, 282 of 1908, 92 of 1895, 126 of 1912, 51 of 1914, 534 of 1921, 393 of 1924, 134 of 1932, 387 of 1902, 200 of 1904, 313 of 1920, 224 of 1901, and 139 of 1926.

the copy of an inscription engraved on stone when the original brick temple of Tirupperunturai Uḍaiyār was converted into a stone temple in the reign of Karikāla-chōla, on which occasion the inscriptions previously engraved on the door Jambs and the eaves of stone were copied on the temple walls." (134 of 1932).

Having completed these they turned their attention to the other temples which yet required their benefactions. Caṇḍēśvara Nāyaṇār was considered the Chief supervising authority of every śiva temple. The receipts and charges and the purchase and sale of temple properties were entered in his name. And it became customary also to build a separate shrine for him alone in the very first prākāra adjoining the main shrine of the Lord. That shrine also underwent renovation in stone in the days of the cōlas.²

An inscription at the Umāmaheśvara Temple at Konerirajapuram records that the stone temple of Chandeśwara was built by Tittai-Vilumiyān alias Pillai-aḍiyār. This was built in the 15th year of Kulōthunga-chōla-deva I (658 of 1909).

Before such renovation was taken up, all stone inscriptions found on the foundation stone or on the walls of the old temple, were copied down in a book, and after the reconstruction they were carved and inscribed afresh on the walls. Thus it was that the registry of endowments of the ancients were preserved. This system was followed strictly by royal orders in the Cōla period.³

An inscription on the beams of the maṇḍapa in front of the central shrine in the Trilōkanāthaswami Temple at Tirupparuttikkunṇam (near Kānchi), is a copy of an inscription belonging to the 13th year of Vikrama Chōla-deva re-engraved when the maṇḍapa was re-built. (98 of 1923).

Generally, every temple had first the Mūlasthāna and the Naḍu maṇḍapa (central maṇḍapa), then the mukha

² 658 of 1909.

³ 199 of 1907; A.R.E. 1911, p. 72; 1913, p. III and 1922-23 p. 106.

maṇḍapa or the front maṇḍapa; and next the first compound and the wall around it.⁴

An inscription (224 of 1901) of the Vaikunta Perumal temple at Māgaral (Chingleput Dt.) records the building of the Central Shrine, the Arthamaṇḍapa, another maṇḍapa, and a flight of steps.

As mentioned before, in the first prākāra there was the shrine for Caṇḍīśar. In that same prākāra proceeding from the right, places were assigned for the Sun in the south-east, for Ganēśa and the Sapta Kānnikās in the south-west, for Subrahmanya in the west, for Jēṣṭā in the north-west, for Caṇḍīśar in the north and for the Moon in the north-east. These subsidiary shrines existed separately and in the pillared corridor (திருச்சுற்றுகை) adjoining the compound wall in some temples. There were from one to four gateways in the compound wall according to the size of the temple. Small gōpuras were built on these gateways until the days of Rājarāja and Rājendra, the Vimāna over the Mūlasthāna assumed all prominence and it was built very high. After Rājendra, with the exception of Tirubuvana temple of Kulōttunga III, the height of Vimānas came to be reduced and gōpuras were raised to greater heights. Flower gardens came to be laid out in the open space in the outer compound and in some places inside the temples.⁵

An inscription (135 of 1925) in the śiva temple at Tiruvāvaḍuturai registers a sale of land, free of taxes, by the assembly of Sāttanūr to Sankayan Orri, for the maintenance of a coconut and a flower-garden for the temple.

Similarly temple tanks⁶ were dug and the second and the third prākārās were built in such of those temples as received greater attention.⁷

⁴ 357 of 1907, 314, 55 of 1908, 224 of 1901.

⁵ 222 of 1911, 149 of 1928, 144 of 1937, 216 & 260 of 1907, 135 of 1925, 94 of 1925, 319 of 1903, 318 of 1926, 69 of 1897, 249 of 1907, 49 of 1918, 120 of 1926, 18 of 1922, 15 of 1912, 45 of 1925, 128 of 1930, 380 of 1918, 457 & 458 of 1902, 254 of 1926, 120 & 125 of 1922.

⁶ 475 of 1912 & 393 of 1926.

⁷ 516 of 1920 & 72 of 1918.

An inscription in the Marundiśwarar temple at Tirutturaip-pūṇḍi (Tanjore Dt.) records sale of land at Chōlanmaruti-nallūr, a hamlet of Suttamalli-Chaturvēdimangalam, by the members of the samvatsara-grama-karya of that village, for digging a sacred tank, for the temple of Tirutturaippundi Uḍaiyār.

In course of time, smaller shrines raised by the Kings, feudatories and others found places in these prakāras.⁸

An inscription (516 of 1920) in the Āpatsahāyar temple at Ālangudi (Tanjore Dt.) records gift of land by Vānadaraya alias Rajendra Koṭṭamangalam Nāḍālvān for construction with stone the second prakāra of the temple and for offering to the God.

There is a small ruined temple within the Chandra-mauliśvara temple at Tiruvakkarai (South Arcot Dt.). An inscription on the south base of the ruined—śiva temple records a gift to the stone temple of Śivalōkhamuḍiya—Paramaśwāmin built by Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār Sembian Mūdē-ṟiyār queen of Gaṇḍarātitta dēvar, who gave birth to Sri—Uttama—chōḷa dēva.

Inscription No. 40 of 1906 mentions that the smaller shrines of Kālakāladēvar, Kuttāḍundēvar, Kulōttunga Cōḷiśvaram-Uḍaiyār and Vikrama Cōḷiśvaram-Uḍaiyār existed in the temple of Tiru-viraṭṭānam-Uḍaiyār at Tiruk-kaḍavūr.

A separate shrine for the Goddess did not exist in the Śiva-temple in the age of the Pallavas and the early Cōḷas. The Goddess had been assigned a separate place in the Lord's shrine itself, with the name of 'Bhōga-S'akti Amman' (பொகசுத்தி அம்மன்). Rājarāja I refers to this Bhōga-S'akti-Amman as Umā Paramēśvari. It is in the Eṇṇāyiram inscription of Rājēndra-I that we find the first mention of a shrine for the goddess in the Tiruccuṟṟālai of

⁸ Tamil Polil, 23, p. 155; 325 & 335 of 1902, 200 of 1904 & A.R.E. 1913, p. 86.

the temple. Only after that, separate shrines came to be built for Amman.⁹ Many inscriptions reveal, that by the end of the Cōḷa reign, shrines for Amman were newly constructed in many temples.¹⁰

An inscription (429 of 1912) in the Virattānēśvara temple at Valuvūr registers the construction of the shrine of the goddess in the north-west corner of the north Verandha by Ekavāchakan Ulagukanviḍutta-Perumāḷ alias Vānakōvaraiyar, Chief of Tunda-nāḍu in Muḍigondasōḷa-valanadu.

As the influence of the temples increased, several maṇṭapas also were constructed in their spacious compounds. The S'iruttoṇḍa Nambi Maṇṭapa at Sengāṭṭaṇḍi, Vakkānikkum Maṇṭapa at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, the maṇṭapas with the names of 'Mannaikoṇḍa-Cōḷan', 'Rājārājān', 'Rājēndran' and Vyākarnadāna Vyākhyāna Maṇṭapa need mention. The last-mentioned one was intended for the teaching of grammar. In some temples there were Naṭana Maṇṭapa¹¹ and Naṭaka maṇṭapas.¹²

An inscription in the Śiva Temple at Tiruvāvaduturai (152 of 1925) registers a sale of land to the temple at Tiruvāvaduturai by the Assembly of Kāṭṭūr and a grant of 70 Kāsu, by Rājādhirājan towards the taxes on the land, for the maintenance of a theatre called 'Nānāvida-naṭasālai' in the temple.

There was also Tirukkaikkōṭṭi Maṇṭapa¹³ in some temples, where the Tirumuṟais were preserved and recited. In some temples there were the hundred-pillared maṇṭapas¹⁴ and yāyaśālai.¹⁵ Many also were the temples which had ordinary maṇṭapas.¹⁶ There was a thousand-pillared

⁹ Colar Koyirpanigal, pp. 13-14.

¹⁰ 429 of 1912, 701 of 1909, 225 of 1901, 28 of 1914, 400 of 1913, 182 of 1926, 504 of 1912, 184 of 1928 & 351 of 1911.

¹¹ 152 of 1925 & 154 of 1895.

¹² 199 of 1907, 157 of 1905, 398 of 1921, 152 of 1925, 253 & 254 of 1914.

¹³ 203 of 1908, 414 & 454 of 1909, 10 & 381 of 1918, 350 of 1929.

¹⁴ S.I.I. 4; 225 & 369 of 1921.

¹⁵ 369 of 1921.

¹⁶ 400 of 1913, 254 of 1922, 119 of 1906, 429 of 1922 & 645 of 1902.

maṇṭapa at Tiruvakkarai.¹⁷ In the construction of a maṇṭapa at Tiruvakkarai there arose certain obstacles and to circumvent them an individual beheaded himself as a sacrifice.¹⁸

An inscription (119 of 1906) in the śiva temple at Tiruvakkarai registers a gift of land to the younger brother of a person who cut off his own head in order that a maṇṭapa which was being constructed might be completed.

There were Māligais (palatial buildings) in some temples.¹⁹ The Māligai that existed in the Nīḍūr temple was called the 'Puriśai Māligai' intended for expounding the Purāṇas.²⁰

An inscription (276 of 1913) in the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram clearly mentions Vikramasōḷaṇ—Tirumāligai.

Since we find names like, 'Tirumāligaittēvar', 'Māligai Maḍattu Mudaliyar', we might presume that these Māligais served as residences and teaching halls for the Śaiva religious teachers. There were maṭhas in many big temples. In them lived both the āchāryas well-versed in Śaiva Siddhānta Śāstras and the students learning the Śāstras. There existed also in many temples, libraries known as Śarasvatī Bhaṇḍāram.²¹

The development of the śaiva faith was responsible for stone-built and enlarged temples in the age of the Cōlas. They were built of mud to begin with and they were of small dimensions in the days of the Pallavas. The bhakti

¹⁷ 190 of 1904.

¹⁸ 119 of 1906.

¹⁹ 429 of 1922 & 535 of 1921.

²⁰ 535 of 1921.

²¹ 276 of 1913; Since there were colleges at Tirumukkudal, Ennayiram, Tiribuvanai, Tiruvorriyur, Vembarrur and Tiruvavaduturai, there might have been in existence libraries containing many kinds of works of Śāstras.

and the workmanship of the architects who took such enormous pains to convert them into stone temples demand our praise. The Cōlas held those masons in esteem and granted them lands.²²

An inscription (70 of 1913) in the śiva Temple at Tiruchēṅgāyāṇḍi records the grant of landed property to Rajēndra-sōḷa-Āchāriyan, who was perhaps the temple architect.

There was sculptured in the temple of Tiruvāvaduturai the image of Karṇalippiccan who was responsible for the renovation of that temple.²³

An inscription is engraved near a figure standing in front of a linga (in the śiva temple at Tiruvāvaduturai) with hands placed close to the chest in a worshipping attitude. The inscription states that this is the figure of Śri Karṇalippiccan.

²² 357 of 1904, 70 of 1913, 403 of 1908 and S.I.I. 2.66.

²³ 132 of 1925.

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The Indian Synthesis, and Racial and Cultural Inter-Mixture in India*

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

The General President of the All-India Oriental Con-
ference may be expected to give his considered opinion on
some broad aspect of Indian history and civilisation in
which he is specially interested. My own subject has been
Linguistics, and this, as a human science, is intimately link-
ed up with the other human sciences like Anthropology,
Ethnology, Sociology, Religiology etc. dealing with the
various aspects and expressions of human life and culture.
Language is intimately connected with Culture. What may
be described as the "Language-Culture" background or
basis of a people is more apparent and on the surface than
its race ; yet it is no less deep in the mental and spiritual
consciousness of the people. This is true especially when
the original race has lost its basic character through inter-
breeding with other races. From the linguistic and cultu-
ral approaches, we may delve deeper into the fundamental
racial beings and their pre-historic and historic modifica-
tions, leading to the evolution of new mixed types.

I propose as the Theme of my Discourse as President
of this Conference the Subject of—"The Indian Synthesis,
and Racial and Cultural Inter-mixture in India".

The word *Indian* is used in its most comprehensive
sense, embracing all the various peoples or groups which
go to make up the population of India. Within their formal
religious or cultural affiliations, there is a basic mixed
character which embraces all the peoples of India. This
basic character is, consciously or unconsciously, shared by

* Presidential Address delivered at the All-India Oriental Conference,
Ahmedabad, in October 1953, reproduced here through the courtesy of
Dr. Chatterji.

all, and it has kept its lien with the attitude towards life and being which developed in ancient India, after the Indian people, as we find them now, became first characterised by miscegenation — the attitude which we might label as *Hindu* in its widest application. This embraces not only the world of the Brāhman, Buddhist and Jaina, but also later specialised expressions of the same attitude — including some aspects of Islam and Christianity as they developed within the Indian *milieu*.

The people and culture of India form a composite, a mixture, of at least four distinct types of humanity, which may loosely be called "race". With their various ramifications presenting distinct anthropological groupings, all may be brought under one or the other of the four kinds of "Language-Culture" which we find in India from very ancient times. **The Indian people is a mixed people, in blood, in speech, and in culture.**

At the outset, I think it would be necessary to make a few general observations. The fundamental Unity of Man is a proposition which, if properly realised and not merely theoretically admitted, will enable us to think of racial and cultural miscegenation without repugnance, as a most natural thing in human relations. In India, this Unity of Man came to be regarded as part of the All-comprehensive Reality, the Supreme Self or the Over-Soul: as the Īśā Upanishad says —

*yas tu sarvāṇi bhūtāni ātmany evānupas'yati,
sarva-bhūtēṣu cātmānam, tatō na vijugupsatē :*

"He who sees all creatures in the Self, and the Self in all creatures, because of that does not wish to hide himself away from (or hate) any one."

It was in India, too, that this sentiment was expressed in her greatest book, the Sanskrit epic of the Mahā-bhārata —

*guhyam brahma tad idam bhō brarīmi,
na mānūṣāc chrēṣṭhataram hi kiñcit :*

"This is the secret doctrine, I announce to you :
There is nothing higher than Man."

The division of mankind into *Ārya* and *Mlēccha*, *Hellēnes* and *Barbaroi*, *Israel* and *Goyyim* (or Jew and Gentile), White and Coloured, Christian and Pagan, *Muslim* and *Kāfir*, Communist and Capitalist, as implying an inherent or divinely ordained racial or cultural superiority of the one over the other, is something which cannot be admitted by any rationally thinking person. Yet we find overt or covert feelings of this kind of separatism operating in the minds of men in most lands. The desire for power and pelf, which dominates and underlies all organised movements for economic and political, religious and cultural expansion — movements which are generally blind to other deeper factors in life — makes an easy alliance with this sense of separatism. Just as no man is an island unto himself, so is no race or people or country basically separated or isolated from the others: we are linked with each other inextricably.

It has generally been accepted by competent scholars, both in India and abroad, who have been investigating into **Indian civilisation**, that the fundamental trait of this civilisation may be described as **a Harmony of Contrasts**, or as **a Synthesis creating a Unity out of Diversity**. Perhaps more than any other system of civilisation, it is broad and expansive and all-comprehensive, like life itself, and it has created an attitude of acceptance and understanding which will not confine itself to a single type of experience only, to the exclusion of all others.

The Indian Synthesis, apart from a most remarkable intermingling of material cultures and religious and social cults and customs, as well as doctrines and notions, is based on the higher intellectual and idealistic plane on the following: a Sense of the Unity of All Life as an expression of an Unseen Reality which is both transcendent and imma-

ment (**kata-v-ul**, as an old Tamil name for the Divinity puts it) ; a Desire for Synthesis, seeking to combine apparently disconnected or discordant fragments in life as well as experience in their proper place in an Essential Unity ; a rigid Adherence to the Intellect, while seeking to harmonise it in the higher plane with Emotion, with Intuition, and with mystic Perception ; a Recognition of the Sufferings and Sorrows of Life, and an Attempt to remove them by going to the root cause of these Sorrows and Sufferings ; a Feeling for the Sacredness of all Life ; and above all, a great Tolerance for all other Beliefs and Points of View. The realisation of this Ultimate Reality is the *summum bonum* in life, and the paths for this realisation are recognised to be various according to individual training, temperament or predilection — whether of Knowledge, or Love (with the background of Grace), or Self-discipline, or Good Deeds, even as the Ultimate Reality manifests itself in innumerable ways before the ken and cognisance of man. Its conception of the material world transcends time and space, and Matter and Energy are just different forms of the same physical stuff which is but an outward manifestation of this Unseen Reality.

All this synthesising tendency has been induced and made easy of development by the great fact of the presence in the Indian scene, from very ancient times, of different peoples with their diverse languages and cultures, and modes of living and thinking. These were all inevitably drawn together and were accommodated in a composite civilisation, in which there was no scope for the establishment of racialism, as from the very beginning, race-fusion started as a permanent feature. The name of one dominant race, *Ārya*, very soon lost its narrow ethnic significance or application and became rather a word to denote nobility and aristocracy of character and temperament. With the general acceptance of the Aryan language in North India, and with the admission of its prestige in the South as well, the fact that this language was pro-

foundly modified within India by taking shape in a non-Aryan environment reconciled the Dravidians and others to come under the tutelage of Sanskrit as the sacred language of Hinduism and as the general vehicle of Indian culture.

India received all her human inhabitants, who came in successive waves, from abroad. These represent six main races in their nine ramifications, and speaking among them, languages belonging to at least four different speech-families which are still current — and there might have been other ones also which are now extinct. The speakers of these languages which are living till today, whatever their race or anthropological type, thus pertained to four "Language-Culture" groups.

The oldest people to come into India belonged to the Negrito or Negroid race, who arrived in the eolith stage of their culture from Africa along the coast lands of Arabia and Iran and settled in Western and Southern India and spread over to Northern India, and passed on to Malaya and the islands of Indonesia (Philippines and New Guinea). They were mostly killed off or absorbed by subsequent arrivals in India. They survive in a few tribes in South India where they now speak dialects of Tamil, and traces of them are found among the Mongoloid Nagas in Assam. A small number still retaining their language is isolated in the Andaman Islands, which they reached in pre-historic times, in their dug-outs from the south-western tip of Burma, namely, Cape Negrais. The Negroids evidently passed away, leaving hardly any trace in Indian civilisation and among the Indian people.

After the Negroids there came to India from the West, from Palestine, the medium-sized long-headed, snub-nosed and rather dark-skinned proto-Australoids. Some of these passed out of India and found themselves as far as Australia, where their descendants still live as the Australian

aborigines ("Black Fellows"). Those who stayed on in India evidently became characterised into the Austric people, and developed their language and culture on the soil of India. The Austric people spread outside India in the East, and we note two main divisions of them: (1) Austro-Asiatics, represented by the Kol or Munda people of Central India, the Khasis of Assam, the Mons of Burma and Siam, the Khmers of Cambodia, the Chams of Cochin-China, and some other allied tribes in Burma and Viet-Nam, besides the Nicobarese; and (2) the Austronesians, comprising the Indonesians or "Malay people", the Melanesians and Micronesians, and the Polynesians. Everywhere there has been mixture of the Austric people with those of other races — Negroids and Caucasoids. The Austriacs of India were known in ancient India as *Niṣādas*, and possibly also as *Nāgas* (as well as *Kollas* and *Bhillas* in post-Christian times). They were a dark-skinned people, speaking languages and dialects allied to Santali, Mundari, Kurku, Gadaba and Savara, and to Khasi and Mon-Khmer dialects, as well as other speeches of the two branches of the family. These Austriacs were spread all over India, and they form the most important element among the lower classes or castes throughout the country. In the great plains of North India, they have merged into an Aryan-speaking people and have lost their name and their language. They gave some basic things in the material and spiritual domains to Indian civilisation, like the stick or hoe cultivation of rice, of some plants and vegetables, the domestication of the fowl, the taming of the elephant, the weaving of cotton, and some notions about future life which later were sublimated with the help of other elements into the doctrine of transmigration and *samsāra*.

The Mongoloid peoples, with a number of different racial elements possessing certain common physical characteristics (yellow or yellow-brown skin, narrow or slant eyes, high cheek-bones, flat noses and paucity of hair on face), came into India probably before the Aryans, who

knew them as *Kirātas*. Evidence of their presence as far down as Mohenjo-Daro has been found. They entered into India from the East, along the course of the Brahmaputra river and its eastern tributaries, and also by way of Tibet, crossing the eastern Himalayas. They formed wide settlements throughout Assam, Bhotan and Nepal (which are *Kirāta* lands in India *par excellence*), and also in East and North Bengal, North Bihar and the regions to the south of the Himalayas in North India right up to Kashmir. Some of them appear to have penetrated even further to the South — into Orissa and Central India (Bastar in Madhya Pradesh). The participation of the *Kirātas* in the common civilisation of India has been confined to the north and north-east only. But nevertheless, we have to take note of them as an important element in the formation of the Indian people in the extreme north, east and north-east, and in their participation in the development of Indian civilisation.

The next "Language-Culture" group which came to India is believed to be the Dravidian. There is strong reason to think that the original Dravidian speakers came to India from the East Mediterranean region, from Asia Minor, and they were mainly a people of the Mediterranean race, mingled with other racial elements like the Armenoid which came with them — all of these apparently united by a common speech. Elements of religion and civilisation these Primitive Dravidian speakers of Mediterranean origin brought with them into India probably before 3500 B.C.; and groups of them were settled in Mesopotamia and Persia — Iraq and Iran — before they became established in India. They were a highly advanced people, and the city civilisation of India, as opposed to the village culture which was the creation of the Austriacs (Kols, Mon-Khmers), was their great contribution. The pre-Aryan people of the Panjab and Sindh, known to the Aryan invaders as *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* and later as *S'ūdra*, who are believed to have built up the great city cultures like those of Harappa and Mohen-

jo-Daro, are now generally regarded as having been Dravidian in speech, religion, and social and political organisation. The Brahuīs of Balochistan appear to be just a remnant of a Dravidian-speaking bloc in Sindh, South Panjab and Eastern Iran.

The Czechoslovak scholar B. Hrozný has recently (*Histoire de l'Asie Antérieure, de l'Inde, et de la Crète*, Paris, 1947: English translation, Prague, 1953) offered quite a new theory about the origin and early history of the people of Panjab and Sindh, who built up the recently discovered centres of culture like what we see at Mohen-jo-Daro, Harappa and other sites. He calls the builders of the Panjab and Sindh culture "Proto-Indians", and he thinks that they were a branch of the Indo-European speaking "Hittites" of Asia Minor with admixture of local Asianic (non-Indo-European) elements, like the Caspian Subaraeo-Hurrites. This mixed "Proto-Indian" people, with its Indo-European language allied to Hittite, brought its religion and culture and elements of a hieroglyphical writing from Asia Minor, and built up the great pre-historic culture of Panjab and Sindh. The "Proto-Indians" flourished through trade with the Near East, but between 2000 to 1500 B.C., Dravidian-speakers from the north-west of India came down upon them and destroyed their culture and their towns. These Dravidian barbarians of unknown provenance, who had absorbed remnants of the "Proto-Indians", were in possession of the country when between 1500-1200 B.C. equally rude semi-nomad Vedic Aryans came into the field and established themselves as conquerors over all the pre-Aryan populations. Hrozný's conclusions are based on the assumption that the Sindh-Panjab script and its language can be explained by the hieroglyphic Hittite script of Asia Minor and the Indo-European speech of the "Nesian" Hittites. All these assumptions are highly speculative, and some of the linguistic and cultural interpretations of Hrozný (his greatness as an investigator in having deciphered successfully the ancient Hittite script

and read the language correctly being always admitted) seem not to be warranted by the actual facts, linguistic and otherwise. The question of the "Proto-Indian" script, language, religion and culture, in spite of some very clever suggestions of Hrozný, in which he has intimately linked it up with the Asianic linguistic, epigraphical and cultural background, still remains an open one.

Dravidian-speakers spread all over India, and they appear to have lived side by side with the Austric speakers in the great river-valleys of North India from Panjab to East Bengal and Assam, and with the Mongoloids also in the sub-Himalayan tracts. But they were able to make their language and culture paramount throughout the whole of Central India and India to the South of the Vindhya mountains, many centuries before the Christian era — although the Dravidian speech retreated here also before the Aryan in post-Christian times. Place-names of non-Aryan origin all over Northern India, where they are capable of analysis, suggest Dravidian and Austric as well as Sino-Tibetan elements, which are indicative of the presence of speakers of these languages in the land. But *the Dravidian is the most important of the non-Aryan elements in the civilisation of India; and the basic culture of India is certainly over 50% Dravidian, although expressed in the main through the Aryan language.*—(Italics ours —Ed.)

Finally, we have the Indo-Aryans. The Indo-Aryans — *Āryas*, as they called themselves — were a section of the great Indo-Iranian (or *Aryan*, in this specialised sense) branch of the Indo-European speakers who became a powerful force and leaven in the civilisation of the Middle and the Near East and of Europe from about 2000 B.C. The original Indo-Europeans, according to W. Brandenstein, the most significant recent investigator on the subject (1936), were characterised in the dry highlands to the south of the Ural mountains, probably before 3000 B.C.

Groups of them went west, and in the moist lands of what is now Poland, developed the second phase of their culture which was the one which passed on further west into Eastern and Central, Northern and Western, and also Southern Europe. In all those lands the original Indo-European speech and civilisation were transformed into those of the Balts and the Slavs, the Celts and the Germans, and the Italians, Illyrians and Hellenes. There were earlier or older branches of Indo-Europeans, like the Hittites (Nesian-Hittites) of Asia Minor, who are now believed by the most recent linguistic scholars, like the American E. H. Sturtevant and others, to have parted company with the main body of the Indo-European people, long before the full characterisation of the Indo-European speech had taken place, as the immediate ancestor of Vedic Sanskrit, Old Iranian, Homeric Greek and other ancient Indo-European languages. This separation of the Hittites took place at a time when we can talk of a pre-Indo-European stage — a stage which has been named "Indo-Hittite", which was the source of primitive Indo-European on the one hand, and of the ancient Hittite on the other. Then there were the Tokharians, who were linguistically closely related to the Celts, the Germans, the Italians and the Hellenes of Europe, but who somehow found their way into Central Asia where they were in evidence from an unknown antiquity throughout the greater part of the first millennium A.D.

The Aryans (Indo-Iranians) are believed to have left the original Indo-Iranian homeland to the south of the Ural Mountains and to have come down, according to the two schools of opinion, either to Central Asia, or to the Caucasus regions and from there to Northern Mesopotamia. According to the former view, Central Asia to the north-east of Iran was the place where the primitive Indo-European language and culture were modified to Aryan or Indo-Iranian; and from this *nidus*, the Iranians spread to the south-west, and the Indo-Aryans to the south-east into

India. According to the second view, Indo-European tribes which were being modified into Aryan or proto-Indo-Iranian, were first noticed in Northern Mesopotamia, and there they sojourned for some centuries before they trekked further south into Mesopotamia proper. There they took part in local affairs and formed ruling aristocracies in some states, developing their religion and culture by contact with local peoples (particularly the Asianic races to their west, and the Assyrio-Babylonians) and modifying their language to a stage when it became the immediate source-speech for both Iranian and Indo-Aryan. The Aryans left traces of their presence in the records of the local peoples in Mesopotamia and Eastern Asia Minor which have now been unearthed and read, and these records give names and words in the Aryan language representing a pre-Vedic and pre-Avestan form of the speech. Some of their tribes pushed on to the east and settled in Iran, and others went further to the east, and through Eastern Iran they found themselves into India; and here we meet with them first, as Vedic Aryans.

The Aryan-speakers from the lands of the Middle East represented in the main a tall, fair, blond, blue-eyed, straight-nosed, wavy-haired and long-headed people — the Nordics; but scholars have also expressed the view that they included a shorter and round-headed people among them — the Alpines, whom they appear to have absorbed linguistically rather than by blood-fusion. Two distinct ethnic groups are thus noticed among the Aryan-speakers who came into India *after* 1500 B.C. The language they brought became an instrument of the greatest power in the setting up of Indian civilisation. It was the Vedic language, the Old Indo-Aryan speech, which later on as Sanskrit was transformed into one of the greatest languages of civilisation in which the composite culture of ancient India found its most natural vehicle.

We have thus (not taking note of the all but extinct Negroid elements, and other possible languages with their

connected cultures now long extinct) these four great speeches and the culture-worlds of which they were the expressions, which came into contact, conflict and compromise with each other in ancient India, when the ancient Indian or Hindu people was being formed, between about 1500 to 1000 B.C. According to F. W. Thomas (*Indianism and its Expansion*, University of Calcutta, 1942, p. 7), it was **"the Vedic or Aryan period which witnessed the creation of the Indian Man."**

The Indian Man was created out of a fusion of these four chief elements of ingredients which were operative in Northern India—the Austric or Austro-Asiatic, the Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan, the Dravidian, and the Aryan: to give their Indian names, names ancient as well as modern, respectively, the *Niṣādas* (or *Nāga-Bhilla-Kollas*), the *Kirātas*, the *Drāviḍas* (earlier the *Dāsa-Dasyus* and the *Sūdras*), and the *Āryas*.

So far, we know only of these four "language-culture" groups—loosely speaking, four "races". As it has been stated before, and as this might be reiterated once again, there might have been other similar "language-culture" groups as well. In fact, some scholars are suspecting the existence of one such—a fifth—group, of unknown linguistic affiliation, the influence of which as a substratum is dimly perceived below the surface of Dravidian and Austric as well as Aryan. We have to note the presence of the problem language spoken in the north-west of Kashmir, in the state of Hunza-Nagyr, viz. *Burushaski* or *Khajuna*, current among some 26,000 people. This language has been sought to be connected with Austric (Kol) on one hand, and with the Caucasian speech family on the other. It will be quite in the nature of things to imagine that three or four thousand years ago, the area of the source-speech of *Burushaski*, whatever it was, did actually include Kashmir, North-western Frontier Province, Panjab and Sindh; the unexplained element in the present day Indian languages

may then be linked up with some speeches allied to *Burushaski*. But future research alone will be able to establish it, and to give clear explanations to certain unsolved problems in the linguistics of Aryan, Dravidian as well as Austric.

A reference may incidentally be made to the theory put forward by the late P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar (in his *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, Madras 1912) that there was no Aryan invasion of India at all with an appreciable disturbance of the original population which consisted of the Dravidians and other non-Aryans, and that the Aryan language and the Aryan fire-cult came into India from Iran as a culture-drift as the result of culture contacts between the Indians, essentially of Dravidian origin, and Aryans in Iran. According to this view, "the Aryan invasion of India is a theory invented to account for the existence of an Indo-Germanic language in North India." But there are other facts and evidences direct and indirect to show that there was actually a considerable movement of people in ancient times, and the invasions by the Dravidian and Aryan speakers were just some of the most far-reaching among these movements.

The Indian Synthesis now presents a remarkable consistence, in which diverse elements have been combined to give the general impression of a remarkable homogeneity. A certain unique cohesion has been given to it by a Philosophy which rises above the contradictory elements which have been sought to be accommodated to each other. The persistent efforts of the best intellects of the country for all these 3000 years, from the time of "the creation of the Indian Man" at the end of the Vedic period, i.e., by 1000 B.C., to harmonise everything with this synthesis, has been most remarkably successful. All this has been within a certain theory or ideology regarding its component racial elements and its characteristic social and ethical adjustments which has been framed, bit by bit,

through generations of experience. This may not bear the scrutiny of a historical examination, any more than the cosmogony or "sacred history" of Judaism and Christianity and Islam, but this nevertheless has so far shown itself to be eminently logical as a philosophy and serviceable as an attitude, and to keep pace with the findings of modern science at the same time.

Comparison can be made of the formation of the people and its civilisation in India with that in Mexico, as it has been taking place there during the last four centuries. There are certain other countries which also show a similar mixture of peoples and cultures. Ancient Greece shows a most remarkable racial and cultural fusion between the pre-Indo-European and Mediterranean Aegean people (who created the great Pelasgian or Mycenaean-Cretan-Trojan civilisation) and the incoming Hellenes (who brought their Indo-European Greek speech). This situation in Greece presents a most noteworthy parallel to the union of *Drāviḍa* and *Ārya* in India; only, in India, there were at least three non-Aryan (or non-Indo-European) elements to the one of Greece. This parallel is particularly instructive and explanatory for the Indian racial and cultural miscegenation and synthesis too. Britain saw a fusion of the Mediterranean Iberian with the Indo-European Celt, and then this mixed population, Celtic-speaking, was overlaid by Germanic tribes, also of Indo-European speech. France is similarly Iberian, particularly in the south, Celtic, and Germanic (in the north), overlaid by mixed Italians (Romans)—the last three all speaking different forms of Indo-European. In Russia we have a Finno-Ugrian, an Altaic (Tartar) and a Slav (Indo-European) mixture, with Baltic and Scandinavian elements, the tone being given by the Russian language and social organisation. China shows admixture of only different branches of the same Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan people, but South-East Asia (Further India, i.e., Burma, Siam and Viet-Nam, Kambuja and the Cham country) shows a com-

mingling of South Chinese, Thai and Tibeto-Burman as well as Karen and Miao-tzu and Man Mongoloids with Austro-Asiatics (Mons, Khmers, Chams and others). The Polynesians, according to the most recent opinion of the Norwegian explorer Thor Heyerdahl, are a conglomeration of a white Caucasoid people from Peru, a yellow-brown Mongoloid people from the West Coast of British Columbia in Canada (who originally came from Eastern Asia by sailing along the coast of Japan and the Aleutian Islands), and a black Melanesian element from the west of Polynesia. The Japanese are mainly a mixture of Mongoloids (of the type of the Ainus and the Koreans) and Indonesians (Malays). In the northern tracts of West Africa a new people, the Fulbe or Pöl, has come into being through the mixture of the Hamitic tribes like the Tuaregs from the Sahara and the True Negroes of West Africa. These are all cases of racial miscegenation with attendant cultural and linguistic fusion which took place during periods of unrecorded history. Just before our eyes at the present day, a fusion of peoples on a large scale is taking place in America. In the United States through a comingling of elements from among the various groups of peoples in Europe, a new type of a Caucasoid pan-European Man is evolving, with a dash of the Mongoloid in him, both from Mongoloid elements from Europe and small assimilated Amerindian and Chinese and Japanese elements accepted in America. But this racial fusion in America is not comprehensive enough, because it totally eschews other races than the "white race"—Caucasoids of various types (whether Nordic or Alpine, Mediterranean or Dinaric, long-headed or middle-headed or short-headed) alone participating in this mixture.

The racial fusion that started in India with great vigour some 3500 years ago, after the advent of the Aryans, was wider in scope than anywhere else in the world, with the white, brown, black and yellow peoples, Āryas, *Drāviḍas*, *Nishādas* and *Kirātas*, all being included in it,

This kind of miscegenation, together with the admission into India of various other types of culture and religious outlook, has perhaps made **the average Indian more cosmopolitan in his physical and mental composition than a representative of any other nation.** Thus, our great heritage, the Aryan speech, together with the Nordic and other Western elements in our population, particularly the mentality that is behind our Aryan speech, is our great link with Indo-European-speaking Europe and America. Our Dravidian elements are another link with the basic culture and people of the Near East and the Mediterranean area; and the Austric bases of our people and culture have intimate connexions with South-Eastern Asia, Indonesia and beyond. Through our Kirāta or Mongoloid background in Northern and North-Eastern India, we are not only neighbours but also kinsmen of the peoples of the Far East and of Central Asia. Finally, through Indian Islam, which has been a potent leaven in our civilisation for the last 750 years, we have more than a mere contact with the Arab and other Islamic lands; and during the last 300 years we have absorbed racial and cultural elements from modern Europe as well: the Luso-Indians, Anglo-Indians and other Indians of Eurasian origin, with the different forms of Christianity which they profess, represent this latest phase of the Indian people.

I shall now discuss in brief **the character and result of this racial and cultural miscegenation, under the three heads of (I) Blood, (II) Speech, and (III) Culture, including Religion.**

The subject is very vast, and whole books can be written on each of the three aspects of it. I propose to give some of the main arguments under each head. The position is generally being admitted, but a formal statement appears to me to be needed at this juncture, if only to take stock of the situation.

I. BLOOD OR RACIAL FUSION AMONG ARYAN AND NON-ARYAN

Taking certain extreme Indian types (where there has not been much mixing with other peoples) apart, like pure-blooded Kashmiri Brāhmans, Mongoloids like the Garos and Nagas, and Austries like Santals, we may say that **a Common Indian type, a Common Indian Man, has evolved on the soil of India through intermixture of the races, particularly on the vast plains of the country.** Dressed in the same kind of garb and bereft of distinguishing marks like special ways of doing the hair, beard, moustache etc., and special distinctive paraphernalia like caste-marks, etc., the average Indian type, whether in the upper classes or in the middle or lower, will be ordinarily difficult to locate in a particular area. A typical Mongoloid like a Naga from Assam, or a Gurung or Lepcha from the Himalayan areas, is different from a Panjab, Rajput or a South Indian tribesman like a Chenchu or a Kadir. But an ordinary middle-class Indian, whether Brāhman or Sūdra, Hindu or Muslim, may be from any province, and there is no mistake about his Indianness. Representation in art from the third century B.C. shows the presence of this Indian type as an accomplished fact on the soil of India for the last 2500 years: and doubtless this type goes back 500 or over 1000 years earlier. The Common Indian Man is ordinarily a brown man, pale or dark, either individually or in groups; he is not pure white as the Aryan was, or pure yellow like the Kirāta or black like the Nishāda. Although broadly he can be classified as long or middle or short-headed, straight or broad or flat-nosed, a general family likeness which marks him off from neighbouring peoples—Iranians or Burmese, Malays or Arabs—is discernible among the ordinary run of Indians, if he does not in his physical make-up go to any of the extremes.

This is largely the result of racial mixture which was most thorough in Northern India ever since the Aryans

came into the country, and even before that. No part of India, however, was free from this racial admixture. Constant streams of North Indian Hindus, after the formation of the Hindu people, were going to the extreme east, to the Brahmaputra Valley, and Manipur, and even beyond, carrying Brahmanical civilisation with them. They were going to the Deccan and South India, as Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas, as merchants and settlers, as soldiers and adventurers, and were merging into the Dravidian-speaking peoples in the more advanced areas. We may note the Nambudri Brāhman leaven among the Nayars of Malabar as typical. In this way North and South, and East and West in India were brought together by racial fusion. The "Indian Man" also pushed beyond the frontiers of India, by both land and sea—into Burma, and Siam, and Cambodia and Champa, into Malaya and Indonesia in the east and south-east, into Ceylon in the south, into Afghanistan (Ariana) in the west, and into Khotan (Kustana) in the north, carrying his composite culture and his language, Sanskrit and the Prakrits, and some times Telugu and Tamil, with him. But that is a different story.

The Aryans were a fair-skinned people, and judging from the description of the physical features of the Brāhmanas as the representative Aryans by even so late an author as Patanjali of the second century B.C., they were a tall, fair, blond people approximating to, if not identical with, the Nordic type. Colour prejudice was not so strong in those days, although it did exist; and after the Aryans found that they had to stay among the dark-skinned non-Aryans, a great deal of the edge of the feeling against colour wore off, particularly when it was found that the sedentary agricultural non-Aryans boasted of a higher material culture than the semi-nomad Aryans.

As a pre-requisite to racial fusion, there must be first, linguistic assimilation: mingling of blood by marriage can only take place on a large scale when people of diverse

origin accept one common language and conform to the culture-type of which that language is the expression. The Aryan's language supplied this need for a common speech to the Drāviḍa, Nishāda and Kirāta; and the want of linguistic unity or cohesion among the non-Aryan peoples of ancient India gave to the language of the Aryan its great opportunity, apart from its prestige as the language of a puissant *Conquistador* and from the inherent strength, expressiveness and beauty of the language itself.

The names of the non-Aryan tribes, *Dāsa*, *Dasyu* and *S'ūdra*, who were all of them Dravidian in speech, and their semantic developments in Sanskrit indicate the hostile and contemptuous sentiments of the first Aryans towards them. The word *S'ūdra*, as we can see from the *Mahābhārata* and other works, became synonymous with *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* in the Aryan's language, in post-Vedic times. The word *Dāsa*, originally a tribal name, corresponding to the related or exactly the same tribe in Iran, latterly known there as the *Dahai* (in Greek writings), came to signify "slave" in Sanskrit: we can note a similar change in meaning of the tribal name *Slav* (< "slave") in Europe. *Dasyu*, similarly, took up the meaning of a "robber"; the same tribe evidently was present in Iran, known to the Iranians as *Dahyu*, and this name later appears to have given a common Iranian word to mean "country, land, country-side" (Old Persian *dahyu*, New Persian *deh* or *dih*). And *S'ūdra*, originally the name of a tribe living in Southern Panjab, who were observed by the Greeks and whose name was recorded by them, came to indicate the lower orders of an Aryan-dominated society—men and women of the *S'ūdra caste*. From the prescriptions in the later Dharma-Sāstras or Smṛiti works in Sanskrit, and from statements as well as references to incidents in the post-Vedic Brāhmaṇa literature and the *Mahābhārata* and the older Purāṇas, which either describe contemporary conditions or reflect the state of things for some centuries from

the late Vedic period onwards (roughly, during the first half of the first millennium B.C.), it would appear that inter-racial, that is, Aryan-non-Aryan marriages and connexions were far too common to be ignored. Of course Aryan orthodoxy, as an expression of the zeal for preserving their blood pure, which we find in a conquering people, with pride of race and sense of physical beauty, did not approve of these inter-racial marriages and connexions.

In an uncritical age, people were not very careful about tribal names, and the name of a particular tribe or small group could be extended to an entire "language-culture" group, or even loosely to all peoples of a different race or language who were contacted. Thus in Sanskrit and Prakrit *Yavana* and *Yona* (coming ultimately from the seventh century B.C. Greek form *Iavones*, later *Iaones* and then contracted to *Iones*, through Semitic and Old Persian forms like *Yawan* and *Yauna*-) first meant in India just the Greek people, and then within a few centuries the name was extended to mean any Western Foreigner, and finally, any non-Indian or non-Hindu Outsider, latterly even Indian Musalmans.

It would appear that all non-Aryans within the framework of the Aryan (Brāhman)-dominated society which was being developed, a society in which the Aryans, as the masterful, though materially not so much advanced *Conquistadores*, assumed special privileges, were at first given the general name of *Sūdras*, and were relegated to an inferior position with considerable disabilities. But wealthy *Sūdras* and those of them who were artisans and craftsmen, and not merely tillers of the soil or followers of unclean trades, when they became Aryan-speakers, frequently got access within the group or caste of the *Vaiśyas*, or were given at least equality of status with them. Naturally, in a situation like this when the more ardent Aryans would try to preserve their racial purity, they could not

support or tolerate mixed unions. When such unions took place, the "superior" people might allow the creation of a *Mestizo* class by men of their own group taking to wife women of the inferior group; and this was thought natural and proper (what was known in ancient India as *anuloma* marriage), but would resent if it happened the other way (*pratiloma* marriage).

But judging from direct and indirect references in early Sanskrit literature, although frowned upon or glossed over by the later writers including the writers on *Dharma-Sāstras* or Hindu social codes, these mixed marriages, both *anuloma* and *pratiloma*, appear to have been exceedingly common, e.g., during the late Vedic and pre-Buddhic times, as depicted, for instance, in the *Mahābhārata*. I need not mention marriages, both *anuloma* and *pratiloma*, among the three avowedly *Dvija*, i.e., "twice-born" or Aryan castes: these were quite permissible. But even a *Sūdra* marrying an Aryan woman, Brāhman or Kshatriya or *Vaiśya*, was evidently no uncommon thing. The offspring of all such unions were recognised in both the earlier and the later law-books, the *Dharma-sūtras* and *Dharma-Sāstras*, in an Aryanising society, although different degrees of high or low position was allotted to them.

We have a whole host of names of such "mixed castes" in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Dharma-Sāstras* and other works, noted with varying degrees of toleration or condemnation. These names have been classified and enumerated by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane (in his *History of Dharma-Sastra*, Vol. II, Part I, Poona 1941, pp. 69-103) and by Sailendra Nath Sen Gupta ("The Caste System in Bengal" in *Census 1951: West Bengal: the Tribes and Castes of West Bengal*, edited by Asok Mitra, I.C.S., and published by the West Bengal Government, Calcutta 1953, pp. 47-58). In the slightly longer list given in the West Bengal Report for the 1951 Census, Sen Gupta enumerates as many as 209 names of mixed castes, and of non-Aryan

groups which at one time or other came to be connected with the Hindu body-politic and were looked upon either as castes due to miscegenation or as degraded Hindus—and of Aryan origin too, as they were considered to be outcasted from Aryan society in many cases. We may mention certain castes of mixed origin which were inter-racial (unlike, for example, mixed castes resulting from *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages among Brāhman, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, who were all thought to be of Aryan origin): *Ugra* (Brāhman, Kshatriya or Vaiśya father+ S'ūdra mother); *Nāpita* or *Pāras'ava* (Brāhman or Kshatriya+S'ūdra mother); *Dāsa*, *Niṣāda* (Brāhman+S'ūdra); *Dauṣyanta*, *Mleccha*, *Gopāla* (Kshatriya+S'ūdra); *Karana*, *Rathakāra*, *Katakāra*, *Sūcaka*, *Āyogava* (also—offspring of Vaiśya+Kshatriya, and S'ūdra+Vaiśya), *Taksan* (Vaiśya+S'ūdra); *Caṇḍāla*, *Sūlika* (S'ūdra+Brāhman); *Kṣattr*, *Carmakāra*, *Māgadha*, *Pulkasa*, *Yavana* (=Greek!); *Vaiṇa*, *Vaidehaka*, *Tantuvāya*, *Rañjaka*, *Sūlika* or *Sūnika*, *Niṣāda*, *Vrātya* (S'ūdra+Kshatriya); *Antyāvasāyin*, *Āyogava*, *Māgadha*, *Pulkasa*, *Vaidehaka*, *Vaidya*, *Calrin*, *Cākrika* (S'ūdra+Vaiśya). It would be seen that there is no unanimity and uniformity among ancient writers about these names. Doubtless, many of these names were confined to a part of the country only, and these were confused later by compilers of Dharma-S'āstras and other works in other parts of the country. Names were given to other groups which originated by further admixture among the mixed castes noted above: for example, *Āpita* (Brāhman+*Dauṣyanta* < Kshatriya+S'ūdra), *Āvṛta* (Brāhman+*Ugra* < Brāhman, Kshatriya, or Vaiśya+S'ūdra); *Khanaka* (Āyogava+Kshatriya); *Udbandhaka* (*Khanaka* or *S'ūlika*+Kshatriya); *Kārāvara* (Vaidehaka+Nishāda, or Nishāda+Vaidehaka); *Kāṇḍāra* (Kaivarta, a S'ūdra, possibly Austric+Koca, North Bengal Tibeto-Burman Boḍo); *Kukunda* (*Māgadha*+S'ūdra); etc. etc. The list need not be increased, as full lists will be found in the works cited above.

We are at once presented with a parallel in post-Spanish Mexico, where there has been this kind of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages among the three races found in America—the Amerindian Mongoloids (Aztec, Mixtec-Zapotec, Totonac, Otomi, Maya etc. etc.), the Spaniards or Hispanic Caucasoids, and the Negroes brought as slaves from Africa. Here are some characteristic names for these various mixed groups in Mexico and Latin America: thus, *Mestizo* (cross between Spanish father and Amerindian mother—*anuloma* caste most common); *Castizo* (Mestizo+Spanish woman); *Españolo* (Castizo+Spanish woman); *Mulatto* (Spanish+Negro woman); *Moro* or *Moor* (Mulatto+Spanish woman); *Albino* (Spaniard+Moor or Moorish woman); *Salta Atras* or 'Throwback' (Spaniard+Albino woman); *Lobo* or 'Wolf' (Salta Atras+Amerindian woman); *Zambiago* (Lobo+Indian woman); *Cambujo* (Zambiago+Amerindian woman); *Alvarazado* (Cambujo+Mulatto woman); *Barquino* (Alvarazado+Mulatto woman); *Coyote* (Barquino+Mulatto woman); *Chamizo* (Coyote+Mulatto); *Coyote-Mestizo* (Chamizo+Mestizo woman) *Ahi-te-etās* or "There-thou-art" (Coyote-Mestizo+Mulatto woman). (From Addison Burbank, "Mexican Frieze," New York 1940, p. 21). However, the common name for all with a dash of Spanish blood is *Mestizo*, i.e., Mixed' (=French *métis*), and among the Amerindian peoples in Mexico, the word *Ladino* is also employed. In English, following Spanish we have the words *Half-caste*, *Quadroon* (with one-fourth of a particular racial element, after inter-marriage in the second generation between a half-caste and a pure-blooded person of either race), then *Octroon* (with one-eighth blood, so to say, of one of the component races, when the individual is the offspring of a Quadroon and a pure-blooded person); and after an Octroon, the next generation virtually merges into the basic race.

In the Aryan society, the wife had the right of performing religious sacrifices with her husband: she was

his *sahadharminī*, his peer and helpmate in sacred tasks. She could recite the Vedas. This was quite in order, so long as she was of the same Aryan race. Later on, when women of non-Aryan origin and of mixed origin came to be taken to wife by Brāhmans and others of pure Aryan blood, this right was then taken away from women. In later Dharma-śāstra prescriptions, we find that women in general as well as S'ūdras were not to utter the mystic syllable *Om*, and were not allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices. They could however, as a matter of right, perform the *pūjā* ceremonial excepting that of Viṣṇu through the *S'ālagrāma* stone. Even when non-Aryan women came to have a place in the Aryans' social structure, they were thus debarred by orthodox opinion from the privileges of the Aryans; and their Aryan sisters also shared their disability.

The Aryan, including the Brāhman, was losing, as the result of the climate, of altered ways of life and of miscegenation, his fair complexion. The Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad knows Aryans or Aryan-speakers, who were white (*s'ukla*), brown or tawny (*kapila*) and dark or black (*s'yāma*), and who studied the Vedas, and the last was the cleverest of the three, knowing all the three Vedas, while the others know only one or two. Although mixed unions were held in theoretical disfavour, under the lead of the priestly classes, no stigma was attached to them in practical life. In fact, inter-caste marriages, particularly after the formation of the mixed castes, were very common within the same economic or social group throughout Hindu history, right down to pre-British times. The *Sanātana* or "eternal", immutable nature of caste in Hindudom became an object of historic faith among Hindu *intelligentsia*, only during the last few hundred years.

Satyavatī or Matsya-gandhā, the mother of Vyāsa (who may be described as the official founder of Hinduism by compiling for it its scriptures, the Vedas and the pri-

mitive Purānas) was a Dāsa woman, although this was attempted to be explained away in the Mahābhārata itself by bringing in the wild story of Satyavatī having been really the daughter of Vasu Uparicara, born within the womb of a fish. Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva of the Vṛishṇi sect of the Yadu clan was a younger contemporary of Vyāsa, and he was himself a dark complexioned half-caste, his mother Devakī being a princess of an Asura or non-Aryan house and his father Vasudeva was an Aryan Kshatriya. It was Kṛishṇa who, among other things, helped to form a synthesis of the Aryan and non-Aryan thought-worlds, religion and ritualism. (Following F. E. Pargiter, Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri and L. D. Barnett, who based their datation respectively on Purāṇa traditions, on genealogical data in the Brāhmaṇa texts and on Jaina tradition exclusively, I accept the middle of the 10th century B.C., during the late Vedic age, as the time for the Kurukshetra battle forming the historical kernel of the Mahābhārata epic, and consequently as the period for the *floruit* of Vyāsa and Kṛishṇa).

It has also been suggested that Buddha himself, like most of the Gorkhas and other present-day peoples of Nepal, was of mixed Aryan-Mongoloid, or it may be Aryanised Mongoloid origin. Certain social usages among the branch of the S'ākya clan, to which Buddha belonged, would suggest non-Aryan (Kirāta) origins, affinities or connexions.

The process of Aryanising non-Aryan ruling houses by the extension of Kshatriya-hood upon them by the Brāhmans as the leaders of society, has been an age-old device in India, which enabled not only the militarily and culturally advanced aristocracy of non-Aryan origin, but also powerful foreign groups like the Greeks, the S'akas and other Iranians and the Huns settled in India, to be absorbed within the fold of the Hindu society. This has been noted by other scholars before. We have the ancient

Indian solar and lunar dynasties — the Children of the Sun and the Children of the Moon (*Sūrya-Vams'a* and *Candra-Vams'a*). It is exceedingly likely that here basically we have a pre-Aryan, possibly Dravidian notion, which became a part of the inherited and re-edited Purāṇa tradition that developed among the Aryan-speaking people of mixed origin during the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. Later, when some powerful Hinduised aristocracies of Turki and Iranian origin were to be absorbed during the second half of the first millennium A.D., we have the new Kshatriya clans of the Children of the Fire (*Agni-kula*). The Ahoms, a Thai or Sino-Siamese people who came to Assam in 1228 and gradually extended their power over the Hinduised Tibeto-Burhman Boḍos of the Brahmaputra valley, were adopted within the Brahmanical fold, and their rulers were described as the Children of Indra (*Indra-Vams'a*). The Boḍo royal house of Dimāpur and Kachar were made into descendents of Bhīma, the Pāṇḍava hero, through his Rākshasī or non-Aryan wife Hīdimbā; and the Meithei kings and upper classes of Manipur, as well as the Boḍo (Tipra) rulers of Tripurā, at some unknown mediaeval period, obtained the status of *Candra-Vams'a* Kshatriyas. Even the native priesthood of the non-Aryan tribes, on their Hinduisation came to acquire the sobriquet of *Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas*, i.e., Brāhmaṇas attached to the particular Hindu caste into which the tribe was transformed. With the exaltation of the general status of the tribe, the recognition of these Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas as proper Brāhmaṇas was a matter of course.

It was not that there was an absolute wholesale or all-embracing miscegenation. Doubtless a great many Aryan groups jealously guarded their purity of blood and they have succeeded through the endogamous caste system in preserving in many cases some sort of racial purity. But once the terms *Ārya* and *Brāhmaṇa* modified their old racial connotation, and became words indicative of an aristocracy of moral or intellectual superiority without the

old sense of racialism, such as we find in the Rig-Vedic terms *Ārya Varṇa* and *Dāsa Varṇa*, admission as Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas of the intellectual and aristocratic classes of mixed groups and of pure non-Aryans was facilitated, and objection to their union with pure-blooded Aryans within the same area, when the economic and cultural background was the same, became weaker and weaker.

The new Aryan-speaking society could no longer remain compartmental, vertically or horizontally or in both ways. With a wide gamut or range of colours in the people, ranging from the white of the Aryan blond to the black colour of the pure Nishāda, or the yellow of the pure Kirāta, like the merging colours in the solar prism, passing on imperceptibly from violet through indigo, blue, green, yellow and orange to red, *apartheid* was not possible in practical life, howsoever the *theory* might have appealed to the Aryanising snobdom which was exalted in certain groups to an orthodoxy of faith. We find almost an identical situation in Mestizo Mexico. From the pure Spanish descendents of the conquerors and subsequent settlers who are known as Creols (*los Criollos*), which continued to be reinforced by fresh arrivals from Spain (latterly known as the *Gachupines*), during the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule (1521-1820), we have, through different shadings of white and yellow and brown resulting from all kinds and degrees of intermixture, the brown or yellow Amerindian masses at the other end of the scale, the pure 'Indians' (*los Indios*). An ever-expanding mixed group is perpetually encroaching upon the purity of the pure whites at the top and the yellow or brown 'Indians' at the bottom. Already the mixed group, with Spanish as their language, forms nearly 60 p.c. of the people of Mexico, with some 30 p.c. pure Amerindians and less than 10 p.c. pure whites. Ultimately the purer groups will be absorbed into the Mestizos, leaving a single type of man, generally speaking, master of the field — the

Modern Mexican Man who is already in the predominance. In 1805, the pure Spanish or white element in Mexico's population was estimated at 18 p.c., Mestizos at 30 p.c. and pure Amerindians at 44 p.c., and other groups 2 p.c.; in 1910, the percentages were respectively, 7.5, 53 and 39. These figures disclose how the pure Amerindian element and pure white are both merging into the Mestizo.

Varna or skin-colour — white or yellow or brown or black — was the basis of the division of the diverse types of humanity in the first period when Ārya and Dāsa, Kirāta and Nishāda, stood face to face with each other. Later, it became unmeaning with the invasion of the coloured elements into Āryandom, although tradition harking back to these very early times is still suspicious in present-day India of a black Brāhman and a fair Sūdra. The skin-colour became irrelevant with racial mixture, and there was a new theory of caste in which the original realistic notion of the Vedic Aryan was lost; and it was **only birth within a recognised profession or industry or trade group, within a guild, so to say, that formed the essential argument for caste. The economic aspect rose superior to the racial, the social to the biological. Caste has been supported or tolerated by the Indian people as it generally helped the stability of their economic existence, all racial implications being lost.**

Caste began to crystallise and become rigid with the establishment of a Muslim state by the Turks, and then by the adoption of the Turki-Muslim traditions by Indian Muslims either of pure Indian or mixed Indian origin (respectively through conversion and miscegenation). The Hindu States were destroyed and the Hindu social order under Brāhman domination lost its natural patrons in the Hindu aristocracy. Yet Hindu culture was too strongly ingrained in the people to permit their being swept away by the flood of Muslim aggression. With its inherent force of inertia and its spirit of bowing before the storm, and with the innate spirit of harmony among the various castes each with its recognised place, its rights and duties

within the Hindu society which was evolved as the direct result of the Indian synthesis under the leadership of the Brāhman, the Hindu body-politic resisted the threatened disintegration of itself through this Muslim impact by its method of a general non-co-operation. This non-co-operation was of a passive sort, and it meant having nothing to do socially with that unappreciative and unsympathetic foreign ruler, the Turki Muslim, and sometimes his client the *renoncant* Indian Muslim, and each caste unit in Hindu society offered opposition in a piecemeal fashion by stiffening itself up in self-defence and by becoming more rigid within itself. This stiffening up and rigidity, and this non-co-operation, became a force not only against the foreigner, but also *vis-à-vis* the other groups or castes within its own world. With the passing of centuries this rigidity grew stronger and stronger; and during the last two centuries, certain other new factors came in — which strengthened the present-day caste ideology which would regard miscegenation to be pernicious and reprehensible in a divinely ordained social order — the *Varṇāśrama Dharma* — which existed from the beginning of the golden age. The new factors which were operative in this direction were the growth of individualism in the place of collectivism; the tendency to a new type of economic exploitation; a new sense of aloofness taking its root from imperfect or incomplete miscegenation fortified by the imported European "Aryanism"; and a revival of orthodox notions and attendant snobbery with fantastic or extravagant ideas of personal purity and caste pride, the exaggerations of which would be patent in any sensible society.

Ancient Indians have been reproached with the absence of the historical sense. They had certainly a conception of life as a static thing, not as a process of dynamic or historical development. The racial and national aspect can never be dissociated from the history of the political vicissitudes of any people, and if in ancient India

the writing of the history of a particular people, as a distinct element of the population, had developed, then the tendency towards the fusion and harmonisation of the traditions of the diverse peoples, not on a basis of a separatist political consciousness, but on an appreciation of the universal human values, would not have characterised the Indian Synthesis. Thus the Muslim historians of India in general are conscious only of a two-fold division of the people of India, by religion — Muslims and Hindus, and this religious cleavage was always perpetuated, without any attempt at bringing them together as members of the same people. In the earliest Indian literature we have just echoes of an Ārya *versus* Dāsa (or S'ūdra or Nāga or Nishāda) complex, on a racial or colour basis. But the racial aspect of it grew dimmer and dimmer as the inevitable result of a mutual assimilation, and these tribal names were translated into the region of mythology. The intransigence of racialism was totally lost, and a crude pride of birth through race gave place to a sense of humility through philosophy when the idea of *samsāra* as an eternal moral law determining a man's place in life came to be universally accepted. After the strands of diverse racial origins have been inextricably woven into the finished stuff of a composite Indian society, it is now at least 2500 years too late to try to revive them once again now, as an engineered-upsurge, e.g., of a suppressed Ādi-Drāviḍa or primitive Dravidian in the extreme south of India against the so-called Aryan from the north. It would be as futile as to try to separate the Saxon from the Norman or the Celt from the German or the basic Iberian from the Indo-European in the composition of the present-day British people.

There is no caste in *sannyāsa* or the path of renunciation — in Indian monasticism, so to say. This is another expression of the racial synthesis in Indian ideology. The Upanishadic *Jñāna* or knowledge, and later the post-Vedic mysticism of love and faith — *Bhakti*, both moving

with the self-discipline of *Yoga* or path for union with the Ultimate Reality, *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* as the philosophical and emotional obverse and reverse of the quest for God, both transcended racial implications.

Racial and Cultural Fusion, profound or on the surface, sublimated by a broad spirit of Synthesis through Philosophy which transcended or modified, although it could not wholly eradicate, the memory of race and colour (the weaknesses and prejudices of human nature being what they are), thus **has given the basic character or tone to Indian Civilisation.** As Rabindranath Tagore, with his poet's vision colouring the scholar's reading of the predominant trait of his people's history and culture, has expressed in his great poem in Bengali, the *Bhārata-tīrtha* —

*hethāy Āryya, hethā Anāryya, hethāy Drāviḍa, Cīn,
S'aka-Hūṇa-dal, Pāṭhān-Mogal, ek dehe ha'la līn :*

"Here the Aryan, here the Non-Aryan, here the Dravidian and the Chinese (the Mongoloids), the tribes of the Scythians and the Huns, the Afghans and the Moguls, have all merged into one body."

II. LINGUISTIC INTERACTION AND THE EVOLUTION OF AN "INDIAN CHARACTER" IN THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA

At the present moment, as has been mentioned before, we see four distinct speech-families represented in India, languages belonging to which have all evolved or developed on the soil of India for the last 3000 years and more. These are (i) Indo-European, (ii) Dravidian, (iii) Austric, and (iv) Sino-Tibetan. **The language** of the first inhabitants of India, **the Negroids**, has not survived on the soil of India—it is found in the Andamans, and it is not fully known. There is no possibility of finding out if elements from the speech of the Negroids has, in any way, survived

in the speeches of the later peoples who came to India. I have suggested that among a possible small vocabulary from the Negroid speech which may have been continued in Indian languages, we may reckon the Bengali word for the "bat", *bāduḍ*, which is based on a form like *wat*, *wad* etc. (with the pleonastic affix *-uḍ* from early Bengali *-a-ḍi—bāduḍ* < *bād-a-ḍi*), found in Andamanese and the dialects of Austro-Asiatic current among the Negroid Semang and the Austric Sakai in Malaya.

The Austric languages as we have seen, fall into two groups—(i) Austro-Asiatic, and (ii) Austronesian. The Austric languages of India, which come under (i), are distinct in their structure from Dravidian: they are prefix, suffix and infix adding languages, and have an elaborate process of word-formation. Austric-speaking tribes had in pre-historic times spread throughout India, and in the great river-valleys of North India they appear to have been transformed into the present-day Aryan-speaking masses of Indians, both Hindu and Muslim, with admixture with other ethnic groups, the Mongoloids and the Dravidians and the Aryans. Some Austric speakers in India, who continued to live from very ancient times in a primitive state in the hills and forests of Central and Eastern India, or who had retired there through pressure of the later peoples, live in their descendents as the various Kol peoples, Santals and others, as mentioned above, still retaining their language. Others in the sub-Himalayan tracts were absorbed by the later Mongoloid settlers, but the language of the Austro-Asiatic Kols has modified that of the newcomers, giving rise to what are known as "Pronominalised Tibeto-Burman Speeches," of the sub-Himalayan areas in Nepal and to its west. In Assam, the Khasis appear to be a Tibeto-Burman people who have accepted an Austric language.

In the development of the Aryan language in India, Austric (Kol or Munda, and Mon-Khmer) languages have

exerted a considerable influence, particularly in vocabulary and idiom. The study of mutual Aryan and Austric influencing in language has become an important branch of Indian linguistics, with repercussions on the history of the development of culture in India. The French orientalist Jean Przyluski made valuable investigations into the question of an Austric substratum in Indo-Aryan, and he has shown how a number of common words in Sanskrit like *kārpāsa*, *tāmbula*, *kadalī*, *kambhala*, *bāṇa*, *lāṅgala*, *lakuṭa* etc. etc. are of Austric origin. Others have followed Przyluski along the line of research virtually opened up by him, and a notable work in this field is F.B.J. Kuiper's "Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit" (Amsterdam, 1948, pp. 178; the author gives an additional seventy words from Sanskrit as being Austric in origin).

In the evolution of at least two modern Indo-Aryan sister-speeches in Bihar, the Maithili and the Magahi, there has been a very likely influence of the Austric (Kol) languages, which evidently were suppressed by the Aryan Māgadhi Prakrit and Apabhramsa, in the peculiar device of pronoun-incorporation in the verb, which is so foreign to the nature of both Aryan and Dravidian.

In the matter of a richness in onomatopoeic jingles and expressions which Indo-Aryan is found to develop gradually in the course of its evolution (such onomatopoeic terms are too few in Sanskrit, but they are on the increase in the Prakrits, and still more so in the New Indo-Aryan languages), and in that of doubling of words, full or partial, for various purposes, noted partly in Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali and the Prakrits) and very largely in New Indo-Aryan, we are certainly to see a Kol or Austric substratum in Indo-Aryan: and this substratum is very vital, too, for New Indo-Aryan.

The Sino-Tibetan languages and dialects present in their number the largest groups of speeches in India, but from the point of view of the numerical strength of the

peoples speaking them, their cultural significance as well as the extent of their terrain, they are the least important. But of course they have their great value in the historical and comparative study of the great languages of the family, like Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese and Siamese. These Sino-Tibetan speeches current among the Kirātas, or Indian Mongoloid tribes, are now confined to Assam, and East and North Bengal, and the south Himalayan slopes from Bhutan to Panjab, including of course Nepal. But in early times there is evidence that the Kirāta peoples had penetrated into Central India and Sindh also, though numerically they were not so strong in the plains of Northern India and the hills and jungles of Central India.

Kirāta peoples in India are certainly as old as, if not older than, the Vedic Aryans: we find them already mentioned in the Yajur and Atharva Vedas. (Their antecedents and their participation in the development of Indian history and culture I have discussed in my "*Kirāta-Jana-Kṛti: the Indo Mongoloids and their Contribution to the History and Culture of India*", Asiatic Society, Calcutta 1951, pp. 94.) They could not exert such a widespread influence in the development of Indian culture, and their contribution to the formation of the Indian people was restricted by their geographical position or the lands which they occupied. Kirāta predominance is the most noteworthy thing in the people and culture of the greater part of Himalayan India, of Assam, and of East and North Bengal and North Bihar.

The subject of the modification of the Aryan speech by the Kirāta dialects has not been taken up properly, but it is very likely that a respectable Kirāta vocabulary exists in Indo-Aryan place-names, and ordinary words, and there are Kirāta influences in some present-day Aryan speech-habits also. The toponymy of Eastern and Himalayan India is largely Sino-Tibetan in origin. Assamese and Nepali (Parbatiya, or Khaskura) show Tibeto-Burman

elements in their vocabulary. The habit of using too frequently the verbal conjunctive participle may very well be due to Sino-Tibetan influence on Indo-Aryan, although a similar syntactical character is found in Dravidian. The dental pronunciation of *c, j, ch, jh*, as *ts, dz, s, z*, etc. in the Himalayan Aryan speeches, in East Bengali and in Assamese, also is, in all likelihood, the result of the influence of a Sino-Tibetan substratum; and the substitution of the dentals and the cerebrals by alveolar stops and aspirates in Assamese and in a number of other Aryan speeches in the Himalayan regions can also be connected with Tibeto-Burman.

We now come to **the Dravidian speech family in India, and its inter action with Indo-Aryan.** Anthropological, ethnological and cultural as well as religious considerations have all suggested that the proto-Dravidians of India were an Asianic and East Mediterranean people. We may regard the pre-Aryan builders of the Sindh and Panjab culture as being of Dravidian speech. The proximity of the Dravidian-speaking Brahuis to Sindh and Panjab lends some support to the view that Dravidian was the speech of the entire North-West, when the Aryans first entered India round about 1500 B.C.

There are also unsolved problems in connexion with the etymology of quite a number of Indo-Aryan words and locutions which may be connected with substrata of other lost pre-Aryan origin. But in the broad lines of the development of Indo-Aryan in the course of over two millennia, we see a tremendous influence of Dravidian, and partly of Austric (Kol). The nature of this influence is not superficial or just literary, but it is that of a substratum, profound and at the same time wide in scope. **There has been through some 3,000 years a gradual approximation of the Aryan speech towards the Dravidian, in its system of sounds, in its trend in morphology, in vocabulary, and above all, in its syntax or order of words.**

The original character of the Indo-European language has been very largely preserved in Vedic Sanskrit, in Avestan and Old Persian, and in Homeric Greek; and some aspects of it can also be deduced from the other forms of Old Indo-European, like Latin and the Italic speeches, Old Irish, Gothic and other Old Germanic, Old Armenian, Baltic and Old Church Slav, as well as from Tokharian; and Nesian Hittite of Asia Minor has thrown unexpected light into the character of pre-historic Indo-European. Yet already in Vedic there are plentiful evidences of Indian non-Aryan influences, particularly in phonetics and in vocabulary: influences in syntax and morphology are as yet not so clear.

In Phonetics, the paucity of vowels in Vedic and Old Iranian (Indo-European *a, e, o* being all reduced to *a*) as contrasted with Greek, is a noteworthy thing. The Dravidian vowel system is also very simple: it has five simple vowels *a i u e o*, both long and short (*ē ō*, of course, originated in Indo-Aryan at a later post-Vedic stage from earlier *ai au*, and in Middle Indo-Aryan short *e o* also developed). The quantity of vowels in Indo-Aryan, originally based on individual etymology, now became subservient to speech-rhythm. New way of emphasis e.g. by consonantal doubling also came in.

The Indo-European aspirated stops, voiced and unvoiced, were retained in Vedic. It is quite conceivable, as Jules Bloch thought, that Primitive Dravidian possessed aspirated stops; and some at least of the modern Kol speeches like Santali also show aspirates. Consequently, their retention in Indo-Aryan was helped by the non-Aryan background. In India, whatever spirant sounds the Aryan language, the immediate source of Vedic, possessed, were virtually all lost, excepting for three unvoiced sibilants *s' ṣ s*, and the voiced aspirate *h*.

The most important change in the phonetic system of Indo-Aryan was its adoption of the retroflex or cerebral

sounds, *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ ṇ ṣ*, beside the tongue-tip dentals *t th d dh (n l s)*. Indo-European and Aryan did not have these, although the Scandinavian languages, Swedish and Norwegian, have developed them independently from earlier *r+t, r+d, r+n* in recent years. The Aryan speech in India may have similarly developed them independently. But the retroflex sounds are so very characteristic of the Dravidian languages that their admission and establishment in Indo-Aryan in the first instance might have been due to Dravidian speakers accepting the Aryan language. As the centuries pass, the retroflex pronunciation, either through the influence of *r* (and *l*), or spontaneously, is on the increase. These retroflex sounds are a point of remarkable agreement among the languages of the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric (Kol) families in India: it is not known whether Austric had them independently, or took them up from Dravidian equally with Indo-Aryan. The distinction between the pure dentals and the retroflex sounds is a very prominent thing in the sound-system of the Indian languages—only the Sino-Tibetan languages do not have this distinction: they have a single set of alveolar sounds in place of the two sets of pure dentals and cerebrals.

Jules Bloch in a significant paper (English translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, pp. 191 ff.) suggested that Indo-Aryan and Dravidian showed a somewhat parallel phonological history, with consonant clusters both initially and medially, but initially these were simplified, and medially they were assimilated (e.g. *dr- pr-* became *d- p-*, *-rk- -tr-* became *-kk- -tt-*; both in Indo-Aryan Prakrit and in Old Dravidian languages as these developed out of their more ancient forms). Approximation to Dravidian tendencies or habits in sound-change may have been induced in Indo-Aryan by Dravidian. The widespread habit of anaptyxis (*svara-bhakti* or *vipra-karṣa*) in the treatment of Sanskrit loan-words in Prakrits presents a parallel to what we see in the cultivated Dravidian languages also.

In certain other matters relating to Morphology, Syntax and Vocabulary, Vedic Sanskrit stands apart from Classical Sanskrit, from Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit), and from New Indo-Aryan. The last three show a community of spirit which is not shared by Vedic. In Morphology, a matter of capital importance is the loss of the Old Indo-European prepositions in Indo-Aryan. In Vedic they still have their separate existence, retaining a good deal of their old function in governing nouns put in various cases (as much as in Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Irish, Old Slav, etc.); the prepositions are movable, and have not yet become wholly preverbials (*upasargas*) glued to verb roots. The total loss took place of these prepositions when their original force was gone, and they became preverbials in Classical Sanskrit, and in Middle Indo-Aryan; the prepositions becoming preverbials only survive in mutilated forms as integral parts of some verb roots in New Indo-Aryan, e.g. *pra* in *pra-vis'* > New Indo-Aryan *pais*, *ā* in *ā-vis'* > New Indo-Aryan *āis*, *upa-vis'* > *bais*, *upa-viṣṭa* > *baith*, *ut-pāṭayati* > *upāḍe*, *ut-taraṭi* > *utare*, *ud-eti* > *ue*, *nir-vā* > *nibā*, *pari-īkṣ* > *parakh*, *sam-arp* > *saump*, *samp*, *vi-kṛi* > *bik*, *abhi-añj* > *bhij*; etc., etc.

In place of the prepositions, for a time the case-inflexions sufficed to indicate the various case-relations, but as these began to change phonetically, a new device was taken recourse to. In this matter, the habits of both Dravidian and Austric (Kol) and also of Sino-Tibetan invaded Aryan. These languages indicate case-relations by means of *help-words* which are joined to the noun and pronoun at the end. These help-words, as they became established in Middle Indo-Aryan and in Classical Sanskrit, became through phonetic decay the *inflexions* and *post-positions* of New Indo-Aryan. Some verb-forms and full nouns are also found as post-positions in New Indo-Aryan. The Aryan language in this matter has completely been transformed according to the spirit of Dravidian.

The formation of the plural of the noun and the pronoun by agglutinating or adding a noun of multitude is another principle which has been naturalised in Indo-Aryan from the late Middle Indo-Aryan stage: e.g. the use of words like *sakala*, *kula*, *gaṇa*, *loka*, *sabhā*, *sarva*, *nānava*, etc. in their Old, Middle and New Indo-Aryan forms, which through phonetic decay have in some cases been transformed into what are virtually new affixes in New Indo-Aryan. Herein we see the work of an inherent principle of formation from Dravidian.

In most of the New Indo-Aryan languages we note, as in Dravidian, the absence of the affix for the dative-accusative case for neuter or inanimate nouns.

The use of the genitive case for the adjective is another Dravidian aspect in syntactical extension of the declension of the noun. The Indo-European speech indicated a comparison of the adjective by affixation: e.g. *-īyas*, *-īṣṭha*; *-tara*, *-tama*, in Sanskrit. This habit is still preserved in English, e.g. *wiser*, *wisest*, from *wise*, and in Persian, *bih-tar*, *bih-tarīn*, from *bih* "good". But New Indo-Aryan has completely abandoned this practice and follows Dravidian (and Austric Kol) in having a new syntactical device with the ordinary (and the only) form of the adjective standing for both the comparative and superlative. This device is already seen in Pali, which would show that the Dravidian and Austric leaven is operative in pre-Christian times in this direction.

In the case of the Verb, too, there were far-reaching changes. An almost wholesale disuse of moods and tenses reducing the verb-system of Aryan to an indicative present form (and in some cases an indicative future), a past participle giving the basis for the past tense, a present participle supplying similarly the basis for some other tenses, a conjunctive or absolute, some verbal nouns, and a passive indicative present, characterised the development of the Indo-Aryan verb. The whole principle of phrase-

building tended to become nominal or adjectival from verbal: in place of Old Indo-Aryan inflected forms like *sa agamat*, *sa agacchat* or *sa jagāma*. Classical Sanskrit as well as Middle Indo-Aryan preferred a participial expression like *sa gataḥ*, Prakrit *so gato*, or *gado* or *guo*, whence we have New Indo-Aryan (Braj-Bhākha) *so gayav*, Bengali *se gela* (where the participle form has been reinforced by an *l*-affix). Herein there is a very likely influence of Dravidian, for in Dravidian, the verb has an adjectival force, being really a noun of agency with reference to the subject. The Dravidian tenses developed out of participles; and in the development of Aryan we find a gradually increasing employment of the participle forms to the exclusion of the Indo-European finite verbal forms. The periphrastic future of Sanskrit *kartā* = "a doer" to mean, "he will do", *kartā + asmi = kartāsmi* = "I am a doer", to mean "I shall do", is Dravidian in principle. The structure of the past and future verb in modern Magadhan languages (Bengali, Oriya, Maithili, Bhojpuri, etc.), in showing the root + past or future base derived from the participle affix + personal pro-nominal affix, affords a remarkable parallel to Dravidian. The importance attached to the conjunctive with the sense of "having performed or finished an act", and its lavish use, are common to both Dravidian and New Indo-Aryan, and is undoubtedly an idiom borrowed by Aryan from Dravidian, very early in the history of Aryan, with possible influence from Sino-Tibetan.

The inflected passive of Old Indo-Aryan is lost to or considerably restricted in New Indo-Aryan, which, like Dravidian, forms passives by means of compound verb constructions, in which the roots meaning "to go, to fall, to suffer, to eat", etc. function as passive-forming auxiliaries. Herein the idiom is probably Dravidian.

With the want of prepositions (or preverbials) to modify meanings of verb roots, both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian have developed the use, in a most curious and idio-

matic way, of conjunctives and participles with an adverbial function, giving rise to what is known as the "Compound Verb". Thus, in Sanskrit we have *ni-*, preverbial, + root *sad* = English "sit down", but Bengali *basiyā paḍa* "sit down", beside *basā* = "to sit"; so Hindi *baiṭh jānā*, beside *baiṭhnā*. In Dravidian languages, like the Indo-Aryan modifying roots, certain roots like Tamil *kolḷu* "to take", *varu* "to come", *vidu* "to live", *pō* "to go", *uru* "to come", *adi* "to strike", *paḍu* "to suffer", Telugu *konu* "to buy or take", *vesenu* "to throw", *iccu* "to give", etc. are used. For example, Tamil *cey viṭṭān* = "has finished", Bengali *kariyā diyāche*; Telugu *vraṣi vēyu* = "to finish writing, to write off", Bengali *likhiyā phelā*, etc. This kind of adverbial or prepositional use of an auxiliary verb goes back to Middle Indo-Aryan: e.g. Pali *sampādetvā adamsu* = "completed", literary "having finished, gave", compare Bengali *kariyā diyāchila*; *patitvā gataḥ* = "fell down", Bengali *paḍiyā gela*; *maccu ādāyu gacchatī* = "death takes away", literally "having taken, goes", cf. Bengali *laiyā jāy*. Evidently, this novel device characterising also the Dravidian was becoming adopted in Indo-Aryan from pre-Christian times, as in Pali.

Another principle which we note in New Indo-Aryan is the employment of a root meaning "to do" + a noun to express the simple idea of a verb root, e.g. Bengali *jīñāsā karā* = "to make a query", for the simple root *puch* "to ask". We have in Tamil *muṭṭāñ ceydan* = "made a kiss", for "kissed", *pāvañ ceydan* = "made a sin", for "sinned", Telugu *pāḍu cesenu* = "waste-made", for "wasted", *vrayamu cesina* = "expending having-made", for "having spent". This has become a characteristic thing in modern Indian languages, Aryan or Dravidian, so much so, that this principle of compounding a noun or adjective with the verb "to do or make" has been taken over from Hindustani in the formation of Basic English. Already in Pali we have this device, e.g. *āhāram karoṭi*, *kalaham karoṭi*, *sañnam karoṭi*, etc., etc., and it is

found in the earlier phrases of Modern Indo-Aryan and Dravidian also.

In Syntax, which is regarded as being of greater importance as an inherited peculiarity than Phonetics or Morphology which is easily acquired or modified, we find that Indian Dravidianism and Aryandom are one. (Italics ours—Ed.) A sentence in a Dravidian language like Tamil or Kannada ordinarily becomes good Bengali or Hindi by substituting Bengali or Hindi equivalents for the Dravidian words and forms, without modifying the word-order: but the same thing is not possible in rendering a Persian or an English sentence into a New Indo-Aryan language. The most fundamental agreements are thus found between New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, and all this began from early Middle Indo-Aryan, as would be seen from a comparison of the syntax of Pali and the Prakrits with that of the modern Aryan languages. *"The syntactical arrangement of a Tamil sentence is in many respects similar to that of an ordinary Sanskrit sentence.* (Italics ours—Ed.) As a rule, first comes the subject with its attributes, second the object with its enlargements, third the extension of the predicate, and lastly the verb. As in Classical Sanskrit, so in Tamil, there is the usual predominance of gerunds and the clauses formed by them, of the relative participles which take the place of relative clauses, and of the *oratio recta* instead of the *oratio obliqua*". The omission of the copula is preferred by both Indo-Aryan, generally, and Dravidian.

The most remarkable similarity in idioms is found in both. Thus, we have the use of a conjunctive meaning "having said", in the sense of "as, because", recapitulating and introducing a conditional clause; employment of the infinitive for the polite imperative; use of the verb "to give" in forming the imperative, or permissive mood; etc. In some of the above points there is also agreement with Sino-Tibetan; but on the whole, generally Indo-

Aryan possesses common traits of syntactical expression with Dravidian rather than with languages of other families.

The use of Onomatopoeic Formations and of what are known as "Echo Words" form other great points of agreement between Aryan and Dravidian in India. Through these "Echo Words", the idea of "*et cetera*", and things similar to, or associated with that" is expressed: e.g. Bengali *ghoḍā-ṭoḍā*, Maithili *ghorā-torā*, Hindi *ghoḍā-uḍā*, Gujarati *ghoḍo-boḍo*, Marathi *ghoḍā-biḍā*, Sinhalese *aś'vaya-baś'vaya* = "horses etc., horses and other animals, horses and equipage"; cf. Tamil *kudirai-gidirai*, Kannada *kudure-gidure*, Telugu *gurramu-girramu*.

Finally, we find that the Aryan speech has been borrowing words from the Dravidian, ever since the former made its advent into India. The study of the nature and extent of the Dravidian loan-words in Indo-Aryan now forms an important subject of Indian linguistics. A great many of the *desī* words in Sanskrit and Prakrit and Modern Indo-Aryan, of which counterparts are not found in other Indo-European languages, are very probably of Dravidian origin — in some cases, of course, they might be even pre-Dravidian and pre-Austrian. R. Caldwell, H. Gundert, F. Kittel and T. Burrow and others have made notable contributions in appraising the Dravidian loan-element in Indo-Aryan. *It is remarkable how significant a Dravidian element we have in the Indo-Aryan languages from Vedic Sanskrit onwards: some of the commonest words of Indo-Aryan are from this source, showing the very deep and intimate influence exerted by Dravidian in transforming Indo-Aryan.* (Italics ours—Ed.).

All this would indicate to what an extent the Aryan language has changed its character in its non-Aryan (Dravidian, Austrian and Sino-Tibetan) environments in India. This type of change, as has been suggested before,

is due primarily to the Aryan language being adopted by large numbers of original non-Aryan speakers, modifying it according to their own speech-habits, and then by sheer weight of numbers swamping, so to say, the native speakers of Aryan, and forcing them, through influence of new environment, to accept these modifications and innovations. Little by little the approximation became complete. (*Italics ours—Ed.*) The situation during the forgotten epochs of the linguistic absorption of non-Aryan speakers in Northern India was one which can be visualised through what we actually see in those areas of India where the non-Aryan languages as speeches of backward "Aboriginals" (*Ādi-bāsīs*) are slowly receding before the continuous and unabated pressure of Aryan: e.g. in the Kol-speaking areas of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, in the Tibeto-Burman tracts in Nepal, Bengal and Assam, and in the Kurku-speaking and Gondi and other aboriginal tracts in Madhya Pradesh. In the late Vedic period, there were just scattered islands of Aryan speech in the Panjab and Gangetic India, in a land of Dāsas, Dasyus and Sūdras, of Nishādas and Nāgas, and of Kirātas. By the middle of the first millennium B.C., the tables were turned, and in the time of Buddha, the country from Gandhara to Magadha was mainly Aryan-speaking, with islands of Dāsa or Sūdra (i.e. Dravidian) and Nishāda or Nāga (or Austric) speech in the countryside and beside the virgin forests of Northern India. We hear in the Pali *Jātaka*, for instance, of *Caṇḍāla* villages in Northern India, where only the non-Aryan *Caṇḍāla* speech, whatever it was, was spoken.

Evidently this was the time when Aryan-speakers, of pure or mixed Aryan origin, understood, some of them at least, the local (native) languages: witness the case of Vidura warning Yudhishthira through *pralāpa* or "gibberish", i.e. some non-Aryan speech not understood by others, as we find in the *Mahābhārata*. The non-Aryan languages gradually died out in Northern India probably for these reasons: (i) the prestige of the Aryan speech as

that of a *Herrenvolk* which had established itself in the country, and to which the allegiance of the conquered peoples was a matter of course; (ii) absence of cohesion among the polyglot non-Aryans of Dravidian, Austric and Kirāta origin, living side by side, with the Aryan speech coming to the forefront as a very convenient *lingua franca*; (iii) the spirit of *laissez faire* and an evident policy of non-intervention with reference to the non-Aryan languages—nobody ever seems to have tried to put a stop to or restrict their use; and this policy of letting the non-Aryan speeches have their own way while ignoring them in all domains of serious study (there could not be the question of setting up a single Austric or Dravidian dialect before others) was most effective; (iv) the liberal policy shown, doubtless as a matter of convenience, by Brāhmins and other custodians of the Aryan's language towards non-Aryan vocables and idioms,—the gradual and unrestricted entry, mostly by the back-door, of a large non-Aryan vocabulary first in Vedic and in the Prakrits and then in the Classical Sanskrit, took away the edge of opposition to Sanskrit and other forms of Aryan, if there was any such opposition at all: the gradual approximation of Sanskrit and the Prakrits to the spirit of both Dravidian and Austric made the Aryan's language easily acceptable to non-Aryan speakers; (v) the fact that Sanskrit and other Aryan became the vehicle of a great composite culture, all-inclusive in scope, that was being built up through the combined efforts of Ārya, Drāviḍa, Nishāda and Kirāta, helped to maintain its supreme position in a new Indian population of mixed origin, directed more or less by groups like the Brāhmins boasting of a pure Aryan tradition; (vi) the early development of a literature in Sanskrit through the collection of Vedic Hymns and sacrificial texts, and through the redaction of masses of national legendary and semi-historical tales and traditions as in the *Purāṇas*, gave to Sanskrit an immense advantage over other languages. We do not know what literature the Sindh-Panjab "Proto-Indians" (as Hrozny' calls them) — whether Dra-

vidian-speakers or not — had: probably what little literature the pre-Aryan peoples had was confined to an exclusive priestly class; and with the first writing down of Sanskrit in a form of proto-Brahmi script (derived, as it would seem, from the latest linear phase of the Mohen-jo-Daro writing, probably sometime in the 10th century B.C.), intelligent Mestizo thought-leaders like Vyāsa started to gather whatever was available of the extant oral literature of religious hymns as well as tales and legends and genealogies, and this quick action gave a start to the Aryan speech which assured its future for ever: (Italics ours — Ed.) (vii) it is exceedingly likely that there was no effective linguistic or cultural patriotism (if there was any at all) among the leaders of the various non-Aryan groups in Northern India: particularly when the Brāhmans through their intelligence and prestige were able to give a theory of society which ignored the racial and linguistic aspects and included the whole of Indian humanity within a single scheme. Finally, we have to consider (viii) the inherent beauty and force of the Aryan language, which was something which fulfilled the intellectual requirements of the Indian Man, satisfied his aesthetic sense, and at the same time was not foreign to his mental atmosphere if he still spoke or lived in the atmosphere of a non-Aryan tongue. As time passed, what was originally just “the language of poetry” (*chāndasa*) and “the current language” (*laukika*) became a veritable “language of the Gods” (*Deva-bhāṣā*) with the general acceptance of the ideology of the Brāhman’s world.

The Aryan speech spread in this way, and the entire country became Aryanised in language. The non-Aryan languages in the Northern Indian plains went to the wall. But while dying out, they left their undying impress upon Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan, particularly the New Indo-Aryan languages as they evolved out of Prakrit. It was Prakrit which largely supplanted the non-Aryan speeches.

But “Greece captured her captor”. The Aryan language with its Sprachgut of basic elements inherited from Indo-European, became reinforced by non-Aryan words and roots, and was reshaped according to the thought-processes of Dravidian and other non-Aryan. (Italics ours — Ed.) The waters from the original Aryan stream now found a new channel — the dried up one of the non-Aryan languages. And thus a composite people got a modified speech — the classical Aryan speech of ancient India, Sanskrit, and the spoken Prakrits of ancient and mediaeval India, and the modern *Bhāṣās* — all falling in line with Dravidian and Austric, and to some extent with Sino-Tibetan as well.

III. ARYAN AND NON-ARYAN CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS FUSION

The economic background due to the geographical environment determines material culture. The Aryans, while living in the drier and colder lands of Iran and Northern Mesopotamia, were, as a people, partly nomadic (depending upon stock-raising and horse-breeding) and partly agricultural (doing some cultivation of barley by ploughing with oxen), and they had built up a way of life which they had perforce to change profoundly in the country of India which in those days was much more wooded, even in Panjab and in Sindh, and much moister than Iran. Their food, dress and habitation, everything had to be altered according to the requirements of their new home and the new climate.

The food of the Aryans as of their kinsmen the Greeks of Hellas consisted mostly of meat (beef, mutton and goat-meat, and pork to some extent, possibly also horse-flesh, though the slaughter of the horse was later confined to a religious ritual of an exceptional type which evidently went back to a hoary antiquity in Aryandom), and barley (as roasted grain or meal or bread) and milk preparations

of various kinds (including butter, ordinary or clarified, curds and some kind of cheese), and honey was a great delicacy with them. They partook freely of, and offered to their Gods as well, a kind of spirituous drink called *soma* (from Indo-Iranian **sauma* whence also Iranian *haoma*) made from some plant which grew in the hills, which was pounded between two stones and mixed with milk. They had also another strong drink made from honey. Barley they knew in their primitive homeland to the south of the Ural mountains, and wheat they would appear to have found in Mesopotamia; and either in Eastern Iran or in India they found the rice, and various kinds of lentils, which quickly became popular with the Aryans in India, more than wheat. The typical Indian food at the present day is rice (or wheaten bread in the Panjab and in the Upper Ganges Valley, or some kind of inferior grain like the millet in the poorer areas) eaten with lentils of various sorts, seasoned with butter or oil and with spices, and with some milk product, if that can be afforded. In the coast lands and in the predominantly Mongoloid eastern tracts, however, the main diet consists of rice and fish. This kind of food, rice and *dāl* or lentils, came to be adopted by the Aryans too; and the old Aryan habit of eating meat regularly and plentifully, which we find discussed in the *Mahābhārata*, gradually became restricted or abandoned, through milk as well as vegetarian food being plentiful in the land and more suited to the warmer climate of India, and through ideas of non-injury to life (*Ahimsā*) which came to dominate the life of the mixed Indian people from after 1000 B.C. In the 4th century B.C., to which date the original redaction of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya can reasonably be taken, *ārya-bhakta* or the food generally eaten by "an Aryan person of the middle class", consisted of a measure of rice, one fourth measure of *sūpa*, i.e. prepared *dāl*, with ghee or oil of one fourth of the quantity of the *sūpa* and salt measuring one-sixteenth of the portion of the *dāl*. For inferior (*avara*) persons, probably *Sūdras* and others, the food was of the same kind. So rice, *dāl* and ghee

or oil formed the basic Indian food in the 4th century B.C. (*Artha-sāstra*, II, xv, 61, 62, 63: it must however be noted that, as in Asoka's inscriptions, *sūpa* might mean some kind of meat-curry as well). It was so also in the early centuries of the Muslim conquest, when Persian-using Iranian, Turki and Afghan invaders, accustomed to eating wheat bread with mutton at home, observed with wonder that Hindus "ate grain with grain" (*ghalla-rā ba-ghalla mā-khurdand*). The Dutchman F. Pelsaert (early 17th century) also noted that the food of the masses in India was rice and pulses with a lump of butter. Similarly, the basic food of pre-Columbian Mexico — flat cakes (like Indian *chapatis*) made from maize dough, with a kind of beans or lentils (*tortillas* and *frijoles* in Mexican Spanish) — still forms the staple food of the Amerindian and the Mestizo population of the country, bread and meat of course being covetable additions to the diet but never complete substitutes for the native alimentation.

The dress of the Vedic Aryans consisted of garments of wool, linen and skin, with some prominent kind of head-dress for men, and wimples for women, as well as sandals of leather, and the whole body was fully covered. The dress of Persian men and women in Achæmenian sculpture may reasonably be taken to be representative of the old Aryan dress. It is likely that coming as they did from a cold climate, some sewn garments at least were in use among the Aryans: the verbal root *sṛ* in Aryan indicates a knowledge of sewing. In India, although some very elaborate types of head-dress and ornaments (often made with cowrie shells) for both men and women are noticed in the art of pre-Christian times, the basic dress consisted of two (or three) pieces of unsewn cotton cloth, one being used as the loin-cloth, one as a covering for the upper body and the third as a turban for the head. Women's dress had only two pieces — one for the lower limbs from the waist to the ankle, more or less in the style of the Indonesian *sarong*, and another as a covering for

the upper part, but the breasts were generally left exposed, as in Malabar until recently and in the island of Bali, easternmost outpost of Hindu civilisation. This kind of dress also came to be adopted in Aryan society, only the wimple or veil was retained as a distinctive mark of a married woman among the upper classes of people.

The Vedic Aryan wore a beard and had long hair, and the hair for convenience was made into a knot at the top of the head. This is the old Brāhman way, as we find in the representations of Brāhmans in the most ancient classical art of India, as at Sanchi and Gandhara, and in the pictures of the *rishis* and Brāhmans which we find in the Buddhist and Brahmanical art of Central Asia, China, Japan, Indo-China and Indonesia. The Buddhist and Jainas, indicating a reaction against the Aryanism of the Brāhmans, enjoined complete shaving of the head and face, and this, with the addition of a top-knot, became later on the accepted custom among Brāhman householders also.

The Aryans, as in Vedic literature, lived in houses made wholly of wood, and building timber was quite easily obtainable in North India which was not as yet denuded of its forests. The style of architecture was influenced by that of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Later, stone and brick were substituted for wood. Pre-Aryan Indian architecture was in brick as in the cities of Panjab and Sindh, and the poorer people had frail dwellings of bamboo or wattle smeared with mud and thatched with grass or reeds or palm leaves. All that became the rule in India, with the exception of the cities where wooden architecture, particularly as facings for houses, balconies, etc. continued side by side with brick buildings and stone palaces. Use of stone for building purposes came into India rather late, from the 4th century B.C., and through Persian influence too; and the first stone structures in India imitated in every way the earlier wooden architecture.

The house-hold furniture — pots, cups, receptacles and vessels, spoons and ladles, were at first mainly of wood among the Indian Aryans, as among their kinsmen like the Slavs, the Germans and Greeks of ancient times. Skins were also used for storing food and drink. The pre-Aryan people seem to have preferred earthenware, and for temporary use earthenware became generally adopted in Aryan-speaking Indian society as well. Bronze and copper vessels were known to the Aryans, and these also came to have a greater vogue in India when vessels of enduring character were required. In Vedic sacrifices the old custom of having vessels, cups, goblets, spoons, ladles, etc. of wood, and not of metal or terracotta, was continued as an antique practice and therefore sacrosanct.

Food and drink, dress, houses and furniture — all these of the local pre-Aryan Indian types had to be adopted by the Aryans, after they realised that they were staying in the country, and after miscegenation was well under way.

The Aryan system of computation was a decimal one, and the ten fingers of the two hands formed the basis of this computation. Two other systems were in vogue in pre-Aryan India, among the Austries, whose highest number of computation was twenty, and among the Dravidians, who counted by eights. The Sino-Tibetans, however, seem to have had the decimal system like the Aryans. The Austric habit of counting by twenties has been preserved by village folk in North India, together with an original Kol word, Bengali *kuḍi*, Hindi *koḍī* "score", as it would appear. Computing by eights and divisibles or multiples of eight (four, sixteen, thirty-two, sixty-four) was adopted by the Aryans also; and as a combination, $10+8=18$ became a favourite number in India.

There are too many big or little matters with regard to social usage and way of living and personal habits in which it would be found that it is the pre-Aryan manner which has triumphed. But all this might appear to be a

little too speculative. I shall now pass on to certain fundamental things in religious beliefs and practices, and myths and legends where the Aryan-non-Aryan synthesis appears to be quite clear.

Indian tradition has all along admitted two strands in Indian religion, philosophy and ritual — the Vedic, and the non-Vedic traditions — the *Nigama* and the *Āgama*, respectively, to give the Sanskrit names. The non-Vedic *Āgama* tradition is “that which has come down” from the time immemorial: it embodies the special teaching of Śiva imparted to Umā, and the Tantric doctrines and ritual and Yoga ideas and practices come under it. The *Āgama* tradition is non-Aryan in origin, and it is exceedingly likely that it is very largely Dravidian, although Austric and Sino-Tibetan elements were in course of time engrafted on it. (Italics ours—Ed.) The *Nigama* tradition is “that which has come inside”, evidently as a later cultural imposition, like the Vedic fire ritual (*homa*), from outside. One would suspect that the names *Āgama* and *Nigama* were first given by a supporter of the *Āgama* or Tantric system who believed in this doctrine to be the one earlier for the people and the country. However, Vedic ritual and Vedic ideas formed the national heritage of the Aryan settlers, particularly the Aryan aristocrats; and the pre-Vedic, that is the pre-Aryan ritual and ideology were ignored, naturally enough, by the Vedic priests. But among the masses, specially the growing masses of Mestizos, the offspring of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages, the older ideas and ritual can only be expected to persist, openly or surreptitiously, according to the predominance or power of the protagonists of Aryanism or Dravidianism.

To unite the Aryan and non-Aryan into one people, it was necessary that the *Nigama* should be combined with the *Āgama*, that the thirty-three Vedic gods, forces of nature with a slight amount of anthropomorphism or humanisation, should form members of the same Pantheon as the great

non-Aryan divinities of a cosmic significance, who represented the stupendous physical as well as the subtle moral forces operating in the universe, and were at the same time very human in their personified conceptions. These divinities later became Śiva and Umā and Viṣṇu and Śrī, among others, in a combined Aryan-non-Aryan Brahmanical *Sudharmā* or “Assembly of the Gods”. It was necessary also that the Vedic ritual of the fire sacrifice, the *homa*, was to concede some place at least to the non-Aryan (both Dravidian and Austric) rituals of the flower offering and blood offering.

Homa or the Fire Ritual, and Pūjā or the Flower Ritual, represent two distinct worlds of religious thought or conception. The Flower Ritual of the pūjā is unknown to the Vedic religion: there the ritual is everywhere homa. (Italics ours—Ed.) The idea behind the *homa* is this. The gods are 33 in number. They are in the sky. Agni or Fire is the messenger. The worshipper is not very keenly conscious of any divine *Mana* or Force pervading the Universe: he knows only some individual gods and goddesses who are humanized forms of natural forces, like Fire, Wind, Sun, Dawn, Thunder, Rain, the Sky-Vault, Earth, etc., who are potent in giving or withholding their bounty in the shape of riches (cattle, horses, flocks and harvest in plenty), sons, and victory over enemies. They are approached in a spirit of friendly reliance; his attitude in worship is that of *do, ut des* (*dadāmi, uta dadāsi*), “I give, so that you may give in return.” He gives as offerings the food he himself eats—meat and fat of a sheep or goat or cow or horse which he kills, barley bread, milk and butter, and an intoxicant (the *soma*), which he burns in the fire kindled on an altar. The gods feel the savour of the burnt offering, and are pleased, and give in return what is prayed for: the worship is done. The idea is simple and very primitive. It is the old Indo-European ritual of worship. It was the ritual current among the extra-Indian kinsmen of the Indo-Aryans—the Iranians,

the Slavs, the Hellenes, the Italians, the Celts and the Germans. The Germanic word for the Divinity, *God* (as in English) meant only the libation to be poured into the fire itself personified (Indo-European **ghutóm* = Sanskrit *huta'm*). Where they got this ritual from is not known. The Sumerians, and following them the Semites, had a similar ritual of burnt offerings, but not the Egyptians, nor again the Aegeans who simply made offerings of food before the images or symbols of the gods, offerings which were placed on raised stands or altars. The Indo-Europeans knew no images or symbols.

The *pūjā* ritual stands on quite a different footing. For the worshipper, the whole universe is filled with a Cosmic Force or Divine Spirit, and the worshipper wants to have a personal communion or touch with it. For this purpose, he is taught that a magic rite calling the Divine Spirit is potent enough to make it (or a portion of it) come and be installed within some symbol prepared to represent it—an image, a pot, a pebble, a tree or a branch of a tree, a picture, a design. Called through this rite, the spirit comes into the symbol, and then it at once becomes a Living Presence for the worshipper endowed with faith; and it is after that treated as an honoured guest, like a king on a visit to a subject of his. Water is poured over the symbol; flowers, leaves and fruit, and grains of rice or other corn as produce of the earth are offered to it; and cooked food, delicacies of all sorts, are placed before it and offered, to become consecrated food with special sanctity. Dress and ornaments and jewellery are used to bedeck the symbol, particularly if it is an image. The divinity present in the symbol is regaled with incense and with music and dance. Lights are waved before it during worship, in token of homage. When the divinity is worshipped under a terrible aspect, animals are sacrificed before it by decapitating (the Vedic or Aryan method of sacrifice was mostly by strangulation), and the blood of the victim is either placed before the image or symbol in a flat cup, or it is smeared over the image. Red

sandal paste and vermillion were sometimes used, and these are doubtless substitutes for the red blood of the victim. Sandal paste as something cooling and fragrant is applied to the image or other symbol. Then, after this ritual, the worshipper is at liberty to come to a personal relationship with his god by prayer and appeal and meditation. The image or symbol may be made, according to the wishes of the worshipper, a permanent or a temporary abode of the divine spirit, so to say. When the latter idea is in view, another magical ritual may be performed, and the spirit releases itself from the symbol, which becomes forthwith a useless material object with no further spiritual or religious potency.

The ideas of *homa* and *pūjā*, as it is apparent, had their birth in different *milieus*. The mixed Hindu people, and the Brahmanical faith of mixed origin, inherited both. The *homa* was exclusively Aryan, to which non-Aryans had no right as it was the special privilege of the Aryan. But everybody was welcome to the *pūjā* ritual. *Homa* was a rite in which ordinarily animal sacrifice was a necessary part: it was known also as *pas'u-karma*. In *pūjā*, flowers are essential: it was, so to say, a *puṣpa-karma*. Now, on this basis, the word *pūjā* of Sanskrit has been explained by Mark Collins as a Dravidian word—*pū* meaning "flower", and the Dravidian root *cey*, *gey* meaning "to do" giving a compound form, in Primitive Dravidian of Vedic times, **pū-gey*=*puṣpa-karma* "the flower ritual", whence Sanskrit *pūjā*. (Jarl Charpentier suggested another derivation, from a Dravidian root *pusu* or *pucu* "to smear", anointing with sandal-paste or vermillion or blood being according to this view the basic element in the *pūjā* rite.)

In the *Mahābhārata* itself, there are passages discussing worship with flowers, and the ritual there is supported as something which is beautiful and acceptable to the gods. In the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, Krishna is recommending the value of religious worship in realising God, and various modes of

this worship are accepted there, and in verse 26, Chapter IX, the *pūjā* ritual is specially mentioned as one which is equally acceptable to God with the Brahmanical or Aryan fire ritual, if it is offered in a spirit of sincerity. Here we have a virtual admission of a ritual which is essentially un-Vedic and non-Aryan.

The racial intermixture which had set in loosened the foundations of the idea of a *Herrenvolk* — the *Conquistador* spirit — which the Aryans had brought. Men of Aryan origin, pure or mixed, were already questioning the use of the elaborate Vedic sacrifices to the gods: nay, they were even questioning the very existence of the Vedic gods. According to the Puranic tradition, Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva, while he was living among the (possibly non-Aryan) cowherd people, refused to give honour to Indra, the Aryan god *par excellence*, and lent his support to a cult of the Govardhana hill which was more in accordance with non-Aryan mentality.

In ancient Greece, the legends of the gods and heroes, which we find in early Greek literature were believed by Sir Arthur Evans and other scholars as being largely of pre-Hellenic Aegean origin. It was even suggested that the Iliad and Odyssey were renderings of a pre-Hellenic Mycenaean epos into the Indo-European Greek language, after it became established in the land of Hellas. This view has been, to some extent at least, vindicated by the finding of a number of small artefacts giving plastic representations on gems of certain legends of ancient Greece,—e.g. that of the Return of Persephone, of Artemis the Huntress, and of Oedipus. A similar thing doubtless also happened in ancient India, as in many other countries. It is exceedingly likely that a great many legends of the Purāṇas, which seem to antedate the middle of the second millennium B.C., when the Aryans are believed to have first come into India, go back really to pre-Aryan antiquity. With the Aryanisation in language of the Dravidian and other peoples of pre-

Aryan India, their legends also were re-told in their new language.

Like S'iva (cf. Old Tamil *Civan'*, later *S'ivan'*, which may be based on a Primitive Dravidian **Kiwa-*) who was identified with the Aryan Rudra and Viṣṇu whose attributes mainly came from a Dravidian Sky-god (cf. Tamil *viṇ* "Sky"), other lesser gods of non-Aryan origin were adopted as a matter of course in the new Pantheon. One such god is Hanumān. As F. E. Pargiter suggested long ago, in 1913, Hanumān was probably a primeval Monkey-god of Dravidians dwelling by forests—the *Male Monkey*, whose Dravidian name (cf. Tamil *aṇ-manti*) was first translated into Vedic as *Vṛṣā-kapī*, and then Sanskritised as *Hanumant-*. From Rīgveda X 86 we can see that there was at first opposition from some Aryans (represented by the goddess Indrāṇī) to the admission of this "native" god into the Aryan Pantheon, but this opposition was evidently overruled. (Other arguments will be found in my contribution to the "History and Culture of the Indian People: Vol. I, the Vedic Age," edited by R. C. Majumdar and D. Pusalker, London, 1951: pp. 141-168, Chapter VIII, (*Pre-historic Races and Race-movements*.)

Some of the deepest things in Hindu religious culture, like the practice of Yoga, certainly go back to the pre-Aryan period. (Italics ours—Ed.) The remarkable find of the Mohen-jo-Daro amulet or seal depicting the prototype of *Yogis'vara*, *Ūrdhva-līṅga* (*Lakules'a*), *Virūpākṣa*, *Pas'upati* S'iva, with all the attributes suggested by the Sanskrit words, and various other symbols and ritualistic poses of later Puranic Hinduism, is exceedingly important for tracing the history of Indian religion, back to pre-Aryan times, in some of its basic elements.

The Vedic as well as extra-Indian Indo-European notions about future life were very vague, and not at all highly philosophical. The Indo-Europeans believed that after death, a good man, i.e., a proper warrior, joined his ancestors, which was in the nether regions of the world, or

in some special abode of the Gods, where they lived in perpetuity, more or less re-enacting their previous life on earth. In India this Vedic eschatology was sublimated in other ways to a philosophical conception which is based on some of its elements at least on non-Aryan ideas. The belief in the transmigration of souls and in the moral law behind the conception of the *samsāra* originated on the soil of India in the post-Vedic period through a commingling of the deeper notions regarding life and being and the future world which were current among the thinking sections not only of the Aryans but also of the Dravidians and the Austriacs. The ideology behind the Vedic Hymn of Creation (Rigveda, X 129) may be Austric. The extra-ordinary elaboration of the sacrificial ritual in the *Brāhmaṇa* period may also, in certain respects, be a reflex of pre-Aryan conceptions and usage in the matter of religious ceremonial.

All these things can be posed by an objective and a purely anthropological approach to the question of the racial background, cultural origins and social evolution in India. We know that in the history of religious evolution certain ideas come within human experience with the enlargement of man's vision and the unfoldment of his mental and spiritual powers. It was a far cry from primitive faith to the philosophical conceptions of a more enlightened age. A primitive religion which made a mere bargain with the unseen powers would take centuries to evolve ideas of *Jñāna* and *Bhakti*, of *Karma* and *Yoga*, and of the concepts of *Ahimsā* and *Maitrī* and *Karunā* in human relations. This development appears to have been rather quick in India, and a finished philosophy seems to have come into being and suffused the entire Indian Synthesis with its spirit during the great days of the period 1200 to 500 B.C., in the later part of the Vedic age and the age of the Upanishads. And this was the period when the Indian Man with the great Synthesis of diverse races and cultures in his being came to be established, as one of the most remarkable phenomena in the evolution of Humanity.

கம்பரும் சமய வளர்ச்சியும்

ஜி. எதிராஜுலு நாயுடு

கவிச் சக்கரவர்த்தி கம்பர் தமிழ்ப் பெருங்காப்பியமான 'இராமாவதாரம்' என்னும் இராமாயணம் இயற்றியதன் குறிக் கோள்களுள் ஒன்று சமய வளர்ச்சியாகும். சமயம் என்பது, கடவுளை அடையப் பின்பற்றப்படும் மதம். விஷ்ணுவைக் கடவுளாக வணங்குபவர் வைணவர்; சிவனைக் கடவுளாக வணங்குபவர் சைவர். கம்பர் பிறப்பால் சைவ சமயத்தவரென்றும், இராமபிரானிடமிருந்த அளவற்ற பத்திப் பெருக்கால் வைணவர் என்றும் சொல்லலாம்.

கம்பர் பரம ஞானியார். உண்மையில் அவர் எச்சமயத்தவராயினும், கல்வி அறிவாலும் ஆராய்ச்சி ஞானத்தாலும் ஆழ்ந்த அனுபவத்தாலும், 'கடவுள் எல்லாவற்றையும் கடந்த பரம்பொருள். அப்பரம்பொருளின் ஒவ்வொரு அமிச பூதரே ஒவ்வொரு சமயக் கடவுளும்,' என்னும் கொள்கையை உடையவர். இமயமலையில் தோன்றிக் கடலில் கலக்கும் சரயு நதியின் நீர், பல நிலைகளில், ஆற்றுத் தண்ணீர், குளத்துத் தண்ணீர், ஏரித் தண்ணீர், வாய்க் கால் தண்ணீர் என்று வழங்கப்படுவது போல, ஒரு பரம்பொருள் பற்பல சமயத்தாரால் அவரவர் உகந்த வழிபடு தெய்வமாகப் போற்றப்படுகிறார் என்பது கம்பர் கொள்கை.

‘கல்லிடைப் பிறந்து போந்து கடலிடைக் கலந்த நீத்தம்
எல்லையில் மறைக ளாலும் இயம்பரும் பொருளீ தென்னத்
தொல்லையில் ஒன்றே யாகித் துறைதொறும் பரந்த சூழ்ச்சிப்
பல்பெருஞ் சமயம் சொல்லும் பொருளும்போற் பரந்த தன்றே’

பரம்பொருளை ஒவ்வொரு வாடிவத்தில் கண்டவரே ஒவ்வொரு சமயத்தவர். மிதிலையில் உலா வரும் இராமனைக் காண வந்த மகனார் அவரவர் கண்களுக்கு முதலில் தென்பட்ட அவயவத்தின் அழகிலே ஒன்றிப்போய், பரம்பொருளை முற்றும் காணாமல் ஒவ்

வோர் அவயவத்தை மாத்திரம் கண்ட சமயத்தவர் போலாயினராம். இதனைக் கம்பர்,

‘வாள்கொண்ட கண்ணார் யாரே வடிவினை முடியக் கண்டார் ?
ஊழ்கொண்ட சமயத்து அன்னான் உருவுகண் டாரை ஒத்தார்.’

என்கிறார். இன்னும் ‘பேரை ஒரு பொருட்கே பல்வகையால் பேர்த்தெண்ணும் தாரை நிலை’யைக் கடவுள் நிலைக்கு ஒப்பிடுகிறார். வானத்திலிருக்கும்போது மேகம்; கீழே விழும்போது மழைத் தாரை; நிலத்தில் விழுந்த பின் தண்ணீர். அதைப்போலப் பரம் பொருளான ஒரே கடவுள் படைத்தல், காத்தல், அழித்தல் என்னும் முத்தொழில்களைச் செய்யும்போது பிரமன், திருமால், சிவன் எனப் பெயர் பெறுகின்றார். எல்லாச் சமயங்களும் முழுமுதற் கடவுளான இறைவரை அடையும் வெவ்வேறு வழிகளே என்பது அவர் சித்தாந்தம்.

சமரச நோக்கு

கம்பர் காலத்தில் சைவ வைணவ சமயப் பூசல்கள் விஞ்சியிருந்தன. அச்சமயச் சண்டையை ஒழிக்க விரும்பினார் கம்பர். ‘சமரச நோக்கில்லாமல், திருமாலே உயர்ந்தவர், சிவபிரானே உயர்ந்தவர் என்று சொல்லுகிறவர்கள் தத்துவ ஞானமில்லாதவர்கள்; அவர்களுக்கு நற்கதி கிடைப்பது அருமை,’ என்கிறார்.

‘அரன்அதிகள் உலகளந்த அரிஅதிகள்
என்றுரைக்கும் அறிவி லோர்க்குப்
பரகதிசென் றடைவரிய பரிசு’

என்பது அவர் வாக்கு.

கம்பர் போற்றும் இறைவர்,

‘உலகம் யாவையும் தாள்உள ஆக்கலும்
நிலைபெ ருத்தலும் நீக்கலும் நீங்கலா
அலகிலா விளையாட்டுடை யார்.’

உலகம் யாவற்றையும் படைத்துக் காத்து அழிக்கும் பரம்பொருள்,

‘மேலொரு பொருளு மில்லா மெய்ப்பொருள் ;’
‘தோய்ந்தும் பொருளனைத்தும் தோயாது நின்றகடர்;’
‘தொடக்கறுத்தோர் சுற்றம்;’
‘நீந்த வரிய நெடுங்கருணைக் கெல்லாம் நிலையம்.’

எல்லாவற்றினும் உயர்ந்த உண்மைத் தத்துவம்; எல்லாப் பொருள்களிலும் கலந்திருந்தும் அவற்றின் குணங்களில் சம்பந்தப்படாத சோதி; பற்றுக்களைத் துறந்தவரின் உறவு; அருள் எல்லாம் சுரக்கும் இருப்பிடம்;

‘..... தொல்வினை தன்னை நீக்கித்
தென்புலத் தன்றி மீளா நெறியுக்கும் தேவர்;’

கருமத்தையும் அதனால் ஏற்படும் பிறவித் துன்பங்களையும் ஒழித்து மோட்சம் அளிப்பவர்; இத்தகைய இறைவரே கம்பராமாயணத்தில்,

‘அறம்தலை நிறுத்தி வேதம் அருள்குரந்து அறைந்த நீதித்
திறம்தெரிந்து உலகம் பூணச் செந்நெறி செலுத்தித் தீயோர்
இறந்துக நூறித் தக்கோர் இடர் துடைத்து ஏக ஈண்டுப் பிறந்த’

இராமன், ஆதி காவியத்தில் அறம் காத்த உத்தம வீரன், இங்குத் தனிப் பரம்பொருளாகப் போற்றப்படுகிறான். திரிமூர்த்திகளும் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து அயோத்தியில் இராமனாய் அவதாரம் செய்தார்கள் என்பது சுந்தர காண்டத்தில் கம்பர் கூறும் இராமாவதாரத் தத்துவம்:

‘மூலமும் நடுவும் ஈறும் இல்லதோர் மும்மைத் தாய
காலமும் கணக்கும் நீத்த காரணன் கைவில் ஏந்திச்
குலமும் திகிரி சங்கும் கரகமும் துறந்து தொல்லை
ஆலமும் மலரும் வெள்ளிப் பொருப்பும்விட்டு அயோத்தி வந்தான்’

பத்தி உணர்ச்சி

கம்பர் காவியம் முழுவதிலும் பத்தி உணர்ச்சி ஊறியிருக்கிறது. ஆற்றின் சிறப்பைக் கூறும் முதற்படலத்திலேயே வெண்ணிற மேகம் கடலிற்படிந்து நீரை முகந்து கருநிறத்துடன் திரும்பியது என்று சொல்ல வந்த கம்பர், வெண்மேகம் சிவபெருமான் நிறத்தையும் கருமேகம் திருமால் நிறத்தையும் ஒத்திருந்தன என்கிறார் :

‘நீறு அணிந்த கடவுள் நிறத்தவான்
ஆறு அணிந்துசென்று ஆர்கவி மேய்ந்து அகிற்
சேறு அணிந்த முலைத்திரு மங்கைதன்
வீறு அணிந்தவன் மேனியின் மீண்டதே.’

மிகிலைக் காட்சிப் படலத்தில், சூரியோதயத்தின் அழகை வருணிக்கும் கம்பர், ‘அந்தணர் வேதம் முழங்கவும், கின்னரர்கள் இசை பாடவும், தேவர் கைகூப்பி வணங்கவும், கடலோசை மத்தளம் போல ஒலிக்கவும், பளபளக்கும் கிரணங்களைப் பரப்பிக் கொண்டு சூரியன் உதயமாகும் காட்சி சிவபெருமான் செஞ்சடை விரித்து நடனமாடுவது போன்றிருந்தது,’ என்கிறார்:

‘எண் அரிய மறையினொடு கின்னரர்கள் இசைபாட உலக மேத்த
விண்ணவரும் முனிவர்களும் வேதியரும் கரம்குவிப்ப வேலை
[யென்னும்
மண்ணுமணி முழுவதிர வானரங்கி னடம்புரிவாள் இரவி யான
கண்ணுதல்வா னவன்கனகச் சடைவிரிந்தா லெனவிரிந்த கதிர்க்
[ளெல்லாம்.]’

பூக்கொய் படலத்தில், சூரியோதய வருணனை செய்யும் கம்பர், ‘இருளை அகற்றச் சூரியன் தன் ஆயிரம் கிரணங்களைப் பரப்பிக்கொண்டு உதயகிரியினின்று புறப்பட்டது, இரணியனைக் கொல்ல நரசிங்கமூர்த்தி பல கைகளை நீட்டிக்கொண்டு பொற் றூணினின்று தோன்றியதுபோன்றிருந்தது,’ என்கிறார் :

‘மீன்உடை எயிற்றுக் கங்குல் கனகனை வெகுண்டு வெய்ய
கான்உடைக் கதிர்கள் என்னும் ஆயிரம் கரங்கள் ஒச்சித்
தான்உடை உதய மென்னும் தமனியத் தறியி னின்று
மானுட மடங்கல் என்னத் தோன்றினன் வயங்கு வெய்யோன்.’

இவ்வாறு காவியப் போக்கில் அங்கங்கே கடவுட்சிந்தனையையும் பத்தி உணர்ச்சியையும் ஊட்டிக்கொண்டே போகிறார். பத்தர்கள் பரவசத்துடன் படிக்கும் விராதன் தோத்திரமும் கவந்தன் தோத்திரமும் கம்ப ராமாயணத்தில் தத்துவ ஞானப் பெருநிதி யெனப் போற்றப்பட்டு வருகின்றன.

கம்பர் சித்தாந்தம்

சமயகோடிகள் எல்லாம் தம்தம் இஷ்ட தெய்வமென்று செய்யும் வழிபாடுகளை யெல்லாம் பரம்பொருள் ஒருவரே அவரவர் வழிபடு தெய்வமாய் இருந்து ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளுகிறார் என்பது கம்பர் சித்தாந்தம்.

‘நனிநின்ற சமயத்தோர் எல்லோரும் நன்றென்னத்
தனிநின்ற தத்துவத்தின் தகைமூர்த்தி’

என்றும்,

‘ஆயாத சமயமும்நின் அடியவே; அயலில்லை.’

என்றும் பாடுகிறார்.

கடவுளை அடையப் பின்பற்ற வேண்டிய சாதனங்கள் எல்லா மதங்களுக்கும் பொதுவானவை. செய்யும் சடங்குகளிலும் உச்சரிக்கும் நாமங்களிலுமே வேற்றுமையுண்டு. இவ்வடிப்படைத் தத்துவங்களைக் கம்பர் காவியப் பாத்திரங்கள் மூலமாக விளக்கிக் காண்பிப்பதில் சமய வளர்ச்சியை—பத்தி மதத்தை—பரவச் செய்வதைத் தம் நூலின் முக்கிய இலட்சியமாகக் கொண்டார் என்பது இதனாற் புலனாகும். பத்தி வளர்ச்சிக்குரிய முக்கியத் தத்துவங்களை ஆராய்வோம் :

இராமபிராணிடமும் சீதாபிராட்டியிடமும் தெய்விகக் காதல் கொண்டவரே உய்ந்தார்; மேனி அழகில் காமவசப் பட்டவர், வீரனது சுடுசரத்தாலும் பிராட்டியின் கற்புத்தீயாலும் அழிந்தார். இதற்குச் சான்று சூர்ப்பணகையும் இராவணனும்,

பரதன்

மெய்யன்பர்களிடம் மாசற்ற பத்திக் காதல் மிளிரும். இராமன் காடேகியதால் அரியணைக்கு அருகான பரதன் அரசேற்க மறுத்து,

‘மூன்றுல கினுக்கு ஒரு முதல்வ னாய்முதல்
தோன்றினன் இருக்கயான் மகுடம் குடுதல்
சான்றவர் உரைசெயத் தரும மாயதே!’

என்று சொல்லிச் சித்திரகூடம் சென்று இராமனிடமிருந்து பாதுகை பெற்று, அயோத்தி புகாமல், இராமன் அனுபவியாத இன்பங்களை நுகராமல், அண்ணலைப் போலத் தவவேடம் தாங்கி, நந்தியம்பதியில், துவண்ட மேனியனாய், அமுத கண்ணனாய், இராமன் சிந்தனையில் பாதுகையைப் பூசை செய்து வந்தான். பத்தனது குறிக்கோள் பகவானுடன் ஐக்கியமாக முயலுவதே என்பதைக் கம்பர் பரதன் மூலம் காட்டுகிறார்.

இலக்குமணன்

பத்தன் ஆண்டவனுக்கு அடிமை என்னும் கொள்கையைக் கம்பர் இலக்குமணன் மூலம் போதிக்கிறார். இலக்குமணன் இராமனுடன் வனம் சென்றதும், ‘துயிலெனும் அணங்கு வந்து தோன்றலும் அவளை நாமே எயிலுடை அயோத்தி மூதூர் எய்துநாள் எய்து’ என்று சொல்லித் தூக்கத்தை அறவே நீத்து, ‘பச்சிலை கிழங்கு காய் பரமன் நுங்கிய மிச்சிலே நுகர்ந்து’, ‘இந் நெடுஞ்சிலை வலானுக்கு ஏவல் செய் அடியன் யானே’ என்று தன்னை அறிமுகப்படுத்திக்கொண்டு, அல்லும் பகலும் இணை பிரியாது பெருமானுக்கும் பிராட்டிக்கும் தொண்டாற்றுவதே கருமமாயிருந்தனன். பத்தன் பகவானுக்கு அடிமைத் தொழில் செய்வதில் இமைப்பொழுதும் அயராண். ஆண்டான் அடிமை இலட்சணம் இலக்குமணன்பால் புலனாகிறது.

சூகன்

இறைவனுக்கு எக்காலமும் திரிகரணங்களாலும் சேவை செய்வது பத்தி மதத்தின் மற்றொரு குறிக்கோள். இதற்குச் சான்று வேடர் குலத்துதித்த சூகன். இவன், ‘அற்றம் நீத்த மனத்தினன், அன்பினன்’ “தேவா, நின்கழல் சேவிக்க வந்தனன், நாவாய் வேட்டுவன், நாய் அடியேன்,” என்று தன்னைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறான்; அருத்தியின் மீனும் தேனும் அமுதினுக் கமைவதாகத் திருத்திக் கொணர்ந்தான்.

“அரியதாம் உவப்ப உள்ளத்து அன்பினால் அமைந்த காதல்
தெரிதரக் கொணர்ந்த வென்றால் அமிழ்தினும் சீர்த்த அன்றே?
பரிவினில் தழீஇய என்னில் பவித்திரம்”

‘அன்பினாலும் இரக்கத்தாலும் கொடுக்கப்பட்ட பொருள் எதுவானாலும் பரிசுத்தமானது,’ என்று இராமன் சூகனது அன்புக் காணிக்கையை அங்கீகாரம் செய்கிறான். தன் இருப்பிடம் போகக் சூகனுக்கு விடை கொடுக்கப்பட்டும்,

“தீர்கிலேன் ஆனது ஐய செய்குவேன் அடிமை யென்றான்”
“.....தீராக்
காதலனாகு மென்று கருணையின் மலர்ந்த கண்ணன்,
‘யாதினு மினிய நண்ப! இருத்திசுண்டு எம்மோ டென்றான்.”

சக்கரவர்த்தி திருமகனும் ஜனககுல சுந்தரியான சீதையும் வெறுந்தரையில் படுத்துறங்குவதையும் இலக்குமணன் வில் ஏறி

திக் காவல் செய்வதையும் பார்த்த சூகன், தானும் தொடுத்த வில்லனாய், ‘வெம்பி வெந்து அழியாநின்ற நெஞ்சினனாய், விழித்த கண்ணனாய்க் கண்ணீர் அருவிசோர் குன்றில் நின்றான்.’ மறுநாள் இராமன் சித்திரஃடம் போகப் புறப்பட்டதும் சூகன் பிரிகிலன்; உடன் வந்து உதவி புரிய நியமனம் கோருகிறான்.

“மருவலர் எனின்முன்னே மாய்குவென் வசையில்லேன்;
பொருவரு மணிமார்பா! போதுவெ னுடனென்றான்.”

உடன் பிறந்த தம்பி, ‘முன்னம்மாடி’ என்று தன் தாய் சுமித் திரையால் ஏவப்பட்டான். இவ்வுடன் பிறவா வேடனும் எதிரிகள் நேர்படில் உயிர்த் தியாகம் செய்ய முன் வருகின்றான். என்னே, இவன் பத்தியின் ஆழம்! இறைவனைப் பிரிவாற்றும்மையும் இறைவனிடம் தன்னை ஒழித்தலுமாகிய முக்கிய இலட்சணங்களைக் சூகனிடம் காண்கிறோம்.

வீடணன்

இறைவனைச் சேர ஆசைப்படும் தொண்டனுக்குப் ‘பற்று விடல்’ அவசியம்; உறுதி மனப்பான்மையும் இன்றியமையாதது. இவ்வரிய பண்புகள் வீடணனிடம் காணப்படுகின்றன. அவன் அறம் தலை நின்றவர்க்கு அன்பு பூண்டவன்; மறந்தும் தன் புகழால் வாழ்வு வேண்டாதவன். ‘சீதையை அபகரித்தது அடாத செயல்; அவளை விட்டுவிடுவதே தகுதி,’ என்று எவ்வளவோ அறவுரைகளை வீடணன் இராவணனுக்கு உரைத்தும் பயனில்லை. அதனால், அவனைத் துறப்பதே கருமம் என்று கண்டனன் வீடணன்.

“உடலிடைத் தோன்றிற்று ஒன்றை அறுத்து அதன் உதிரம் ஊற்றிச்
சுடலுறச் சுட்டு வேரோர் மருந்தினால் துயரம் தீர்வர்.”

‘உடம்பில் தோன்றிய கட்டியை அறுத்துத் துர்நீரைப் போக்கி மருந்திட்டு ஆற்றுவார். அது போல, தீச்செயல் இராவணனை வேறுபடுத்தி அறவே ஒழித்தல் தக்கது!’ என்று உறுதி கொண்டான்.

“மக்களைக் குரவர் தம்மை மாதரை மற்று ளோரை
ஒக்கும்இன் உயிர்அன் னாரை உதவிசெய் தாரோடு ஒன்றத்
துக்கம்இத் தொடர்ச்சி என்று துறப்பரால் துணிவு பூண்டோர்;
மிக்கது நலனே யாக வீடுபே றளிக்கும் அன்றே?”

‘உலகப் பற்றினால் பெறுவது துன்பமே. உதவி செய்தவருட்படச் சுற்றம் யாவற்றினுடைய பற்றையும் விடல் வேண்டும். எஞ்சுவது

தருமமே. அது மோட்சம் தரும்' என்று உணர்ந்து பற்றெல்லாவற்றையும் விட்டவன் வீடணன்.

“ துறந்திலேன் மெய்ம்மை எய்தும் பொய்ம்மையே துறப்ப தல்லால்
பிறந்திலேன் இலங்கை வேந்தன் பின் அவன் பிழைத்த போதே ”

என்ற மனநிலையில்,

“ எல்லையில் பெருங்குணத்து இராமன் தானிகை
புல்லுதம்; புல்லிஇப் பிறவி போக்குவோம்!”

என்று இராமனைச் சரண் அடைகிறான். சரணடைந்தோரைக் காப்பவனான இராமனும், அவன் அரக்கர் கோன் தம்பி என்று பாராமல், அபயமளிக்கிறான். திருவடிச் செல்வம் கோரி வந்த வீடணனுக்கு இராமன் தானே கொடுக்கிறான் இலங்கைச் செல்வத்தையும்.

“ ஆழியான் அவனை நோக்கி அருள்சுரந்து உவகை தூண்ட
ஏழினோ டேழாய் நின்ற வுலகும்என் பெயரும் எந்நாள்
வாழுநாள் அன்று காறும் வாளெயிற்று அரக்கர் வைகும்
தாழ்கடல் இலங்கைச் செல்வம் நின்னதே; தந்தேன் என்றான்.”

இராமன் அருளைப் பெற்ற மனமகிழ்ச்சியில் வீடணன், தான் இராவணன் தம்பி என்ற தொடர்பு நீங்கப் பரதனுக்குச் சூட்டிய கிரீடத்தை — பாதுகையை தனக்குச் சூட்ட வேண்டுமென்று பிரார்த்திக்கிறான். அப்போது அவன் பொன்னான இதயத்தைக் கண்டு இராமன் அவனைக் கடைசித் தம்பியாகச் சேர்த்துக்கொள்கிறான்;

“ குகனோடும் ஐவரானேம் முன்பு;பின் குன்று சூழ்வான்
மகனோடும் அறுவ ரானேம்; எம்முழை அன்பின் வந்த
அகனமர் காதல் ஐய! நின்னோடும் எழுவ ரானேம்.”

என்று சொல்லி அவனுக்கு அருள் செய்கிறான்.

‘ பற்றுஅவா வேரொடும் பசையறப் பிறவிபோய் ’

என்பதற்கேற்ப உலகப் பற்றை விட்டுப் பகவானைப் பற்றிவிட்டால் அவன் பேரருள் சித்திக்கும் என்பதற்கு வீடணன் தக்க சான்று.

கும்பகர்ணன்

தீச்செயல் அரக்கர் உட்பட எல்லாச் சீவர்கள் மாட்டும் இறைவனுக்கிருக்கும் கருணையையும், அவர்கள் உய்யத் தருணம்

வாய்த்த போது அவன் பரிவு காட்டுவதையும் கும்பகருணன் பால் கம்பர் எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறார்.

யுத்தகளத்தில் எதிர்த்து நின்ற கும்பகருணனை அறநெறிக்கு அழைக்குமாறு வீடணன் இராமபிரானால் ஏவப்பட்டு,

“ “வேதநா யகனே உன்னைக் கருணையால் வேண்டி விட்டான்
காதலால் என்மேல் வைத்த கருணையால்; கரும மீதே;
ஆதலால் அவனைக் காண அறத்தொடும் திறம்பா தைய !
போதுவாய் நீயே’ என்னப் பொன்னடி இரண்டும் பூண்டான்.”

கும்பகர்ணனும் ‘நீர்க்கோல வாழ்வை’யும், ‘வஞ்சமும் பாவமும் பொய்யும் வல்ல நாம் உய்ஞ்சுமோ!’ என்பதையும் உணர்ந்தவன்; ‘தையலை விட்டு அவன் சரணம் தாழ்வது உய்திறம்,’ என்று இராவணனுக்குப் புத்தி சொன்னவன் ; ஆயினும்,

“ . . . நெடிதுநாள் வளர்த்துப் பின்னைப்
போர்க்கோலம் செய்து விட்டாற் குயிர்கொடாது
அங்குப் போகேன்.”

“ புலையுறு மரணம் எய்தல் எனக்குஇது புகழ் தேயால்.”

என்று இராமனுடன் சேர மறுத்துவிடுகின்றான். வீடணன் இராமனிடம் போய்,

“ உய்திறம் உடையார்க்கு அன்றோ அறன்வழி ஒழுகும் உள்ளம்?
பெய்திற னெல்லாம் பெய்து பேசினன்; பெயரும் தன்மை
செய்திலன்; குலத்து மானம் தீர்ந்திலன் சிறிதும் என்றான்.”

இதனால் பற்று விட முடியாத கும்பகர்ணன், தத்துவ ஞானியான வீடணனைப்போல, இறைவன் அருளுக்குப் பாத்திரமாகாமல் போர்க் களத்தில் மடிந்து போகின்றான்.

சுக்கிரீவன்

பத்தன் இறைவனை நண்பனைப்போல நேசித்து ஒழுக வேண்டுமென்பதற்குச் சுக்கிரீவன் ஓர் உதாரணம். இவன் இராமனது ‘காமர்க் குண்டலம் துறந்த கோல வதனத்’தையும் ‘குளிர்க்கும் கண்களையும்’ காண்கிறான். கண்டதும் காதல் போல இராம சுக்கிரீவர் நட்பு ஏற்படுகிறது.

“இவர்கின்ற காதல் ஒதக்
கனைகடற் கரைநின் றேறாக் கண்ணினை கவிப்ப நோக்கி
அனகனைக் குறுகி ”

“ சரண்உனைப் புழுந்தேன். என்னைத் தாங்குதல் தருடம் என்றான்.”

பரிதாப நிலையிலுள்ள சுக்கிரீவன் அன்புக்குரியவன்,
நட்புக்கேற்றவன் என்று கருதி, இராமன், அவனை

‘நீ என் இன்டயிர்த் துணைவன்’

என்கிறான். சுக்கிரீவனும் இராமனுக்கு ஆவன செய்து,

‘நெய்த்தலைப் பால் அனைய நேயத்தான்’

ஆகிறான்.

“ அண்ணலை அடிதொழ அணையும் அன்பினால்
நண்ணிய கவிக்குலத் தரசன் நாடொறும்
புண்ணியன் தொழுகழல் பரதன் போன்றனன்.”

இராமனது கஷ்டத்திலும் துக்கத்திலும் பங்குகொண்டு, தேறுதல் சொல்லி, அவனுடன் இணைபிரியா நண்பனாய் இலங்கை சென்று, இராவணனை முடிக்க உதவி புரிந்து, அயோத்தி வந்து அண்ணலுக்குப் பட்டாபிஷேகம் செய்து வைத்து, அவன் அன்புக்கும் அருளுக்கும் தன்னைப் பாத்திரமாக்கிக்கொண்டான்.

அனுமன்

புலனடக்கம், பகவத்தியானம், திருவடி பற்றல் இவையெல்லாம் பத்தனுக்குரிய முக்கிய இலட்சணங்கள். இத்தகைய பத்தனுக்குச் சிறந்த எடுத்துக்காட்டு, ‘செவிக்குத் தேன் என இராகவன் புகழினைத் திருத்தும் கவிக்கு நாயகன்’ அனுமன். இவனது அன்புக் காதல் எல்லை கடந்தது. இந்தப்பத்தியே வலிய சத்துருக்களான இந்திரியங்களை வெல்லுவதற்கு இன்றியமையாத ஆக்கம்.

“ வன்ப கைப்புலன் மாசற மாய்ப்பது என்
அன்பின் அல்லது ஓர் ஆக்கம்உண் டாகுமோ?”

அனுமன் ‘நெறி நின்று பொறிகள் ஐந்தும் வென்றவன்’; பஞ்சசேனாபதிகளை வதைத்தவன்.

“ வஞ்சமும் களவும் வெஃகி வழியலா வழிமேல் ஓடி
நஞ்சினும் கொடிய ராகி நவைசெயற் குரிய நீரார்
வெஞ்சின அரக்கர் ஐவர் ஒருவனே வெல்லப் பட்டார்
அஞ்செனும் புலன்க ளொத்தார்; அவனும்நல் அறிவை
ஒத்தான்.”

கொடிய ஐம்புலன்களை அறிவைக்கொண்டு வெல்லுதல் முடியும் என்பதைக் கம்பர் இங்கு எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறார்.

அனுமன் கடலைக் கடக்கும்போது மைநாகபர்வதம், சுரசை, சிம்மிகை இவர்களால் இடையூறுகள் ஒன்றன் பின் ஒன்றாய்க் குறுக்கிட, அவை அரக்கரால் ஏற்பட்டவை எனக் கருதிய அனுமன், இடையூறுகளைத் தவிர்க்கும் வழி இராமநாம தியானமே என்பதை அறிகிறான்.

“ ஊறுகடி தூறுவன ஹ்ரிஹ முன்னாத்
தேறலில ரக்கர்புரி தீமையவை தீர
ஏறுவகை யாண்டைய? இராமன் என எல்லாம்
மாமும்; அதில் மாறுபிறிது இல்’ என வலித்தான்.”

உடனே,

“ மும்மைசால் உலகுக் கெல்லாம் மூலமந் திரத்தை முற்றும்
தம்மையே தமர்க்கு நல்கும் தனிப்பெரும் பதத்தைத் தானே
இம்மையே எழுமை நோய்க்கும் மருந்தினை இராம வென்னும்
செம்மைசேர் நாமம் தன்னை ”

சொன்னதும் இலங்கை தென்பட்டது என்பது கம்பர் காவியம்.

சம்பாதி

சம்பாதி என்னும் கமுகரசனுக்கும் பகவந்நாம உச்சாரணத்தால் சிறகுகள் தழைத்து வளர்ந்தன. பகவத் தியானம் இடர்களைப் போக்கி, வேண்டும் நன்மை பயக்கும் என்பதைக் கம்பர் எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறார்.

“ நன்மையும் செல்வமும் நானும் நல்குமே
தின்மையும் பாவமும் சிதைந்து தேயுமே
சென்மமும் மரணமும் இன்றித் தீருமே
இம்மையே ‘ராம’ என்ற இரண்டெ முத்தினால்.”

திருவடி பற்றல்

அனுமன் அசோக வனத்தில் சீதா தேவியைக் கண்டு அவளது சேவடி பணிகிறான்; ‘செங்கமலத் திருத்தாயே தேவர் உய்யச் சீதை என இங்கமல உருவமாகி’ இனிதெழுந்தாள். ‘அரவின் நீங்கிய தேவனே அவன் (இராமன்); இவள் கமலச் செவ்வியே’ என்று அவளைக் காணத் தன் கண் செய்த பாக்கியத்தைக் கொண்டாடுகிறான். இராமனது கணையாழியை அனுமனிடமிருந்து பெற்ற பிராட்டி, ‘துறந்த உயிர் வந்து இடை

தொடர்ந்தது' என மகிழ்ந்து, அவனை என்றும் அன்றுபோலச் சிரஞ்சீவியாக இருக்க வாழ்த்துகிறான்.

“பாழிய பணைத்தோள் வீர! குணையிலேன் பறிவு தீர்த்த
வாழிய வள்ள லேயான் மறுவிலா மனத்தே நென்னில்
ஊழியோர் பகலாய் ஒதும் அண்டெலாம் உலகம் ஏழும்
ஏழும்வீ வற்ற ஞான்றும் இன்றென இருத்தி!”

என்றான். ஐம்புலனடக்கிப் பிராட்டியின்பாலும் பெருமான் திருவடிக்கும் தீரா அன்பு பூண்டொழுகுபவர் பிறவிப் பெருங்கடல் நீந்தி என்றும் அழியாப் பெருவாழ்வு அருளப் பெறுவர் என்பது இதன் உட்பொருள்.

அன்பு

உலகில் சாதிகுல வித்தியாசமின்றிப் பல் உயிர்களுக்கும் இணைக்கும் சத்தி அன்பு ஒன்றே. ‘அன்பகத்தில்லா வாழ்வு’ பசையற்ற வாழ்வு. ‘அன்பின் வழியது உயிர்நிலை,’ என்ற திருவள்ளுவப் பெருந்தகையின் கொள்கையைப் பின்பற்றும் கம்பர், அன்பின் அடிப்படையில் தமது தனிப்பெரும்பத்திக்காவியத்தைச் சகோதர தர்ம சாஸ்திரமாகவும், சரணாகதி நூலாகவும் செய்து சமய வளர்ச்சியில் ஈடுபடுகிறார்.

தருமம் - அதருமம்

‘காதலித்த உருவாகி அறம் வளர்க்கும் கண்ணாளனை’ இராமனுக்கும், காம வடிவாகி மறம் வளர்க்கும் வல்லாளனை இராவணனுக்கும் நடந்த யுத்தம் தருமத்திற்கும் அதர்மத்திற்கும் நடந்த சண்டையே. ‘அறம் வெல்லும்; பாவம் தோற்கும்’ என்ற பெருநீதியை உலகிற்கு அறிவுறுத்தி, மக்கள் நன்னெறியைக் கடைப்பிடித்து இறைவன்பால் பத்தி செலுத்தி நற்கதியடைய வேண்டுமென்பது கம்பர் இலட்சியம். சமய வளர்ச்சிக்கு பத்தி மதம் பரவுவதற்கு பாடு பட்டுப் பாக்கள் பல்லாயிரம் பாடிய பத்தரைத் தெய்வப் புலமைக் கம்ப நாட்டாழ்வார் எனச் சிறப்பித்துக் கூறுவது பொருத்தமேயன்றோ?

Earliest Jain and Buddhist Teaching in the Tamil Country

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

While the *Tirukkural* maintains, to a large extent, the poetic tradition of education and its development along humanistic lines, the *Silappatikāram* and the *Manimēkalai* represent the religious education of the philosophic stage of development. But even in these two books there are indications that there were poets and other scholars who were not monks. The *Manimēkalai* speaks of “teachers of philosophy, politics, logic and religion”, of “knowers of tradition”, of “those learned in hoary sciences”.¹ The word “pulavar”, which once meant mostly a poet, now undergoes a semantic expansion to include a philosopher, and the Buddha is apostrophised as the “Great Pulavar” meaning the Great Philosopher, in the same manner Mahāvīra is termed the Great Knower.²

During this period represented by the epics, the education of the ideal man envisaged in the *Tirukkural*, and the education of the men of affairs, ministers, councillors, army chiefs, tax-gatherers, customs' officials, who had to be trained for the Tamil State, was probably undertaken in a secular system of education. Unfortunately our sources for this period are mainly religious, and even the *Tirukkural*, which takes for granted secular education, gives hardly any indication of the methods and the content of the then prevailing system of secular education.

Of the religions which existed in the Tamil country, the religions of North Indian origin were “founded” and

¹ Mani., I, 10-14, 42, 59-60; XXVI, 74-75.

² Mani., V, 68; XXV, 45; Silap., X, 57; XI, 4.

organised religions.³ Even Vedic Brāhminism, though not a founded religion, was an organised and institutionalised one. The traditional Tamil religions like Saivism and Vaishnavism and the cults of Murugan, of Kāli and the numerous other cults were "natural" religions; nor were they organised during this period.⁴ Hence of their systems of religious education, we know only that through worship and through their priests and ascetics they transmitted religious knowledge.⁵ Of Saivism and Vaishnavism the *Silappatikāram* and the *Manimēkalai* do not furnish much data. Both these classics show that a great measure of friendliness existed between the votaries of the Tamil religions and cults and the adherents of Vedism, Jainism, Buddhism and Ājīvikism; that the same family might include adherents of different religions, and that ordinary people often worshipped or paid homage at the numerous shrines of different religions. The encouragement given to religious discussion in public, in the market place and on the occasion of festivals, and the opportunities afforded for learning about other faiths, were many. However, a polemical rancour was beginning to develop among the teachers of the religions of North Indian origin since they were extraneous faiths contending among themselves to win adherents in the Tamil kingdoms. The earliest religious polemics in the Tamil country occur among the Vedic Brāhmins, the Jains, the Buddhists and the Ājīvikas.⁶

VEDIC EDUCATION

Vedic education in the Tamil country followed minutely the pattern which had been evolved in Northern India. It was uncompromising in its caste restrictions and admitted only Brāhmin boys to its teaching. The centre

³ On the distinction between "founded" and "natural" religions see JOACHIM WACH, *Sociology of Religion*.

⁴ See V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, *The Silappatikāram*, op. cit., p. 47 ff.

⁵ See M. RAJAMANIKKAM, *Saivism in the Pre-Pallava Period*, TC, Vol. V (1956) p. 328 ff.

⁶ See *Puram*, 161 and its commentary.

of its development was the sacrifice, the ritual and the recitation of the Vedic texts. Boys were taught the Vedas from their young years, and there is an episode in the *Silappatikāram* which mentions that of a group of boys in a Brāhmin village the one who was best in reciting them faultlessly was given gifts of gold by a Brāhmin who had himself obtained the gifts from a Tamil king as a reward for his dialectical skill. Those who were most learned in the Vedas and had been taught by teachers of repute were those preferred for the performance of sacrifice.⁷

Many of the Brāhmins were distinguished at Tamil courts of this period as officiating priests. Some of them so identified themselves with the culture of the country as to become distinguished poets. The descriptive terms used about the Vedic Brāhmins show that they were held in respect in the Tamil country and that they were distinguished by their sacred thread, by the Sanskrit language which they used, by their recitation of the Vedas, by the sacrifices which they offered, and the exclusive quarters of villages and towns in which they lived.

Asceticism too developed under Vedic sponsorship. It might have been an ascetic movement which first inaugurated the migration of Vedic Brāhmins into the south of India, and the legend of Agastya, shorn of his literary and grammatical parentage of Tamil, may probably be due to some such migration. In a poem on Murugan, the god of the hills, which was composed later than 300 A.D., but is included among the Ten Idylls (*Pattupāttu*), the type of the ascetic as a type of intellectual and moral ideal is described thus:

"They are clad in barks of trees. Their bright,
white locks
Are knotted in the shape of right-whorled shells.
Their figures are radiant with purity.

⁷ *Silap.*, XXIII, 61 ff.; XXVIII, 187 ff. See also *Mani.*, XIII, 23-26; XXVII, 100 ff.

Many are the days they have known no food,
 Their minds are free from hatred and revenge.
 They know truths unknown to the learned
 And of learning they are themselves the limit.
 They have conquered Passion and Anger".⁸

As a system striving after human perfection and final deliverance, Vedic education, like the Saivite and Vaishnavite religions and other theistic and animistic cults prevalent in the Tamil country and in Northern India, postulated the dependence of man on preternatural and supernatural beings to attain his perfection and to alter the conditions of his existence and of his moral and spiritual life. This disposition in theistic religions was in sharp opposition to the educational possibilities envisaged by the non-theistic schools of thought, by Jainism, Buddhism, by Ājīvikism and by the materialistic and hedonistic schools. The Jain and Buddhist Tamil classics constantly reiterate that it is not the gods, that it is not sacrifice or recitation of the Vedas which obtain deliverance, but one's own conquest over passion and desire achieved by mortification and ethical conduct. "No one can escape the inexorable result of deeds" is the chief burden of the Jain and Buddhist didactic literature in Tamil.⁹

JAIN TEACHINGS

The Jains during this period had their monasteries (paḷḷi) established in Puhār, Uraiyūr and Maturai. There was one or more Jain nunneries as well in Puhār, and frequent instruction of the laity in doctrine was part of their evangelical work. When we are told of the Cāranas, who

⁸ See also *Puram*, 192, 193, 251, 252, 363 on ascetics.

⁹ See VEN. PANDIT DEHIGASPE PANNASARA, *Contribution of Buddhism to Philosophy*, in *Vesak Strisara*, Panadura (Ceylon), 1957, p. 9: "A Buddhist has to seek his own salvation — 'Attadipa Bhikkhame Viharatha' and 'live like a light unto yourself'. He has no saviour, gifted with miraculous powers of rescuing him from misery and elevating him to a state of bliss. Buddhism has no secret doctrines: rather it sets forth a way of living which leads to happiness in this life and to individual perfection in this world itself, its keynote being: that a man can gain individual freedom by his own efforts as exemplified by the Buddha himself".

course through the heavens and who descending to earth at will, instruct human beings, we are probably to understand that there were numerous peripatetic instructors of doctrine who criss-crossed the country with no other purpose than to teach the doctrine as revealed in the life of Mahāvīra and in the Jain sacred books. A public preaching Jain rostrum, probably set up by Jain merchants, was a prominent monument in Puhār.¹⁰

The mode of life of Kavunti, the Jain nun, in the *Silappatikāram*, illustrates to some extent the exercise of a nun's incidental teaching functions within the Jain Church in the Tamil country. She lives in a nunnery amidst a grove, and accompanies Kōvalan and Kannagi on their journey from Puhār in order to listen to great Jain preachers in Maturai. At Srirangam, she listens with pious awe to the words of the Cāranar and repeats them to the Jain ascetics in Uraiyūr. She worships at the shrine of Mahāvīra whose figure is placed under a triple umbrella of sovereignty. When a Brāhmin on the way expounds Vedic beliefs to her and to her two companions she demonstrates to him and to her companions, how, in her estimation, the Jain doctrines, as contained in the Jain sacred books, are superior to the Vedic beliefs. On the way to Maturai she inculcates the Jain doctrine of *ahimsa* to her lay companions, avoids travel by darkness lest any living being should be hurt and loses no opportunity to instruct her companions in Jain doctrine.¹¹ At an opportune moment, when Kōvalan is distressed and apprehensive, she teaches the Jain view of renunciation saying:

"Because the effect of your good deeds are exhausted, your wife and you experience great distress. Though preachers of the doctrine should proclaim ever so loudly like a drum, 'Avoid the path of evil for the law of Karma is inexorable', those who are not on the path of virtue listen not. But when an evil deed brings its own reaction they suffer greatly because

¹⁰ On Jain monasteries, see *Silap.*, X, 15 ff; XI, 1 ff. On Jain caves see, M. S. VENKATASAMY, *Jainism and Tamil* (Tamil) op. cit.

¹¹ Compare *Silap.*, X, 64 ff, with *Acaranga Sutra*, Book II; Lecture 3; Lesson 1.

of ignorance. On the other hand the learned do not grieve at the inevitable consequences of past *Karma*.

"The sufferings of partings and unions and those created by the god of passion (*Kāma*) affect only those that get involved in the love of curly-haired maidens and not ascetics who live in single blessedness. The ascetics have seen all down the ages the dire distress caused by women and by food and hence have relinquished the desire for both".¹²

And finally, in true Jain style, she undertakes a fast unto death after hearing of the fate which has overtaken Kōvalan and Kannagi and the Pāndyan king and queen.

BUDDHIST DHARMA

The *Manimēkalai* is uncompromisingly Buddhist and offers more data concerning the content and methods of Buddhist religious adult education than does the *Silappatikāram* about Jain education. It is manifestly an epic of the Hinayāna doctrine, but it may be disputed as to which of the Hinayāna schools it belongs. There is no reference in it to the Mahāsaṅghika school which prevailed in the Andhra country north of the Tamil border. Nor are there references to Nāgarjuna's Madhyamika school, or to Aryadeva or to any of the Mahayānist Yogacara teachers like Dinnaga and Dharmapala who subsequently taught in Kāñchi. The *Manimēkalai* probably belongs to the *Sautrantika* school of the Theravāda and represents the Buddhism prevailing in the Tamil country at the time of its composition (circa A.D. 200?).¹³

The Buddhists, according to the two 'epics', had established their monasteries and nunneries in Puhār, Kāñchi and

¹² *Silap.*, XIV, 25-43. The Jainism prevalent in the Tamil country was of the Dighambara school.

P. B. DESAI, *Jainism in South India and some Jaina epigraphs*, Sholapur, 1957.

¹³ S. KRISHNASWAMY AIYENGAR, *Manimekhalai in its historical setting*, op. cit.

Id., *The Buddhism of Manimekhalai*, in (Ed. B. C. LAW) *Buddhist studies*, op. cit., pp. 1-25. In the same book see,

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, *Buddhism in Tamil Literature*, pp. 673-698. The book contains useful essays on other aspects of Buddhist education.

Vanci, and the archaeological evidence shows that Buddhist monks occupied in the pre-Christian era caves in the southern districts of Maturai and Tirunelveli.¹⁴ The Indravihara, consisting of seven pagodas in Puhār, included a sacred bodhi tree and may have had three hundred monks living there;¹⁵ a similar monastic structure existed in Vanci, the capital of the Tamil Cēra kingdom in the western part of Southern India. The monastic system and monastic preaching appear to have been long established in the Tamil country. The Buddhists too seem to have had a great number of teachers traversing the Tamil country. Pilgrimages to Maṇipallavam, an island off the coast of Ceylon, and to Samanoḷi in Ratnadipa (Adam's peak in Ceylon) were frequent as were also pilgrimages to sacred Buddhist places in Northern India.

Two itinerant teachers are prominent in the *Manimēkalai*. One is Manimēkalai herself, a Buddhist novice who before her final entry into the Sisterhood both by precept and example inculcates the basic ethics of Buddhism, and Aravana Adigal, an aged and persevering teacher and philosopher of Buddhism, who retains his clarity of thought and his eloquence in spite of his advanced years, his worn-out body and his grey hairs. The discourses made by these two teachers show that the Vinaya, the Dhamma and the Abidhamma were known and were part of Buddhism in the Tamil country, and that the *Tripitakas* were the sources of the teaching. The *Manimēkalai* itself has drawn from the Jātakas for its main narrative and for its concept of karmic casualty and rebirth. The fundamentals taught to those who embrace the path of the Buddha are summarised in the lines:

¹⁴ P. C. ALEXANDER, *Asoka and the spread of Buddhism in Ceylon*, TC. Vol., I (1952), no. 2, pp. 125-131.

K. K. PILLAI, *The Brahmi inscriptions of South India and the Sangam Age*, TC. Vol., V (1956), no. 2, pp. 175-185.

M. S. VENKATASAMY, *Buddhism and Tamil* (Tamil), op. cit., p. 19 ff.

¹⁵ *Silap.*, XXVII, 93.

*"Birth is Suffering ;
The Ending of Birth is Supreme Bliss ;
Birth is born of Desire ;
Nirvāna is attained by ending Desire.
Understand and accept the Panca-sila.
This is the way to attain Life."*¹⁶

Karmic suffering and casualty due to passion and desire, abstention from aesthetic and emotional pleasures such as are provided by music, dance and the drama, and the philosophy of impermanence are constantly reiterated through direct teaching, and exemplified in the life-stories of the characters of the poem :

*"Youth is fleeting : Beauty is fleeting ;
Sky-high wealth is equally fleeting ;
Nor do children ever confer heaven."*¹⁷

The twenty-ninth canto of *Manimēkalai* shows the study which Buddhist teachers made of the other philosophical and religious systems and of their logical bases, and the thirtieth canto summarises the Four Truths, the Twelve Nidānas and causal nexus.

*"Examine separately and understand that everything is
impermanent, full of suffering, without a soul and
unclean, and therefore end Desire
By listening to Dhamma (śruti), by meditation, by men-
tal bhāvana and mental darsana, end all Illusion.
By these four means end the darkness of the mind"*¹⁸

SCRIPTURES IN TAMIL

Both Jainism and Buddhism in their methods of religious teaching inculcated a great reverence for the personality of their founders. They drew lessons from the contemporary scene, from the nature of life and from their sacred books. Did these sacred books exist in Tamil ? And

¹⁶ *Mani.*, II, 64-69.

¹⁷ *Mani.*, XXII, 135-137.

¹⁸ *Mani.*, XXX, 254 ff.

how far was writing an aid to study and teaching in the pre-Pallava age ?

In the Tamil classics, which we have examined here as belonging to the pre-Pallava period of Tamil history, there is no apodictic proof that the anthologies and the "epics" were already written down and that formal education included the study from manuscripts. There is evidence that writing was used and formed part of instruction.¹⁹ Writing was used for detailed sepulchral inscriptions, for commercial purposes and for epistolary communication,²⁰ but did the *ēdu* or leaf-book exist in the pre-Pallava period or was all this literature retained orally and transmitted orally ? In the Sangam period the word *nūl* (sutra) occurs in the sense of a technical treatise and the cumulative evidence would point to the existence of books ;²¹ however, the principal means of conserving and teaching literature, both secular and religious, was oral (*kēlvi*).

Whether the Jain and the Buddhist literature was translated into Tamil from their North-Indian originals in the pre-Pallava period is not known. But the Tamil terminology used in the Jain and Buddhist "epics" and their literary excellence point to a long period of Jain and Buddhist literary culture in the Tamil country as to render Jain and Buddhist works bear little or no traces of foreign origin except the technical terms of their religious philosophy.²²

CONFLICTS AND SYNTHESIS

The sources which describe the philosophic period of Sangam literature are also evidence of the conflicts and the synthesis which ensued as a result of the different schools of religious and philosophic thought achieving

¹⁹ E.g., *Tolkappiyam*, *Elutu*, 6, 14, 15.

²⁰ E.g., *Aham*, 67, 77, 131 ; *Puram*, 260, 264 ; *Silap*, XIII, 82 ff.

²¹ S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI, *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, TC, Vol. III (1954), nos. 3 and 4, p. 332.

²² See *Ibid.*, pp. 348 ff.

maturity of articulation and organisation in urban and city culture. The religions which were founded in the sixth century B.C., in India were probably introduced into the Tamil country during the Mauryan Empire. Chandragupta Maurya and Bhadrabahu may have been responsible for the spread of Jainism in Southern India, and Aśoka's patronage may have contributed to the introduction of Buddhism into the Tamil country at about the same time that it was introduced into Ceylon. It may be surmised that the Vedic cults too were introduced into the Tamil country during this period of North Indian migrations into Southern India. There are faint and rare traces of Buddhist and Jain thought in the Sangam anthologies, and very tangible and solid evidence for the influence of Vedic thought.²³ However, it is in the sources of the philosophic period that the religions and philosophies of Northern Indian origin assume full development and maturity in the South making the Tamil scene appear almost as animated from an intellectual and philosophical point of view as the North Indian scene in the sixth century B.C.

The *Silappatikāram* represents the result of a fusion and synthesis of cultures originating in Northern and Southern India. In the Jain epic there is a preponderant and overpowering love for the Tamil country, its language, its literature, its music, and respect for its regional worship and shrines and its hoary institutions. The epic uses all the previous Tamil literary heritage and conventions, and reduces to a basic unity the triple political division of the Tamil kingdoms in the best traditions of the poetic age. The prowess and military exploits of the Tamil kings against Northern India are extolled and the territorial integrity and political "union within division" of the Tamil kingdoms are vehemently defended. The introduction of the Jain doctrines of *ahimsa* and renunciation, and asser-

²³ Some Sangam poets bear Buddhist names — Ilambodhiyar, Theradaran, Siruventheraiyar. Jain mythology is said to be found in *Puram*, 175 and *Aham*, 59. For Vedic thought, the evidence is to be had in nearly all the anthologies.

tions of Mahāvīra's supremacy as a teacher of the path of Release and Salvation are made gently and unobtrusively. To a Brāhmin who recommends ablutions in three lakes which procure a knowledge of Indra's grammar, a knowledge of former births and the power to realise one's wishes, Kavunti, the Jain nun, replies that all these and more means of fulfilment are found in the Jain scriptures (*Parāgamam*) and that Truth and regard for all living beings confer unlimited power. In the third part of the epic, which is rather Vedic in spirit, Mādalan, the Brāhmin, makes a strong plea regarding the value of Vedic sacrifices to a victorious Tamil king who has neglected them for fifty years.²⁴

The territory of ideological, political and military interest too has definitely in the epic period extended further than Vēnkadam hill in the north and Cape Comorin in the south to include the North Indian kingdoms and the Himalayas and the Sinhalese kingdom of Gajabahu.

Similarly the *Tirukkural* is a synthesis of the ideals and precepts recommended to the Perfect and Complete Man outlined in previous poetry. But the precepts of abstention from meat and from alcoholic drink and the ascetic renunciation and life eulogised in certain verses are departures from previous Tamil thought and practice and are best explained as introductions due to the influence of Vedic, Jain and Buddhist thought. The ascetic ideal was probably always cherished in the Tamil country since Siva is its ideal prototype. However, it is in the poetic and especially in the philosophic stage that both Vedic and non-Vedic ascetics are mostly found as solitaries in lonely places and in the midst of forests where elephants are said to fetch the wood for their sacrificial fires. They are also found congregated in large numbers performing the penances of their respective ascetic schools outside the city walls or in cemeteries and groves. But even where the *Tirukkural* speaks of asceticism, or of Brāhminic sacrifice or

²⁴ *Silap*, XI, 150 ff.

caste, it does so often from a humanistic, critical angle demanding rather the spirit of these religious professions than a spiritless following of conventional rules.

The true Brāhmins are those who observe Aram
(Righteousness)
Because they show benevolence to all life. (30)

It is the life of the Householder which is true Aram. (49)

The Man who lives in the World as he ought
Is fit to be classed among the Gods of Heaven. (50)

A Brāhmin may re-learn the Vedas he forgets
But he can never regain a name lost by bad conduct.
(134)

More renounced than hermits is the householder
Who forgives the words of the wicked. (159)

Those who perform fasts are great indeed ; but only next
to those (householders) who forgive the evil words
of neighbours. (160)

Better than a thousand Vedic sacrifices
Is the saving of one single (animal) life. (259)

Many are the impure of heart who pose as great ascetics
And seek ritual purity by ablutions. (278)

Neither the shaving of the head nor the growth of long
hair is necessary to ascetics
If in their conduct they be true to their calling. (280)

Throughout these and similar verses there is the sound of either a reformer of present conduct or a defendant of past ideals who resents the introduction of new values. On the one hand these verses seem to insist, as in the Jain and Buddhist books, that self-control is the true asceticism, that purity of heart is greater than ritualistic ablutions, that forgiveness of injuries and non-killing comprise the true sacrifice, that becoming conduct is more meritorious than Vedic recitation. On the other hand verses which profess that family life is the greatest aram (dhamma), hospitality the greatest sacrifice, children the greatest joy,

and altruistic love the Great Commandment, and many other verses entirely humanist in their inspiration justify the view that the *Tirukkural* is by and large a humanist codex.²⁵

The *Manimēkalai* is pre-eminently a book of Buddhist polemics and doctrines woven into a chain of narratives in which the chief character finds her haven in the Three-fold Refuge. The Buddhist "epic" too shows a great love for the Tamil country and its traditions. While it passes no value judgments about the cults of Siva and Vishnu and the worship of Kālī, the *Manimēkalai* is critical of both Jain compassion and the Brāhmin doctrine of sacrifice, as well as of the intercessory power of the gods to avert the consequence of deeds, and of the moral conduct of some of the gods themselves. The story of Sutamati and her discovery of the absence of compassion among Jain ascetics, and the cruelty shown by the Brāhmins to Āputra because of his compassion for a cow destined for sacrifice, and the conversion of these two to Buddhism, is part of the scope of the poem to show the acceptability of the Buddhist religion as superior to the others. Manimēkalai is exhorted by Kaṇṇagi in a vision to interview the teachers of different religions, after which she would realise for herself that the other systems did not contain the truth. Thus she would come to tread the "path of the Piṭakas of the Great One".²⁶ The conversion of a renowned and accomplished danseuse and courtesan as Mātavi, the Tamil Ambapāli, and of her beautiful daughter Manimēkalai, to Buddhism, and ascribing interest in Buddhism to Kōvalan and Kaṇṇagi in a previous birth and predicting their attainment of Nirvāna through Buddhism in a future birth are part of the same plan of the poet to preach Buddhism as superior to Jain and Vedic beliefs.

²⁵ Whether the humanism of the *Tirukkural* is theistic is controverted, particularly because the first verses, among which occur verses of theistic import, are said to be interpolations or are claimed by some scholars to refer to the Buddha or to Mahavira.

²⁶ *Mani.*, XXVI, 66.

The Realms of Love :

Poems from Narrinai, an anthology of the Sangam Age.
Translated by S. NATESAN.

9

As zealous devotees who are in quest
of Life immortal get a vision some day
of God, as they sought Him, so, Dear, today
I have got thee, and my heart is at rest.
Now like a nymph decked on thy speckled breast
with Punku blossoms like rice grains puffed, so gay,
And leaves of lustrous green thou might'st here play
Awhile on the sand, then in the shade we'll rest.
Thus resting where thou see'st sand or shade,
Well could'st thou chase away all weariness,
And slowly walk, beaming thy radiant smile.
There the cuckoos call in the balmy glade,
Pecking at mango buds in happiness,
And yonder hamlets all the way beguile !

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Like clouds which drinking of the eastern sea
Spread westwards, darkening the sky, and rain
All around, flashing lightning strokes like sparks
That fly from copper pots when shaped by smiths,
And rumbling, southward turn, so has my heart
Gone where my Lover is : my body fed
Stays like a lonely sentinel that guards
A city desolate whence have people fled -
Fearing the invading hordes of a vengeful King.

காதல் ஆட்சிகள்

நற்றிணை—சங்க காலத் தொகை நூல்

9

அழிவில் முயலு மார்வ மாக்கள்
வழிபடு தெய்வங் கட்கண் டாஅங்
கலமரல் வருத்தந் தீர யாழநின்
னலமென் பணைத்தோ ளெய்தின மாகலின்
பொரிப்பூம் புன்கி னெழில்தகை யொண்முறி
சுணங்கணி வனமுலை யணங்குகொளத் திமிரி
நிழல்காண் தோறு நெடிய வைகி
மணல்காண் தோறும் வண்ட றைஇ
வருந்தா தேகுமதி வாலெயிற் றேயே!
மாநனை கொழுதி மகிழ்குயி லாலும்
நறுந்தண் பொழில் கானங்
குறும்ப லூரயாஞ் செல்லும் ஆறே.

153

குணகடல் முகந்து குடக்கேர்பு இருளி
மண் திணி ஞாலம் விளங்கக் கம்மியர்
செம்புசொரி பாணையின் மின்னிளவ் வாயும்
தன்தொழில் வாய்த்த இன்குரல் எழிலி
தென்புல மருங்கிற் சென்றற் றுங்கு
நெஞ்சம் அவர்வயின் சென்றன ஈண்டொழிந்து
உண்டல் அளித்தென் உடம்பே விறற்போர்
வெஞ்சின வேந்தன் பகையலைக் கண்கி
வாழ்வோர் போகிய பேரூர்ப்
பாழ்காத் திருந்த தனிமகன் போன்றே.

154

The forest has become still, and the sky
Is pitch dark like the caves in the rocky heights.
The thundering clouds have not ceased to rumble ;
Frail Girl ! sleep'st thou, not hearing the fearful growl
Of the angry, wide-mouthed tiger, which has slain
And laid aside on its right, an elephant
In the thicket where the rain clouds seem to creep.
If thy lover does not come tonight, it would
Be well indeed ; like water poured on fire
It would becalm our hearts distraught with dread.
My uneasy mind dwells on his difficult path
Where the rains beats, confronted by the hills.

156

Thou in this dark night when one's way is hard
To see hast come, passing our spacious, guarded
Fort : such has been thy great love, chieftain Lord
Of high hills ! We singing about thy mountain
And thee, shall guard our small-grained millet fields
For many days. Hence in the daytime come
To dispel our troubles. For the rustic men
That dwell on these high hills where rushes grow
Are fierce, though drunk. The moving clouds resounding
In clefts have settled on our mountain crests.

166

Darling, like gold and sapphire are your body
And dark redolent tresses ; like blue lilies
And shoots of bamboo are your beauteous
Collyrium-painted eyes and shapely arms ;
Whenever these I see, my heart is full.
And I feel like those who have virtues attained ;
And now our child bedecked in gold has learnt
To play. No work have I elsewhere ; what can
Prompt me to part from you ? My love for you
Is greater far indeed than the ocean wide.

154

கானமுங் கம்மென் றன்றே ; வானமும்
வரைகிழிப்பு அன்ன மையிருள் பரப்பிப்
பல்குரல் எழிலி பாடோ வாதே ;
மஞ்சதவழ் இறும்பில் களிறுவலம் படுத்த
வெஞ்சின உழவைப் பேழ்வாய் ஏற்றை
அஞ்சுதக உரமும் ஓசை கேளாது
துஞ்சுதி யோஇல தூவி லாட்டி !
பேரஞர் பொருத புகர்படு நெஞ்சம்
நீரடு நெருப்பில் தணிய இன்றவர்
வாரா ராயினே நன்றே ; சாரல்
விலங்குமலை யாராறு உள்ளுதொறும்
நிலம்பரந்து ஒழுகும்என் நிறையில் நெஞ்சே.

156

நீயே, அடியறிந்து ஒதுங்கா ஆரிகுள் வந்தெம்
கடியுடை வியனகர்க் காவல் நீவியும்
பேரன் பினையே பெருங்கல் நாட !
யாமே, நின்னுதின் மலையும் பாடிப் பன்னுள்
சிறுதினை காக்குவஞ் சேறும் ; அதனால்,
பகல்வந் தீமோ பல்படர் அகல ;
எருவை நீடிய பெருவரைச் சிறுகுடி
அரியல் ஆர்ந்தவ ராயினும் பெரியர்
பாடிமிழ் விடர்முகை முழங்க
ஆடுமறை இறுத்தெங் கோடுவர் என்னை.

166

பொன்னும் மணியும் போலும் யாழநின்
நன்னர் மேனியும் நாறிருங் கதுப்பும் ;
போதும் பணையும் போலும் யாழநின்
மாதர் உண்கணும் வனப்பின் தோளும் ;
இவைகாண் தோறும் அகமலிந்து யானும்
அறநிலை பெற்றோர் அணையேன் ; அதன்தலைப்
பொலந்தொடிப் புதல்வனும் பொய்தல் கற்றனன் ;
வினையும் வேறுபுலத்து இலனே ; நினைவின்
யாதணிற் பிரிவாம் ? மடந்தை !
காதல் தானுங் கடலினும் பெரிதே.

“ The darling daughter of the mountain chief,
 She is well guarded ; access to her is hard.
 Thy words of love she cannot understand.
 Hence do not think of her ” : thus, friend, thou say'st
 On Kolli hill whose high and faultless top
 The Gods protect and where the jak trees yield
 Fruits on their red roots and white cascades fall,
 A statue stands whose beauteous form remains
 Untarnished, whether gales blow or hail bursts,
 Or fiercely thunder rolls or other dangers
 Rise or the world itself is wroth. My love,
 Fair like that statue, cannot part from my heart.

‘ மலையுறை குறவன் காதல் மடமகள்
 பெறலருங் குரையள் ; அருங்கடிக் காப்பினள் ;
 சொல்லெதிர் கொள்ளாள் ; இனையள் அனையோள்
 உள்ளல் கூடா தென்றோய் ! மற்றுஞ்
 செவ்வேர்ப் பலவின் பயங்கெழு கொல்லித்
 தெய்வங் காக்குந் தீதுதீர் நெடுங்கோட்டு
 அவ்வென் அருவிக் குடவரை அகத்துக்
 கால்பொருது இடிப்பினுங் கதழறை கடுகினும்
 உருமுடன்று எறியினும் ஊறுபல தோன்றினும்
 பெருநிலங் கிளரினுந் திருநல உருவின்
 மாயா இயற்கைப் பாவையிற்
 போதல் ஒல்லாளென் நெஞ்சத் தானே .

NOTICE

A RARE OPPORTUNITY FOR RESEARCH SCHOLARS AND LIBRARIES

A few copies of the following back numbers of *Tamil Culture* are available for sale :—

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Book Review

TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF TAMIL LITERATURE :

An anthology with studies and translations by J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, Annamalai Nagar P.O., South India. Price Rs. 8.25.

Foreign Readers of *Tamil Culture* have often made enquiries regarding the availability of translations of standard Tamil classics, at least in the form of selections or anthologies. It was not possible hitherto to point to single books of translations, though translations of single poems were scattered in Reviews like the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Siddantha Deepika* and other publications. Mr. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, Director of Publications, Annamalai University, has brought an anthology of Tamil poetry of the last two thousand years, together with their English translations. The translations are not of equal merit, since the translators are different persons like G. U. Pope, J. N. Nallaswamy Pillai, K. M. Balasubramaniam and Mr. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai himself. The book includes, among other poems, English translations of several poems of Purananuru by G. U. Pope, the Ten Idylls, and numerous extracts from the Ethical books and from devotional literature. The different sections form a representative collection of the various sections of Tamil poetry. It is an advantage that the Tamil text has been published along with the English translation. We are thankful that Mr. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai took the initiative of publishing this work at his own expense. It is the duty of those who are able to recommend this book for purchase by libraries and individuals to see to its wide diffusion. Here is a book which might be sent as a present to foreign friends and libraries. One would have, however, preferred this book to have been better produced. Copies may be had from the editor at Rs. 8.25 per copy. Editor's address : Mr. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, Director of Publications, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar P.O., South India.

XSTN.

News and Notes

ALL INDIA WRITERS' CONFERENCE,
DECEMBER 1959

UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN NORTH AND
SOUTH INDIA

In his Presidential Address at the All-India Writers' Conference held in Madras on December 16, 1959, Mr. Tara Sankar Banerji said :—

The practice of measuring our own excellence or shortcomings by Western yardsticks has been current for so long that to many of us it is unimaginable that we can have our own standard also, as good as and, in certain spheres, even better than the Western standard. Strangely enough this beggarly mentality — this absolute dependence upon lands beyond the seas and the mountains for our current ideals in art, literature, politics, and strongest of all, religion and philosophy — has been, and still very often is, glorified as progressive outlook.

For geographical reasons, perhaps, or may be, for some reasons still deeper, we of the North have been over-powered many times and later fallen for our victors. But the South has always been more cautious and circumspect. Simple, undemonstrative, never addicted to heroics, South has a happy intellectual balance which resists being hustled into accepting a dogma or a doctrine which has not proved itself as acceptable. South can wait for the spiritual cooking process to render the gifts of a new civilisation suitable for digestion and speedy assimilation. But we of the North are often too impatient to wait for this cooking process, and gorge ideas and fashions whole and raw, with sometimes very tragic results.

I, therefore, hope that the get-together to-day between the North and the South should not end with the present Conference, but should be the beginning of a deeper and more cordial understanding which will temper our impulsiveness by contact with balanced minds and perhaps, give

a little dynamic urge to the excellent intellectual equipment of the South. Given this, India will last against physical and ideological onslaughts from any quarter. Time is out of joint and an occasional re-appraisal of our stand is necessary.

—*The Hindu* (17-12-59).

TAMIL MUSIC

“Tamil language is rich in its heritage and knows no parallel in sweetness. We should strive ceaselessly to make the greatness of our languages understood by others through translations, and also take the best in other languages and have them translated into Tamil, thus establishing inter-cultural understanding,” said Dr. P. Subbaroyan, Union Minister for Transport and Communications, inaugurating the 17th Tamil Isai Festival at Raja Anna-malai Hall, Madras.

Dr. Subbaroyan said painting and sculpture, music and drama were the three aspects of the culture of a nation.

The devotional songs of Thevaram, Prabandam, Arutpa and songs sung by Thayumanavar were inspiring and soul-stirring. Music was fostered and nurtured by these saints and also patronised by ancient Tamil kings. Though music transcended linguistic barriers, it was indispensable for the musician, as to the listener, to possess a knowledge of the language of the ‘sahityas’ for the proper appreciation and enjoyment of musical compositions.

Dr. Subbaroyan suggested simple songs should be composed and operas written towards propagating information and educating the people on various health and welfare schemes. Folk songs of the type of Kavadi Chindu, Nondi Chindu would considerably reinforce such efforts.

The ancient Tamil kings employed songs and dramas to instil patriotism, bravery and a spirit of sacrifice in their soldiers. The same method could be adopted now to

accelerate the work of the Community Projects and National Extension service. It would lead to greater production, prosperity and happiness.

—*The Mail* (26-12-59).

TAMIL COURSE IN CHICAGO UNIVERSITY

America was to-day doing a very valuable service to make Indian studies popular, said Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, delivering a lecture on "Indic studies in the U.S.", on October 16 at the USIS library, Madras.

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, who returned recently from U.S. after a tour as Visiting Professor at the Chicago University, referred in detail to the interest shown by Harvard, California, Columbia, Yale, San Francisco and other American universities in promoting the cause of Indian language and literature. In most of the universities great attention was being paid to the study of various Indian languages like Bengali, Hindi, Sanskrit and Urdu. The Chicago University was planning to start a course in Tamil.

—*The Hindu* (17-10-59).

TAMIL AS MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN COLLEGES

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance and Education Minister, Madras, said in the Legislative Assembly that the standard of English in the University classes would be "maintained and perhaps be upgraded", even though Tamil would be introduced as the medium of instruction in colleges.

—*The Hindu* (11-12-59).

THE COLLEGE TAMIL COMMITTEE

The College Tamil Committee constituted by the Government of Madras to advise them on the measures to be taken for the introduction of the Tamil medium in the 3 year B.A. Degree course of the Pilot College (Govern-

ment Arts College, Coimbatore) met at the P.S.G. College of Technology, Peelamedu, and had a continuous session for 7 days from the 25th to 31st December, 1959.

Mr. G. R. Damodaran, Chairman of the College Tamil Committee, presided.

Technical terms for Politics and Public Administration, History, Economics, Psychology, Philosophy, Geography and Sciences-Minor, viz. Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Biology and Statistics, were compiled by experts. These are expected to cover the syllabuses prescribed by the University of Madras for the B.A. Degree courses. The equivalents in Tamil for these terms were prepared by them in consultation with the various sources now in existence. Copies of these were circulated to all the colleges, Universities, the Press and leading educationists. All the suggestions, alternatives and comments received were tabulated. The Committee, during this session of 7 days, after examining the tabulated equivalents in all the subjects has selected the most suitable among them and finalised them. Every care has been taken by the member of the College Tamil Committee proficient in the subject to see that the equivalent conveys the concept accurately. Transliterations of technical terms, wherever equivalents are not available, have been adopted.

The glossaries, as soon as they are printed, will be made available for the authors who have been commissioned to write books for the colleges and for others.

—*The Hindu*

LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN

Sixteen books in Tamil, written by 12 authors, were released by Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Home Minister, at a function organised by the Children's Writers' Association at Srinivasa Sastri Hall, Mylapore, Madras, on November 14 as part of the Children's Day and Mr. Nehru's birthday celebrations. Mr. K. Santhanam presided.

Mr. Al. Valliappa, President of the Association, welcomed the gathering and announced that Mr. Thambi Srinivasan, one of the members, had just been awarded a prize by the Government of India for his drama "Tanga Kuzhandaigal".

Mr. Poovannan read the list of authors whose books have been released on the occasion and introduced those who were present. Five were written by Mr. N. D. Sundaravadivelu (D.P.I.) and one each by Messrs. Mayilai Sivamuthu, "Raji", N. S. Deivasigamani, N. Jagannathan, S. Y. Subramaniam, Naga Muthiah, A. Rangaswami, V. Narasimhan, Mana Arangaswami, "Vandu Mama" and Thanigai Ulaganathan. The book publishers were also introduced next by Mr. K. A. Chellappan.

—*The Hindu* (18-11-59).

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF CHILDREN'S WRITERS

Inaugurating the first annual conference of children's writers under the auspices of the Children's Writers' Association on October 21, 1959 at Rajaji Hall, Madras, Mr. Bishnuram Medhi, the Governor, emphasised that writers should study carefully the needs of children and produce such books as would attract them, create reading habit in them and stimulate the development of their latent faculties.

The Governor presented on the occasion shields to Mr. Myilai Sivamuthu and Mr. T. R. Ranganathan for their outstanding work in the field of children's literature.

Mr. Bishnuram Medhi congratulated the Association on taking upon itself the task of bringing together writers and popularising children's books. He referred to the progress achieved in foreign countries in specialising in the art of producing children's books and emphasised that the get-up of children's books had to be very beautiful and attractive. They should contain profuse illustrations and

pictorial representations. Only those who had adequate knowledge of the requirements and the necessary training and experience, he said, could produce literature for children. Producers of children's books had an additional responsibility not only in the selection of themes but also in the matter of style of expression and presentation. Children's literature should be wholesome and at the same time entertaining and should have a moral background. It should be useful for the integrated development of the child's body, mind and intellect.

The Governor commended the various activities of the Association to promote suitable literature for children and said that it was the duty of parents and teachers to make available books which would stimulate the latent faculties of children and make them grow into responsible adults with character and ability and lay a foundation on the basis of their culture and tradition.

Mr. Al. Valliappa, President of the Association, in his address, said that children's literature was growing but the pace of progress was not fast enough. The fact that many publishers had come forward to publish children's books would create an atmosphere for the development of children's literature. The reading habit was noticeable among the present-day children and it should be canalised in the right direction. What was important was that the thoughts and desires of children should be well understood by those who produced books suitable for children. He urged that story-poems should be developed in Tamil as in English. It was wrong, he added, to suppress the thirst for knowledge among children in their formative period. They should quench that thirst by bringing out suitable literature for them.

Mr. Valliappa hoped that the Government would help in setting up an organisation on the lines of the Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam to devote attention exclusively to the development of literature for children. He felt that a great future lay ahead if women with whom children came

into greater contact, paid greater attention to the production of children's books. He suggested that there should be a children's library in every place and said that great care should be taken in the selection of books which should not poison knowledge.

—*The Hindu* (23-11-59).

STANDARD OF PUBLICATIONS IN TAMIL

The need for raising the standard of books that were being published now in the Tamil language was emphasised by Dr. S. R. Ranganathan at a meeting held under the auspices of Maraimalai Adigal Library in George Town, Madras. Mr. V. Subbiah Pillai presided.

—*The Hindu*

MADRAS CITY COLLEGE STUDENTS' TAMIL MANRAM

PROPAGATION OF TAMIL LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The need for propagating the greatness of Tamil language and literature was stressed by speakers on the occasion of the inauguration of the activities of the Madras City College Students' Tamil Manram for this year at a function held at Loyola College.

Rev. Fr. Laurence Sundaram, Principal, Loyola College, said that students from 25 colleges had become members of the Manram. The aim of the organisation was to propagate the greatness of Tamil by learning to compose poems and songs in Tamil and to help students speak the language fluently.

Mr. K. Vezhavendan, President of the Manram, said that the organisation would try to foster the growth of Tamil language and encourage the youth to develop a love towards Tamil. He said that *Tirukural* had been recently translated into Russian. But a mistake had crept in in the

preface to the book. It has been mentioned that Tiruvalluvar lived in the 7th or 8th century A.D. But every Tamil lover knew that Tiruvalluvar lived more than 1,500 years ago. The Manram could help in pointing out such mistakes and make the correction.

—*The Hindu* (24-10-59).

CIVIC RECEPTION TO TAMIL SCHOLARS AT MADURAI

The Madurai Municipal Council presented a civic address to Tamil scholars, who had assembled at Madurai for the quarterly meeting of the Tamil Nad Poets Council.

The Council formed last year, aims at "furthering the use of pure Tamil in the administration and day-to-day life".

Among those honoured were: Mr. Somasundara Bharathi, Mr. Ayyamperumal Konar, Mr. Manickavachagar (Dharmapuram Mutt), Mr. A. K. Paranthamanar, Mr. Mayilai Sivamuthu, Mr. G. Subramania Pillai, Tamil Research Section, Annamalai University, Mr. Alalasundaram and Mr. Mascarenhas.

Mr. J. Devasahayam, Municipal Chairman, in the address said that contrary to ancient days when Tamil Kings had patronised poets and scholars, today the representatives of the people in the Council honoured men of letters. The talents of the scholars — in thinking and doing research — were now greatly needed by the people, he said.

—*The Mail* (6-10-59).

THE TAMIL NAD POETS' COUNCIL

The Tamil Nad Poets' Council, an organisation working for furthering the use of chaste Tamil in administration and day-to-day life, has denounced the importation of 'foreign words' into Tamil language in the name of the Constitution.

The Council, which held its quarterly meeting on October 4, 1959 at Madurai, suggested that the original Tamil names of gods in South Indian temples should be revived, and their Sanskrit equivalents discarded. It wanted temple prayers to be conducted in Tamil. Other demands include Government jobs for 'better recognition' and honours for Tamil scholars on occasions like Independence Day celebrations in the State and at Delhi, and a separate Tamil University at Madurai.

—*The Mail* (6-10-59).

TAMIL PUBLICATIONS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNESCO.

Eight Tamil books published with the assistance of UNESCO under the auspices of the Southern Languages Book Trust by various publishers were released at a pleasant function held at Madras on December 7, 1959.

—*The Hindu* (8-12-59).

THE TAMIL DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH COUNCIL

PROMOTION OF FOLK ART

The Madras Government have constituted a committee for the study and promotion of folk-lore and folk dances. The members of the committee are : Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai (Chairman), Dr. A. Chidambaranathan, M.L.C., Mr. K. V. Jagannathan, Editor, *Kalaimagal* and Mr. S. Venkataswami (members). The committee, if necessary, will co-opt one more member. Mr. V. Kannaiyan, Secretary of the Tamil Development and Research Council, is the Secretary.

The Tamil Research Council, it may be recollected, at its meeting in April last, considered this question and decided that an agency for the study and compilation of folk-lore was essential.

—*The Hindu* (23-10-59).

HISTORICAL TAMIL DICTIONARY

The Government have constituted a committee to draw up a scheme for the compilation of a dictionary of Tamil words, with a comparative historical study of the changes in meaning undergone by such words. The committee will consist of Mr. T. P. Meenakshisundaram (Chairman), Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, Dr. M. A. Durairangaswamy, Reader, University of Madras, and Mr. A. S. Gnanasambantham, Assistant Director (Translation), in the Information Department, Government of Madras (members). The committee has been empowered to co-opt two more members, if necessary.

The constitution of this committee has been undertaken on the recommendation of the Tamil Development and Research Council which has suggested that such a historical Tamil dictionary should be prepared and published.

—*The Hindu* (11-12-59).

SEMINAR FOR TAMIL PANDITS

A ten-day Seminar for Tamil Pandits from all over Madras State was inaugurated by Mr. N. D. Sundaravadi-velu, Director of Public Instruction, on December 23, 1959 in the Teachers' College, Saidapet, Madras.

Forty teachers who have put in more than five years' service, are attending this 'Refresher Course'. They will be given an idea of the latest trends in methods of instruction.

—*The Hindu* (24-12-59).

Extract from Letter

FROM A READER IN MALAYA

" . . . This magazine (*Tamil Culture*) is doing much needed work of discovering to people overseas the fineness of Dravidian Civilization..

" As a citizen of Malaya I am particularly interested in the contribution that this civilization has made to the development of South-East Asian civilizations. The history books that deal with the Indian period in South-East Asia do not, as a rule, throw much light on whether the bearers of Buddhist and Sanskrit civilizations to these parts were mainly Dravidian peoples. The true picture would seem to be that Sanskrit civilization, whose original inspiration had most likely been, even though to an indeterminate extent, Dravidian, began to exercise a powerful influence on Dravidian peoples towards the latter half of the first millennium after Christ; this has been reflected on the one hand by the development in India of Malayalam, Telugu and other Sanskrit impregnated languages of Dravidian ancestry, and on the other by the predominance of Sanskrit words, customs, etc. in the civilizations carried to the shores of South-East Asia by people who presumably were, by and large, of Dravidian stock. The position was, perhaps, not unlike that in Northern Europe in the Middle Ages when Latin was used for various transactions by people whose native tongues were not of Latin ancestry. I would be very grateful for your advice whether any research has been done into this aspect of the extension of Dravidian civilization overseas.

" I find your feature on 'News and Notes' very informative. . . . , "

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

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

CONSONANTS

			Hints re: articulation
Hard¹ (Plosive)	க	—	k (as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c („ church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t: („ card?)....Retroflex - articulate with blade of tongue.
Soft (Nasal)	த	—	th („ threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p („ pipe, amber)
	த	—	t („ atlas, sunday, arrears)....Retroflex- articulate with tip of tongue.
	ங	—	ng („ sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj („ angel)....palatal n
	ன	—	n: („ urn?)....Retroflex n - articulate with blade of tongue.
	ந	—	nh („ anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m („ mate)
	ன	—	n („ enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with tip of tongue.
	ய	—	y („ yard)
Medium (non-nasal continuant)	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.
Auxiliary² (ஔ)	ஔ	—	x („ ahead)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

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

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

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

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

CORRECTION

We regret that a 'printer's devil' had crept in, in the article headed "THE POET OF REVOLT" published in *Tamil Culture*, Vol VIII, No. 2. The first line of the Tamil poem printed on page 77 in that article should correctly read as "கற்பிளந்து, மலை பிளந்து, கனிகள் வெட்டி."



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